# A Comprehensive Introduction to Nostratic Comparative Linguistics

*With Special Reference To Indo-European*

VOLUME 2

Allan R. Bomhard

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# A Comprehensive Introduction to Nostratic Comparative Linguistics

## With Special Reference To Indo-European

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*By*
Allan R. Bomhard

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By Allan R. Bomhard

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PART THREE

# COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY
# (FIRST HALF)

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

# COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE NOSTRATIC LANGUAGES

## 22.1. INTRODUCTION

In comparing the lexical material from the various Nostratic daughter languages, I have tried to be very careful about the issue of semantic plausibility. Where there is either a one-to-one or an extremely close semantic correspondence, there is, of course, no problem. Unfortunately, things are not always this straightforward. Quite often, there is not a one-to-one semantic correspondence — in such cases, we must be able to derive the proposed cognates from the postulated ancestor form by widely-attested semantic shifts and not by mere speculation. Therefore, in attempting to determine whether or not particular lexical items from the various language families under consideration might be related, I have made extensive use of Carl Darling Buck's *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* as a control for the semantic development of the proposed lexical parallels, and references to the appropriate sections of this work are given at the end of each proposed Nostratic etymology. It may be noted that, in examining the lexicons of Kartvelian, Afrasian, Uralic-Yukaghir, Elamo-Dravidian, Altaic, and Eskimo-Aleut, semantic shifts similar to those described by Buck for the Indo-European languages are found over and over again in these other language families as well (on the regularity of semantic change, cf. Geeraerts 1985 and 1992; Traugott—Dasher 2001). I cannot emphasize strongly enough that, in order to gain a complete understanding of how I arrived at my proposals, Buck's dictionary must be consulted. However, in a number of instances, where I felt it was warranted due to the wide semantic differences found among the forms cited from the daughter languages, I have given brief explanations within the etymologies themselves.

As valuable as Buck's dictionary is, however, it is not without its shortcomings. In the first place, as noted by Buck himself (1949:xii), the dictionary is not complete — due to the nature of the material involved, Buck and his assistants had to be selective in choosing what to include. Next, the research upon which the dictionary is based is now well over half a century old. Therefore, Buck's dictionary must be supplemented by more recent scholarship. Unfortunately, however, this work is spread throughout so many journal articles, dissertations, and books that it is virtually impossible to consult all of it, especially when one is dealing with multiple language families.

It is not enough, moreover, simply to compare dictionary forms. Rather, when working with the lexical data from the various Nostratic daughter languages, one must strive to ascertain the underlying semantics, that is to say, the fundamental meaning or meanings from which the full set of semantic nuances are derived,

based upon actual usage, wherever this is possible, and one must be cognizant of the interrelationship between social, cultural, and conceptual factors on the one hand and semantic structures on the other (cf. Birnbaum 1977:41—51). It goes without saying that this is neither a simple nor an easy undertaking.

The approach that I have followed thus leads to the establishment of what may be called "families of words" in the tradition of the great Indo-European comparative dictionaries such as Pokorny (1959) and Walde (1927—1932). The starting point is always the reconstructed Nostratic forms. The material cited from the individual Nostratic daughter languages is then to be judged primarily by whether or not it can be convincingly derived from the antecedent Nostratic forms either directly or through widely-attested semantic shifts.

The difficulties involved in dealing with semantic change in unattested languages have been clearly articulated by Winter (2003:206—207) (also important is the study done by Dubossarsky—Weinshall—Grossman 2016):

> The difficulties encountered by the etymologist reaching out toward unattested and hence textless languages are deep-rooted and virtually insurmountable. When one reads an intelligently written, richly documented book such as Blank 1997, one cannot help being impressed with the fact that it is relatively easy to describe and classify semantic changes such as metonymy and metaphor that occurred in the course of the history of an individual language or a group of closely related languages, but that there is a near total absence of what one might call determinacy and hence predictability as to the kind and direction of the changes that can be shown to have taken place and therefore can be expected to occur again under comparable circumstances. The applicability of a form may remain unchanged, it may be extended to cover additional meaning configurations, it may be narrowed, it may be eliminated altogether; new denotations added may concern closely related items, as in the case of metonymy, or seemingly very different ones, as when metaphors are used. As long as one limits oneself to a retrospective analysis of data from historically well-attested languages, the lack of regularity will not affect the descriptive adequacy of one's findings; if, however, one turns to the study of prehistoric stages of a language or a group of languages, one is left with hardly any well-defined criteria by which to evaluate one's hypotheses (and those of others). The only criterion that seems to be operationally usable derives from the assumption made above: if both phonetic and semantic change occurred in relatively small steps, feature by feature, component by component, then the likelihood that a hypothesis might be correct can be said to be supported in a more than subjective way. This does not eliminate the difficulty that observable change can occur in all possible directions and that to complicate matters even further, in the course of a historical development, the direction may change at any time. If that is the case, it follows that in the absence of observable data — that is, under conditions normal for reconstructional linguists — no objectifiable criteria can be called upon by the etymologist, and his proposals will always reflect his personal preferences.

Another important point that needs to be reiterated concerns how I segment the reconstructed forms I am dealing with. Comparison of the various Nostratic

daughter languages indicates that the rules governing the structural patterning of roots and stems is Proto-Nostratic were most likely as follows (this is repeated from Chapter 12, §12.3):

1. There were no initial vowels in Proto-Nostratic. Therefore, every root began with a consonant.
2. There were no initial consonant clusters either. Consequently, every root began with one and only one consonant. Medial clusters were permitted, however.
3. Two basic root types existed: (A) **CV* and (B) **CVC*, where *C* = any non-syllabic, and *V* = any vowel. Permissible root forms coincided exactly with these two syllable types.
4. A stem could either be identical with a root or it could consist of a root plus a single derivational morpheme added as a suffix to the root: **CVC*+*C*-. Any consonant could serve as a suffix. Note: In nominal stems, this derivational suffix was added directly to the root: **CVC*+*C*-. In verbal stems, it was added after the formative vowel: **CVC*+$V_{FV}$+*C*-. (FV = formative vowel.)
5. A stem could thus assume any one of the following shapes: (A) **CV*-, (B) **CVC*-, (C) **CVC*+*C*-, or (D) (reduplicated) **CVC*-*CVC*-. As in Proto-Altaic, the undifferentiated stems were real forms in themselves and could be used without additional suffixes or grammatical endings. However, when so used, a vowel had to be added to the stem: (A) **CV*- > **CV* (no change), (B) **CVC*- > **CVC*+V, (C) **CVC*+*C*- > **CVC*+*C*+V, or (D) (reduplicated) **CVC*-*CVC*- > **CVC*-*CVC*+V. Following Afrasian terminology, this vowel may be called a "terminal vowel" (TV). Not only did terminal vowels exist in Proto-Afrasian, they are also found in Dravidian, where they are called "enunciative vowels", and in Elamite, where they are called "thematic vowels". In Proto-Dravidian, the enunciative vowel was only required in stems ending in obstruents, which could not occur in final position.

The original root structure patterning was maintained longer in Afrasian, Dravidian, and Altaic than in the other branches, while the patterning found in Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Kartvelian has been modified by developments specific to each of these branches. The root structure constraints found in Proto-Indo-European were an innovation. In Proto-Uralic, the rule requiring that all words end in a vowel was an innovation and arose from the incorporation of the so-called "terminal vowel" into the stem. It should be mentioned here that reduplication was a widespread phenomenon.

On the basis of the evidence of Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Kartvelian, Proto-Afrasian, Proto-Dravidian, and Proto-Altaic, it may be assumed that there were three fundamental stem types: (A) verbal stems, (B) nominal (and adjectival) stems, and (C) pronominal and indeclinable stems. Some stems were exclusively nominal. In the majority of cases, however, both verbal stems and nominal stems could be built from the same root. In Proto-Nostratic, only pronominal and indeclinable stems could end in a vowel. Verbal and nominal stems, on the other hand, had to end in a consonant, though, as noted above, when the undifferentiated stems were

used as real words in themselves, a "terminal vowel" had to be added to the stem. As explained in Chapter 17, the terminal vowels were morphologically significant (as were the "formative vowels").

For Indo-European, the main etymological dictionaries consulted include: Buck 1949; Delamarre 1984; Mallory—Adams (eds.) 1997 and 2006; Mann 1984—1987; Pokorny 1959; Rix 1998a and 2001; Walde 1927—1932; Watkins 1985, 1992, 2000, and 2011; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008. The Proto-Indo-European reconstructions are made in accordance with the glottalic model of Proto-Indo-European consonantism proposed by Gamkrelidze—Ivanov (especially 1984 and 1995) and Hopper (1973) (except where noted otherwise).

For Kartvelian, the principal sources are: Klimov 1964 and 1998; Fähnrich 1994 and 2007; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995; Gamkrelidze—Mačavariani 1962; K. H. Schmidt 1962.

The two main Afrasian comparative dictionaries are: Ehret 1995 and Orël—Stolbova 1995, both of which must be used with caution. Another Afrasian comparative dictionary was published in parts between 1994 and 1997 in Russia under the title "Historical-Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian" by Anna Belova, Igor Diakonoff, Alexander Militarëv, Viktor Porxomovsky, and Olga Stolbova. Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult this work. Also of value are the following: Appleyard 2006; Černý 1976; D. Cohen 1970— ; Ehret 1980 and 1985; Heine 1978; Hudson 1989; Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994; Klein 1987; Leslau 1963, 1979, and 1987; Militarëv 2010, 2011, and 2012; Murtonen 1989; Newman 1977; Sasse 1979 and 1982; Takács 2011a; Tomback 1978; Vycichl 1983. It should be noted that Gábor Takács is currently preparing a comprehensive etymological dictionary of Egyptian. For Berber, cf. Haddadou 2006—2007.

There are two etymological dictionaries of Uralic: Collinder 1955 (2nd edition 1977) and Rédei 1986—1988. Also valuable are: Joki 1973, Décsy 1990, Janhunen 1977b, and Sammallahti 1988. For Yukaghir, cf. Nikolaeva 2006.

For Dravidian, the standard (and only) etymological dictionary is Burrow—Emeneau 1984 (does not contain reconstructions). See also Krishnamurti 2003.

For Altaic, the major works are: Ramstedt 1952—1957; Robbeets 2005; Poppe 1960; Street 1974; Miller 1971; and Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003. The works of Ramstedt and Poppe are now seriously out of date, while that of Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak must be used with caution (cf. the rather critical reviews by Georg 2004, Kempf 2008, Norman 2009, and Vovin 2005; more positive is the review by Roy Andrew Miller 2003—2004). Even taking into consideration the problem areas identified in these reviews, the Altaic dictionary of Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak is clearly an improvement over previous endeavors (as noted by Václav Blažek in his review [2005], not to mention Sergej Starostin's rebuttal [2005] of Georg's review and the lengthy rebuttal [2008] of Vovin's review by Anna Dybo and George Starostin). Consequently, I have mostly accepted their proposals, at least for those items that have been included in this book. However, there are a handful of cases in which I prefer etymologies proposed by other scholars over those proposed by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak or when I reject parts of their etymologies. These differences of opinion are noted in the individual etymologies.

Tsintsius (Cincius [Цинциус]) 1975—1977 is the standard (Manchu-)Tungus comparative dictionary (does not contain reconstructions). For Turkic, cf. Clauson 1972 and Tenishev—Dybo 2001—2006, volume I. For Mongolian, cf. Poppe 1955.

The principal Eskimo etymological dictionary is Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994, and the primary Chukchi-Kamchatkan etymological dictionaries are Fortescue 2005 and Mudrak 2000.

Sumerian forms are cited from Hübner—Reizammer 1985—1986.

Etymological (where they exist) and non-etymological dictionaries for individual languages have also been heavily consulted, as have journal articles and papers beyond count — a complete list can be found in the references.

The reconstructed forms for each proto-language conform to a uniform method of transcription — deviations from traditional transcriptions are explained in the chapters on phonology. The works cited at the end of each entry always give the traditional reconstructions, as written by the individual authors. In the case of Proto-Uralic and Proto-Finno-Ugrian, I have kept the symbol *ɜ*, which is traditionally used in Uralic studies as a cover symbol to indicate a vowel of unknown quality.

In the case of both Uralic and Altaic, a certain amount of standardization has been done in the transcription of the forms cited from the individual daughter languages. For Altaic, the system of transcription is close to that used in Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003, though, occasionally, Poppe's transcription is used instead. In both cases, I have allowed a certain degree of latitude due to the wide variations found in the literature.

Inasmuch as the Proto-Indo-European reconstructions included in this book are in accordance with the glottalic model of Indo-European consonantism proposed by Thomas V. Gamkrelidze, Vjačeslav V. Ivanov, and Paul J. Hopper (see Chapter 3 for details), traditional reconstructions are also given for comparison at the end of each Indo-European etymology as part of the references.

It must also be noted that I have been selective in the forms cited from the various Nostratic daughter languages. My goal has been to give a representative sampling, in part to illustrate the semantics involved, and not to cite all known cognates — nonetheless, the documentation is quite extensive. For additional information, the works cited at the end of each etymology should be consulted, as should other works listed in the references but not necessarily cited after individual etymologies.

Even though I have made extensive use of the works of other scholars (especially V. M. Illič-Svityč, A. Dolgopolsky, and V. Blažek) doing research on the comparative vocabulary of the Nostratic languages, I have sometimes purposely excluded material that they have cited. This does not necessarily mean that I reject their suggestions (though in many cases it does). Rather, I have endeavored to verify all of the data cited by other scholars on the basis of works available to me. In those cases where I have been unable to verify the data cited, I have usually not included their proposals. In those cases where I have included data that I was not able to verify, I have added comments to that effect. The major exception to this rule involves the Chadic data cited by Orël—Stolbova in their joint Afrasian etymological dictionary (1995), most of which I have not been able to verify

independently. Finally, in those instances where I have intentionally rejected, either fully or in part, the proposals made by others, I have not given references to their work nor have I discussed the reasons for rejection (almost always because the semantics are not plausible and/or because there are problems with the phonology).

Proto-Nostratic verbs are cited in their root/stem form, nouns in the "*status indeterminatus*" form (that is, *-*a*) (see Chapter 17 for details).

As noted in Chapter 17, adjectives did not exist as an independent grammatical category in Proto-Nostratic. Intransitive verbs could function as "adjectives". Also, "adjectives" were differentiated from nouns mainly by syntactical means — a noun placed before another noun functioned as an attribute to the latter. To illustrate the different semantic functions of nominal words, Proto-Nostratic **bar-a* could mean: (n) 'goodness, kindness'; (adj.) 'good, kind'; (adv.) 'goodly, kindly, well'.

Some final points:

- All language names have been fully spelled out rather than abbreviated. Moreover, since different spellings are sometimes found in the literature, the language names have been mostly standardized to agree with what is found in Ruhlen 1987. In those cases where a particular language is referred to by two different names, both are given, separated by a slash. Where languages are referred to in the literature by more than two names, I have tried to choose only the two most common names.
- In the case of many modern Afrasian languages, the names found in the literature, especially when dialects and subdialects are taken into consideration, are varied and confusing. Here, I mostly left unchanged what was used in the sources I consulted.
- Since the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, the language formerly called "Serbo-Croatian" has been treated as four separate languages, mainly on political grounds: Croatian, Serbian, Montenegrin, and Bosnian. The older term is retained in this book.

TO SUMMARIZE: It should now be clear that I have tried to eliminate the arbitrary nature of much of the previous work, as well as some current work, in distant lexical comparison by relying heavily on proven, widely-attested semantic shifts as found in the daughter languages, especially Indo-European, Semitic, and Dravidian, which, due to having written records of sufficient time depth to be able to follow how words have changed meaning over time, as well as due to having voluminous data with which to work, are particularly valuable. My approach is thus positivistic, that is, data-oriented, rather than impressionistic. To further ensure that my views are firmly grounded in the attested data and not derived from purely theoretical assumptions, I supply a large amount of cited forms from the daughter languages to illustrate the types of changes that have occurred, I give explanations where needed, I supply voluminous references to the standard etymological dictionaries and other relevant literature, I set rather narrow limits on the meanings of the terms selected for comparison, and I stay well within the bounds of established scholarship within each language family.

## 22.2. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *b

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| b- | b- | p- | b- | $b^h$- | p- | b- | p- |
| -b- | -b- | -pp-/-vv- | -b- | -$b^h$- | -w- | -b- | -v- |

1. Proto-Nostratic root **baʕ-* (~ **bəʕ-*):
(vb.) **baʕ-* ‘to pour’;
(n.) **baʕ-a* ‘torrent, outpour’

   A. Proto-Afrasian **baʕ-* ‘to pour’: Semitic: Arabic *baʿʿa* ‘to pour out in abundance’, *baʿʿ* ‘abundant outpour’, *buʿāḳ*, *baʿāḳ*, *biʿāḳ* ‘raining cloud, waterspout, first shower, noise of torrent’, *baʿbaʿ* ‘gurgling of water’. D. Cohen 1970— :74. Egyptian *bʿḥy* ‘to be inundated; to flood, to inundate; to pour’, *bʿʿ* ‘to drink (blood)’, *bʿbʿ* ‘to drink’, *bʿbʿt* ‘stream’, *bʿḥ* ‘basin (for irrigation)’, *bʿḥ* ‘inundated land’, *bʿḥw* ‘inundation, flood’. Hannig 1995:249; Erman—Grapow 1921:47 and 1926—1963.1:446, 1:447, 1:448—449; Faulkner 1962:81; Gardiner 1957:564. West Chadic **baʕ-* ‘to pour’ > Tsagu *va-*, *vo-* ‘to pour’; Mburku *vaγ*, *vaw* ‘to pour’. East Chadic **bwa(y)-* ‘to pour’ > Somray *bo* ‘to pour’; Kabalay *bəyi* ‘to pour’; Mokilko (perf.) *buuye* ‘to pour’; Lele *boy-* ‘to pour’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:45, no. 180, **baʕ-* ‘to pour’; Ehret 1995:91, no. 39, **baaʕ-* ‘to flow heavily, to defecate’.
   B. Proto-Kartvelian **b-* ‘to pour’: Mingrelian *b-* ‘to pour’; Laz *b-* ‘to pour’; Svan *b-* ‘to pour out (of liquid)’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:40—41 **b-*; Fähnrich 2007:43 **b-*; Klimov 1964:47 **b-* and 1998:6 **b-* ‘to pour’.
   C. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *papaa-* (< **pa:(pa:)-*) ‘to urinate’, *papaa* ‘urine’. Nikolaeva 2006:343.

   Sumerian *ba* ‘to pour out’.

   Buck 1949:4.65 urinate; urine; 9.35 pour.

2. Proto-Nostratic root **baʕ-* (~ **bəʕ-*):
(vb.) **baʕ-* ‘to tie, to bind; to attach, to fasten’;
(n.) **baʕ-a* ‘tie, bond, bandage, fastening’

   A. Proto-Afrasian **baʕ-* ‘to tie, to bind; to attach, to fasten’: Egyptian *bʿn* ‘to set (a precious stone in gold)’, *bʿn* ‘setting (a piece of jewelry)’. Hannig 1995:249; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:447. West Chadic: Sura *ḅàl* ‘to

join or bind together'; Mupun *ḍāal* 'to join'; Goemai *ḍal* 'to fasten'. Takács 2011a:54—55 **b-ʿ-l*.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **b-* 'to tie, to bind': Old Georgian *b-* 'to tie, to bind' (Georgian *b-* 'to tie, to bind; to hang'); Mingrelian *b-* 'to tie, to bind'; Laz *b-* 'to tie, to bind; to hang'; Svan *b-* 'to tie, to bind', *lə-b-e* 'tied'. Klimov 1964:47 **b-* and 1998:6 **b-* 'to tie, to bind'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:39—40 **b-*; Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:42—43 **b-*; Schmidt 1962:95 **b-*. Proto-Kartvelian **b-am-*/**b-m-* 'to tie, to bind': Georgian *bam-*/*bm-* 'to tie, to bind; to be attached', *b-m-ul-i* 'bound'; Mingrelian *bum-* 'to tie, to bind'; Laz *bum-* 'to tie, to bind'; Svan *bem-* 'to tie up, to tie together'. Klimov 1964:48 **bam-*/**bm-* and 1998:7 **b-am-* : **b-m-* 'to tie, to bind'.

C. Proto-Altaic **bā* 'to bind': Proto-Tungus **ba-* 'to join (in marriage)' > Evenki *ba-* 'to propose for marriage'; Manchu *ba-čiχi* 'married while still a child', *ba-čiχila-* 'to be married as a child'. Proto-Turkic **b(i)ā-* 'to tie, to bind, to fasten', **b(i)ā-g-* 'bundle; bond, rope' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *ba-* 'to bind, to fasten', *baγ* 'bundle; bond, rope; confederation'; Karakhanide Turkic *ba-* 'to bind, to fasten', *baγ* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Turkish *bağla-* 'to tie, to bind, to fasten, to attach' (*başını bağla-* 'to give in betrothal or marriage'), (passive) *bağlan-* 'to be tied; to be obliged, to be engaged (to do something)', *bağ* 'bond, tie; bandage; impediment; restraint; bundle', *bağlı* 'bound, tied' (*başi bağlı* 'married; settled; connected [with some office, etc.]'), *bağlılık* 'attachment; affection'; Gagauz *bā-la-* (< **bag-la-*) 'to bind'; Azerbaijani *baγ* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Turkmenian *bāɢ* 'bond, rope'; Uzbek *bɔγ* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Uighur *baγ* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Karaim *baγ* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Tatar *baw* 'bundle; bond, rope', *bɛy* 'bond, rope'; Bashkir *baw* 'bundle; bond, rope', *bäy* 'bond, rope'; Kirghiz *bō* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Kazakh *baw* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Noghay *baw* 'bundle; bond, rope'; Sary-Uighur *paγ* 'bond, rope'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *bū* 'bond, rope'; Tuva *baγ-la-* 'to bind, to fasten'; Chuvash *pъyav* 'bond, rope'; Yakut *bāy-* 'to bind, to fasten', *bïa* 'bond, rope'; Dolgan *bāy-* 'to bind, to fasten', *bïa* 'bond, rope'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:319 **bā* 'to bind'; Poppe 1960:58 and 97; Street 1974:8 **bāg* 'bunch, group'.

Buck 1949:2.33 marry; 2.34 marriage, wedding; 9.16 bind (vb. tr.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:172, no. 2, **baHʌ* 'to tie to'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 180, **baH$_2$V-* 'to tie, to bind'.

3. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **baba* 'father' (nursery word):

A. Proto-Afrasian **baba* 'father': Proto-Semitic **bābā* 'father' > Syriac *bābā* 'father'; Arabic *bābā* 'papa, father, daddy'; Soqoṭri *bāba* 'father'; Geez / Ethiopic *bābā* [ባባ] 'grandfather, ancestor'; Argobba *baba* 'grandfather';

Harari *bāb* (in address: *bābā*) ‘grandfather’. D. Cohen 1970— :40; Leslau 1963:39 and 1987:85; Hudson 2013:127. Berber: Nefusa *baba* ‘father’; Ghadames *baba* ‘father’ (term of respect preceding a masculine name); Tashelhiyt / Shilha *baba* ‘father’; Wargla *baba* ‘father’; Riff *baba* ‘father’; Tamazight *baba* ‘father’; Kabyle *baba* ‘father, grandfather’; Chaouia *baba* ‘father’; Zenaga *baba* ‘father’. Note: Some of the Berber forms may be borrowed from Semitic. Proto-East Cushitic **baabb*-‘father’ > Dasenech *baaba* ‘father’; Gawwada *papp-o* ‘father’. Sasse 1979:44. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **baba* ‘father’ > Iraqw *baba* ‘father’. Proto-Chadic **baba* ‘father’ > Hausa *bàaba* ‘father’; Angas *baba* ‘father’; Karekare *babo* ‘father’; Ngizim *bàabá* ‘father’ (term by which a person refers to or addresses his own father or an older man with whom he feels a father-like attachment); Tera *baba* ‘father’; Gabin *babu* ‘father’; Gisiga *baba* ‘father’; Buduma *baabei* ‘father’; Mubi *baaba* ‘father’. Proto-Omotic **baba* ‘father’ > Bench / Gimira *baba* ‘ancestors’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:42, no. 165, **bab*- ‘father’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **baba* ‘father’: Georgian *babua*- ‘grandfather’; Laz *baba*- ‘father, dad’; Mingrelian *baba*- ‘father, dad’; Svan *baba*- ‘dad’. Klimov 1964:47 **baba*-; Schmidt 1962:94.
C. (?) Indo-European: Palaic (nom. sg.) *pa-a-pa-aš* ‘father’ (the phonetics are uncertain — Melchert [1994a:191] reconstructs Proto-Anatolian **bába*-).
D. (?) Etruscan *papa* ‘grandfather’, *papals*, *papacs* ‘of the grandfather: grandson’ (the phonetics are uncertain).

Sumerian *ba-ba-a* ‘old man’.

Buck 1949:2.31ff. words for family relationship, p. 94 **papa*, **appa*, **baba* ‘father’ or ‘old man’; 2.35 father. Note: Nursery words cannot be used to establish genetic relationship. Nevertheless, they are part of the vocabulary of every language and should be reconstructed wherever possible.

4. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **baaba* ‘child, babe’ (nursery word):

A. Proto-Afrasian **ba(a)b*- ‘child’: Proto-Semitic **bāb*- ‘child, babe’ > Akkadian *bābu* ‘child, baby’; Arabic *bābūs* ‘child, young of an animal, foal’. D. Cohen 1970— :40. Lowland East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *baabuu* ‘child’. East Chadic: Mubi *bobu* ‘child’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:42, no. 166, **bab*- ‘child’.
B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *pāpa* ‘small child’; Telugu *pāpa* ‘infant, babe, child’, *pāpāḍu* ‘boy’; Parji *pāp* ‘child, babe, young of animals’; Gadba (Ollari) *pāp* ‘child, young one, small one (of articles)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 364, no. 4095.
C. Proto-Indo-European **$b^hāb^ho$*- ‘babe, child’: Old Irish *báb* ‘baby, girl’, *bábán* ‘baby’; Middle English *baban*, *babe*, *babi* ‘babe, baby’; Middle

High German *buobe* ‘boy’; Old Czech *bábě* ‘little girl, doll’; Czech *bábenec* ‘youngster’. Pokorny 1959:91 **ba$^{x}$b-*, **bha$^{x}$bh-*, **pa$^{x}$p-*, 91 **baba-*; Walde 1927—1932.II:105—106 **baba*, 107 **ba$^{x}$b-*, **bha$^{x}$bh-*, **pa$^{x}$p-*; Mann 1984—1987:59 **bhābhos*, *-ā*, *-ōn*, *-i̯os* ‘child, baby’; Watkins 1985:4 **baba-*; Onions 1966:67; Klein 1971:66.

5. Proto-Nostratic root **bad-* (~ **bəd-*):
(vb.) **bad-* ‘to split, to cleave, to separate, to divide’;
(n.) **bad-a* ‘split, crack, breach, opening’

   A. Proto-Afrasian **bad-* ‘to split, to cleave, to separate’: Proto-Semitic **bad-ak’-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Hebrew *beðeḳ* [בֶּדֶק] ‘breach, fissure’; Aramaic *bəðaḳ* ‘to penetrate, to break through’, *biðḳā* ‘breach (of a dike, etc.)’; Akkadian *badāḳu* ‘to cleave, to split’; Ugaritic *bdḳ-t* ‘openings, sluices’ (?); Geez / Ethiopic *bedeḳ* [ቤዴቅ], *bedaḳ* [ቤደቅ] ‘cracks in a wall, wall about to collapse’ (Hebrew loan [cf. Leslau 1987:87]). Klein 1987:64; Murtonen 1989:106; D. Cohen 1970— :46. Proto-Semitic **bad-ad-* ‘to split, to divide, to separate’ > Hebrew *bāðað* [בָּדַד] ‘to be separated, isolated, alone’, *bað* [בַּד] ‘part, piece, portion’; Phoenician *bdd* ‘to be separate’; Arabic *badda* ‘to divide, to separate, to spread’; Sabaean *bdd* ‘to distribute, to share out’; Ḥarsūsi *abdōd* ‘to separate, to sever’; Mehri *abdēd* ‘to separate’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *bedd* ‘to separate’; Geez / Ethiopic *badada* [በደደ], *badda* [በደ] ‘to detach, to separate, to make single’. D. Cohen 1970— :44—45; Klein 1987:63; Murtonen 1989:105; Leslau 1987:86; Tomback 1978:44. Cushitic: Bilin *bid-* ‘to open’; Beja / Beḍawye *bā́do* ‘furrow’; Sidamo *bad-* ‘to differentiate, to separate’, *bad-am-* ‘to be different’. Hudson 1989:351; Leslau 1987:86. Proto-Omotic **bad-* ‘to split, to cut (wood)’ > Kefa *bad* ‘to split, to cut (wood)’; Mocha *badda-* ‘to split, to cut (wood)’ (Leslau 1987:86 gives the Mocha form as *bādda(ye)* ‘to split wood’). Orël—Stolbova 1995:43, no. 171, **bad-* ‘to separate’.
   B. Dravidian: Gondi *paṛa han-* ‘to break (intr.)’; Koṇḍa *paḍ-* ‘to burst out, to be broken with a crackling sound’, *paṭ-* ‘to break’; Pengo *paḍ-* (*paṭṭ-*) ‘to break (intr.)’, *paṭ-* ‘to break (tr.)’; Manḍa *paḍ-* ‘to break (intr.)’; Kuwi *paḍ-* ‘to break, to split, to crack (intr.)’, *paṭ-* ‘to smash’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:345, no. 3854.
   C. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$ed$^{h}$-/*b$^{h}$od$^{h}$-* ‘to prick, to pierce, to dig’: Hittite (3rd sg.) *píd-da-i*, *pád-da-i* ‘to dig’; Latin *fodiō* ‘to dig’; Gaulish *bedo-* ‘canal, ditch’; Welsh *bedd* ‘grave’; Lithuanian *bedù*, *bèsti* ‘to dig, to bury’, *badaũ*, *badýti* ‘to pierce, to gore’; Old Church Slavic *bodǫ*, *bosti* ‘to stick, to prick’. Rix 1998a:51—52 **b$^{h}$ed$^{h}$-* ‘to stab, to dig’; Pokorny 1959:113—114 **bhedh-* ‘to stab, to dig’; Walde 1927—1932.II:188 **bhodh-*; Mann 1984—1987:67 **bhedō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to stab, to dig, to bury’, 88 **bhod-* ‘to stab; point, probe’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:154 **b[$^{h}$]ed[$^{h}$]-/*b[$^{h}$]od[$^{h}$]-* and 1995.I:133 **b$^{h}$ed$^{h}$-/*b$^{h}$od$^{h}$-* ‘to dig’; Watkins 1985:6 **bhedh-* (*o*-grade

form **bhodh-*) and 2000:8 **bhedh-* ‘to dig’ (*o*-grade form **bhodh-*); De Vaan 2008:229; Mallory—Adams 1997:159 **bhedh-* ‘to dig, to burrow’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:243; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:521—522; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:41; Smoczyński 2007.1:57 **b$^{h}$ed$^{h}$h$_{2}$-e-*; Puhvel 1984— .9:66—69 **bhedh-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:624—626.

D. Proto-Eskimo **paðə* ‘opening or entrance’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *pai* ‘opening, mouth (of thing)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *pai* ‘opening, mouth (of thing)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *payə* ‘opening, mouth (of thing)’; Central Siberian Yupik *paya* (pl. *payət*) ‘opening, mouth (of thing)’; Sirenik *paca* ‘opening, mouth (of thing)’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *paa* ‘entrance, opening, mouth’; North Alaskan Inuit *paa* ‘entrance, opening, mouth’; Western Canadian Inuit *paa* ‘entrance, opening, mouth’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *paa* ‘entrance, opening, mouth’; Greenlandic Inuit *paaq* ‘opening, entrance, mouth, manhole of kayak’. Cf. Aleut *haðɣ-iX* ‘channel, narrow entrance to bay’, *haðɣa* ‘its channel’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:245.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pətkə(ŋtæt)-* ‘to burst’ > Chukchi *pətkəntet-* ‘to burst, to explode’, *rə-pətk-ew-* ‘to hit the target, to plunge in (something sharp)’, *pətk-ew-* ‘to burst, to be pierced by something sharp’; Kerek *pəttəntaat-* ‘to burst, to explode’; Koryak *pətkəŋtat-* ‘to burst, to explode’; Alyutor *pətk-at-* ‘to shoot’. Fortescue 2005:225. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **pətqə-* ‘to hit or bang’: Chukchi *pətqat-* ‘to slap (with hand or water)’; Koryak *pətqet-* ‘to crash, to bang, to hurt oneself’, *pətqəcij-* ‘to beat, to do something many times’; Alyutor *pətqat-* ‘to tumble’, *pətqəsir-* ‘to bang, to knock’, *nə-pətqə-qin* ‘unstable’, *pətqav-* ‘to hurt oneself’, *mal-pətqat-* ‘to tumble’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *əm-ptka-kas* ‘to hit with all one’s might’. Fortescue 2005:225—226.

Sumerian *bad* ‘to open up, to spread wide, to be wide apart, to separate; to untie, to unravel, to reveal’, *bad*, *bad-rá*, *bad-da* ‘open(ed), spread wide; remote’.

Buck 1949:8.22 dig; 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 12.23 separate (vb.); 12.232 divide; 12.24 open (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:214, no. 18; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 171, **bed[ê]* ‘to pierce, to prick’ also, no. 174b, **bad[V]XV* ‘to be open’.

6. Proto-Nostratic root **bad-* (~ **bəd-*):
(vb.) **bad-* ‘to waste, to dissipate, to squander’;
(n.) **bad-a* ‘dissipation, waste, wasteland, desolated area’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **bad-aw/y-* ‘(vb.) to be desolate, to lay waste; (n.) desert, wasteland’ > Arabic *badw* ‘desert’; Epigraphic South Arabian **bdw*, *bdt* ‘open country’; Geez / Ethiopic *badwa* [በድወ], *badawa* [በደወ]

‘to be a desert, to be a wasteland, to be desolate’, *badaya* [በደየ] ‘to be a desert’, *ʔabdawa* [አብደወ], *ʔabdaya* [አብደየ] ‘to lay waste, to devastate’, *badā* [በዳ] ‘desert, wasteland’, *bədəw* [ብድው] ‘desolate, deserted, laid waste’, *badw* [በድው] ‘desert, wasteland, wilderness, uncultivated area, desolated place, desolation’; Tigrinya *bädäwä*, *bädäyä* ‘to become a desert’, *bäda*, *bädu* ‘desert’; Tigre *bäda* ‘to perish’, *ʔabda* ‘to destroy’, *bädu* ‘fallow ground’, *bädäb* ‘desert’; Amharic *bäda*, *bädəw* ‘uncultivated land, desert’; Gurage *bäda* ‘uncultivated field, plain, meadow’. D. Cohen 1970— :45; Leslau 1987:87—88; Zammit 2002:90—91. Proto-Semitic **bad-ad-* ‘to waste, to squander’ > Akkadian *badādu*, *buddudu* ‘to waste, to squander’. D. Cohen 1970— :44.

B. Dravidian: Gondi *paṭe* ‘small field for cultivation’; Pengo *baṭa* ‘a field on the hills’; Manḍa *baṭa* ‘field’; Kuwi *baṭa* ‘pasture’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:346, no. 3874.

C. Altaic: Manchu *bada* ‘dissipation, waste’, *badala-* ‘to squander, to dissipate, to waste’.

7. Proto-Nostratic root **bad-* (~ **bəd-*):
(vb.) **bad-* ‘to occur, to happen, to experience, to endure; to cause to endure, to make to suffer, to oppress’;
(n.) **bad-a* ‘experience, happening, trouble, distress, suffering, oppression’
Derivative:
(n.) **bad-a* ‘need, want, lack, deprivation’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **bad-al-* ‘to be afflicted with pain, to suffer; to inflict pain, to cause harm’ > Arabic *badhala* ‘damage’ (that is, *bdl* with augmented *h*), *badila* ‘to suffer from pain in the hands or joints’; Sabaean *bdl* ‘injury, disease’; Geez / Ethiopic *badala* [በደለ] ‘to do wrong, to commit an injustice, to inflict (pain)’; Tigrinya *bäddälä* ‘to mistreat, to offend’; Amharic *bäddälä* ‘to mistreat, to offend’; Argobba *beddäla* ‘to mistreat, to offend’; Gafat *biddälä* ‘to mistreat, to offend’; Gurage *bäddälä* ‘to mistreat, to offend’. D. Cohen 1970— :45; Leslau 1979:132 and 1987:86.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *paṭu* (*paṭuv-*, *paṭṭ-*) ‘to occur, to happen, to come into being, to rise (as a heavenly body), to occur to mind, to hit or strike against, to touch, to be caught (as fishes, birds, or other game), to suffer, to endure, to dash against’, *pāṭu* ‘coming into being, happening, experience, condition, nature, industry, business, concern or affair, affliction, suffering, place, situation’; Malayalam *paṭu* ‘what happens, is common’, *pāṭu* ‘suffering or damage, possibility, place, situation, nature’, *peṭuka* (*peṭṭ-*) ‘to happen, to be in, to belong to’; Kota *poṛ-* (*poṭ-*) ‘to experience (emotion), to be caught, to seem good’; Toda *poṛ-* (*poṭ-*) ‘to suffer, to experience’; Kannaḍa *paḍu* (*paṭṭ-*) ‘to get, to obtain, to catch, to undergo, to experience, to feel, to suffer’, *paḍuvike* ‘getting, experiencing’, *paḍal*

'incurring or suffering', *paḍe* '(vb.) to get, to undergo, to experience, to acquire, to obtain; to procreate, to bear; (n.) getting, etc.', *pāḍu*, *pāṭu* 'getting, obtaining, suffering, trouble, state, manner, fitness, likeness'; Koḍagu *paḍ-*, (*paḍuv-*, *paṭṭ-*) 'to suffer, (something) hits, (thorn) runs in'; Tuḷu *paḍeyuni*, *paḍevuni* 'to suffer, to feel, to experience, to enjoy'; Telugu *paḍu* 'to feel, to enjoy, to suffer; to be possible'; Kolami *paḍ-* (*paṭṭ-*) '(wound) is gotten, (eye) is filled with dust, (turn in game) is won, become (loose, dusk, bald)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:345, no. 3853.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$b^hed^h$-/*$b^hod^h$- (lengthened-grade *$b^hēd^h$-/*$b^hōd^h$-) '(vb.) to press, to force, to drive away, to repel, to remove; to force asunder; to harass, to pain, to trouble, to grieve, to vex; to suffer annoyance or oppression; (n.) trouble, distress, suffering, oppression': Sanskrit *bādhate* 'to press, to force, to drive away, to repel, to remove; to force asunder; to harass, to pain, to trouble, to grieve, to vex; to suffer annoyance or oppression', *bādhyate* 'to be pressed; to be acted upon, to suffer', (causative) *bādhayate* 'to oppress, to harass, to attack, to trouble, to vex', *bādhá-ḥ* 'annoyance, molestation, affliction, obstacle, distress, pain, trouble; injury, detriment, hurt, damage', *bādhanā* (f.) 'uneasiness, trouble, pain'; Pāḷi *bādhati* 'to oppress, to hinder', *bādhita-* 'oppressed'; Prakrit *bāhaï* 'to prevent, to hurt'; Oriya *bājibā* 'to hurt, to pain (tr.)'; Lithuanian *bėdà* 'trouble, misfortune'; Latvian *bẽda* 'sorrow, grief, distress'; Old Church Slavic *běda* 'distress, need, necessity'; Czech *bída* 'poverty, misery'; Polish *bieda* 'poverty, misery'; Serbo-Croatian *bijèda* 'grief, mistortune'; Slovenian *bẹ́da* 'misery'; Bulgarian *bedá* 'misfortune, misery'; Russian *bedá* [беда] 'misfortune, calamity; trouble'. Note: The Baltic and Slavic forms are phonologically and semantically ambiguous — they are usually derived from Proto-Indo-European *$b^heyd^h$- 'to persuade, to compel, to confide' (cf. Pokorny 1959:117 **bheidh-*), but they could just as well be from Proto-Indo-European *$b^hēd^h$- (cf. Derksen 2008:38—39). Rix 1998a:53—54 *$b^heh_1d^h$- 'to press hard'; Walde 1927—1932.II: 140 (**bhēdh-*); Mann 1984—1987:59 **bhādh-* 'to hurt, to sicken, to repel, to nauseate'; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:38; Smoczyński 2007.1:52 *$b^heh_1d^h$-; Turner 1966.I:520; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:425—427 and II:434—435.

Buck 1949:16.12 emotion, feeling; 16.31 pain, suffering.

8. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bad-a* 'need, want, lack, deprivation' (> 'hunger'):
Derivative of:
(vb.) **bad-* 'to occur, to happen, to experience, to endure; to cause to endure, to make to suffer, to oppress';
(n.) **bad-a* 'experience, happening, trouble, distress, suffering, oppression'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *paṭṭi̲ṉi* ‘fasting, abstinence, starvation’; Malayalam *paṭṭini*, *paṭṭiṇi* ‘privation of food, starvation’; Kota *paṭu·ṇy* ‘hunger’; Koḍagu *paṭṭaṇi* ‘starvation’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:346, no. 3872.
B. Indo-European: Lithuanian *bãdas* ‘hunger, starvation’, *badù*, *badĕti* ‘to die of starvation’; Latvian *bads* ‘dearth, hunger’. Smoczyński 2007.1:39—40; Mann 1984—1987:88 **bhodh-* ‘pang, pain’; Derksen 2015:75; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:29. Note: The alleged Greek cognates cited by Mann cannot possibly be related to the Baltic forms.

Buck 1949:5.14 hunger (sb.). Bomhard 1996a:225, no. 638.

9. Proto-Nostratic root **bad-* (~ **bəd-*):
(vb.) **bad-* ‘to fall down, to lie down; to decay, to weaken; to perish’;
(n.) **bad-a* ‘lying down, fall, sleep, ruin’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bad-* ‘(vb.) to fall down, to lie down; to decay, to weaken; to perish; (n.) lying down, fall, sleep, ruin’: Semitic: Arabic *bāda* (*byd*) ‘to perish, to die, to pass away, to become extinct’; T̲amūdic *byd* ‘to pass away’, *bd* ‘(vb.) to perish; (n.) loss, ruin’. Syriac *bāð* (*bwd*) ‘to perish’. Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *badbada* [**በድበደ**] ‘to perish, to disappear, to decay, to weaken, to get sick, to die, to get rusty’. D. Cohen 1970— :44, 50, and 61; Leslau 1987:86. Egyptian *bdš* ‘to become faint, weak, exhausted’, *bdšt* ‘weakness’. Hannig 1995:266; Erman—Grapow 1921:51 and 1926—1963.1:487; Faulkner 1962:86; Gardiner 1957:564. Berber: Tuareg *əbdəh* ‘to be out of wind, to be no longer able’, *zəbbədəh* ‘to run out of breath’; Ghadames *əbdəz* ‘to be faint, weak, tired’, *abəddəz* ‘weakeness, faintness, tiredness’, *amabduz* ‘faint, weak, tired’. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *badar-* ‘to tire, to become tired’. Hudson 1989:351.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *paṭu* (*paṭuv-*, *paṭṭ-*) ‘to perish, to die, to set (as a heavenly body), to rain’, *paṭu* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to lay horizontally, to pave, to spread out (as bedding), to kill, to cast down, to fell, to lie down to sleep’, *paṭu* ‘base, low’, *paṭai* ‘bed, layer, stratum’, *pāṭu* ‘lying prostrate, fall, sleep, death, ruin, loss, disaster’; Malayalam *paṭuka* ‘to fall, to sink’, *paṭukka* ‘(vb.) to lay stones, to build (chiefly a wall, tank), to urinate, to lie down; (n.) bed’, *paṭuppu*, *paṭappu* ‘bed, mat’; Kota *paṛ-* (*paṭ-*) ‘to lie down, to sleep’; Toda *poṛ-* (*poṭ-*) ‘to lie down, to lose (teeth, of children)’, *poṛy* ‘sleeping-place (in song)’; Kannaḍa *paḍu* (*paṭṭ-*) ‘to lie down, to set (as the sun), to be spent (as the day), to have sexual intercourse, to die’, *paṭi* ‘downfall, ruin’; Koḍagu *paḍ-* (*paḍuv-*, *paṭṭ-*) ‘to lie fallow’; Telugu *paḍu* ‘to fall, to lie, to recline, to sleep’, *paḍuka* ‘bed, bedding’; Naikṛi *paṛ-* (*paṭṭ-*) ‘to fall’, *parp-* ‘to make to fall’, *part-* ‘to fell (a tree)’; Parji *paḍ-* (*paṭṭ-*) ‘to fall, to sink down, to set (sun)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:344—345, no. 3852.

C. Indo-European: Proto-Germanic **baðjaz* ‘sleeping place’ > Gothic *badi* ‘bed’; Old Icelandic *beðr* ‘bolster, featherbed’; Norwegian *bed* ‘bed’; Swedish *bädd* ‘bed’; Old English *bedd* ‘bed, couch, resting place’; Old Frisian *bed* ‘bed’; Old Saxon *bed*, *beddi* ‘bed’; Old High German *betti* ‘bed’ (New High German *Bett*); Dutch *bed* ‘bed’. Orël 2003:32 Proto-Germanic **þaðjan*; Kroonen 2013:46 Proto-Germanic **baðja-* ‘bed, bedding’; Feist 1939:73; Lehmann 1986:55; De Vries 1977:29; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:49—50; Onions 1966:84; Klein 1971:75; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:71; Kluge—Seebold 1989:80; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:33—34. See also Mallory—Adams 1997:57.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 7.42 bed; 10.23 fall (vb.). Bomhard 1996a:225, no. 637.

10. Proto-Nostratic root **bad-* (~ **bəd-*):
(vb.) **bad-* ‘to bring into being, to bring forth; to bring into action, to initiate, to instigate, to activate, to originate’;
(n.) **bad-a* ‘creation, initiation, origination’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bad-* ‘to bring into being, to bring forth; to initate, to instigate, to activate, to originate’: Proto-Semitic **bad-aʕ-* ‘to bring into being, to bring forth; to initate, to produce, to create’ > Arabic *badaʿa* ‘to introduce, to originate, to start, to do (something) for the first time; to create; to achieve unique, excellent results; to invent, to contrive, to devise, to think up’, *badʿ* ‘innovation, novelty; creation’, *bidʿa* ‘innovation, novelty; heretical doctrine, heresy; (pl.) creations (of fashion, art)’, *mubdiʿ* ‘producing, creating’; Tigre *bədʿ* ‘sudden action’. D. Cohen 1970— :46; Zammit 2002:90. Proto-Semitic **bad-aʔ-* ‘to begin, to start’ > Hebrew *bāðāʾ* [בָּרָא] ‘to devise, to invent, to fabricate, to concoct’; Aramaic *bəðā* ‘to invent, to fabricate’; Arabic *badaʾa* ‘to begin, to start; to arise, to spring up, to crop up’, *badʾ*, *badʾa* ‘beginning, start’, *mabdaʾ* ‘beginning, start, starting point; basis, foundation; princple’, *mabdaʾī* ‘original, initial; fundamental, basic’; Sabaean *bdʾ* ‘beginning, first occasion’; Ḥarsūsi *bedō* ‘to begin’, *abed* ‘to start, to start up’; Mehri *əbtōdi* ‘to begin’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *bédéʾ* ‘to begin’; Soqoṭri *bédəʾ* ‘to begin’. D. Cohen 1970— :44; Klein 1987:63; Zammit 2002:90. Berber: Kabyle *əbdu* ‘to begin’ (this may be an Arabic loan). Chadic: Ngizim *bàdìitú* ‘to begin, to begin doing’; Mubi *badaa* ‘to begin’ (these may be Arabic loans). Orël—Stolbova 1995:43—44, no. 172, **badaʔ-* ‘to begin’.
B. Dravidian: Malto *paṛge* ‘to stir up, to incite’; Brahui *paṛēfing* ‘to instigate, to provoke’. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:345, no. 3861.
C. Kartvelian: Georgian *da-bad-eb-a* ‘to produce, to create; to bear, to bring forth, to be born’. Fähnrich 2007:45 **bad-*. Fähnrich also compares Svan *li-bd-e* ‘to pour something (in or out)’.

Buck 1949:4.72 bear (of mother); 14.25 begin; beginning.

11. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bag-a* ‘goat, sheep’:

    A. Proto-Afrasian **bag-* ‘goat, sheep’: Proto-Berber **bag-*, **bagag-* ‘calf, lamb, ram’ > Nefusa *bγu* ‘calf’; Ayr *a-bagag* ‘ram’; Ahaggar *a-baγaγ* ‘lamb’; Tawlemmet *a-bagag* ‘ram’. Central Cushitic: Bilin *bäggā́* ‘sheep’; Xamir *bega* ‘sheep’; Xamta *biga* ‘sheep’; Kemant *bäga* ‘sheep’; Quara *bagā* ‘sheep’. Appleyard 2006:121 Proto-Northern Agaw **bäg-a*; Reinisch 1887:71. Cushitic loans in: Geez / Ethiopic *baggəʿ* [**በግዕ**] ‘sheep, ram’; Tigre *bəgguʿ* ‘sheep’; Tigrinya *bägʿi* ‘sheep’; Amharic *bäg* ‘sheep’; Gafat *bäg* ‘sheep’; Argobba *bägi* ‘sheep’. Leslau 1987:88. Omotic: Kefa *bagee* ‘sheep’; Bworo *baggoo* ‘sheep’. Central Chadic **bag-* ‘sheep’ > Gude *baga* ‘sheep’; Fali Jilvu *bəga* ‘sheep’; Fali Bwagira *bəgə-n* ‘sheep’; Bachama *m-baga-te* ‘sheep’; Fali Mubi *bəgə* ‘sheep’. East Chadic **bag-* (pl.) ‘goats’ > Sibine *bage* ‘goats’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:44, no. 173, **bag-* ‘goat, sheep’.
    B. Proto-Kartvelian **bag-* ‘stall, pen’: Georgian *baga-* ‘crib, manger’; Mingrelian *boga-* ‘the ground of a stall or a pen’; Laz *boga* ‘sheep and goat pen’; Svan *bag* ‘cattle-shed’. Klimov 1964:48 **baga-* and 1998:6 **baga-* ‘sheep-pen, goat-pen; floor of pen; crib’; Fähnrich 1994:224 and 2007:44 **bag-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:41—42 **bag-*.
    C. (?) Indo-European: Norwegian *bagg* ‘year-old calf’; Swedish *bagge* ‘ram’.

    Buck 1949:3.25 sheep; 3.26 ram; 3.27 wether; 3.28 ewe; 3.29 lamb; 3.36 goat.

12. Proto-Nostratic root **bag-* (~ **bəg-*):
    (vb.) **bag-* ‘to tie or bind together’;
    (n.) **bag-a* ‘collection of things bound together: bunch, bundle, pack’

    A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *bağd* ‘troop of people, of horses (100 and more)’. D. Cohen 1970— :42.
    B. Dravidian: Tamil *pakku* ‘bag’; Malayalam *pākku* ‘bag’; Koḍagu *pa·kki* ‘bag (in songs)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:361, no. 4049.
    C. Indo-European: Old Icelandic *baggi* ‘pack, bundle’; Norwegian (dial.) *bagge* ‘pack, bundle’; Middle English *bagge* ‘bag’ (Scandinavian loan). De Vries 1977:22; Hoad 1986:31; Klein 1971:67; Onions 1966:68. Note: Origin uncertain, though Celtic origin has been proposed — similar forms are found in Romance (cf. Old French *bague* ‘bundle’, *baguer* ‘to tie up’; Spanish *baga* ‘rope used to tie packs onto animals’).
    D. (?) Proto-Eskimo **paɣuɣ-* ‘to fasten down with pegs’: Alutiiq Alaskan Eskimo *pauk-* ‘frame supporting roof of deadfall’; Central Alaskan Yupik *pauɣ-* ‘to put a post in the ground’, *pauk*, *pauɣun* ‘post, pole’; Central Siberian Yupik *paɣutə-* ‘to pound a stake into the ground’; Sirenik *paɣutə-*

‘to pound a stake into the ground’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *pauɣaq* ‘peg, tent stake’; North Alaskan Inuit *pauk-* ‘to stake to the ground’, *pauɣaq* ‘big stake’; Western Canadian Inuit *pauk-* ‘to fasten with a peg, to ram in a stake’, *pauɣaq* ‘peg for tent’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pauɣuaq* ‘peg’; Greenlandic Inuit *paaɣ-* ‘to fasten with a peg’, *paaɣuaq* ‘guard holding sealing bladder in place on kayak’, *paaɣut* ‘peg’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:246.

Buck 1949:13.19 multitude, crowd; 13.192 Note on words for collective body (of persons, animals, or things).

13. Proto-Nostratic root **bah-* (~ **bəh-*):
(vb.) **bah-* ‘to shine’;
(n.) **bah-a* ‘brilliance, brightness, splendor, beauty; light’; (adj.) ‘shining, bright, radiant’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bah-* ‘to shine’: Proto-Semitic **bah-ar-* ‘to shine’ > Hebrew *bāhīr* [בָּהִיר] ‘bright, brilliant (of light)’; Arabic *bahara* ‘to glitter, to shine’; Aramaic *bəhar* ‘to shine’. Proto-Semitic **bah-aw-* ‘to be beautiful, shining, brilliant’ > Arabic *bahā* ‘to be beautiful, to shine with beauty’, *bahīy* ‘beautiful, splendid, brilliant, radiant, shining’. Proto-Semitic **bah-ag-* ‘to be shining, beautiful, bright, brilliant; to rejoice’ > Arabic *bahiğa* ‘to be glad, happy’, *bahuğa* ‘to be beautiful’, *bahğa* ‘splendor, magnificence, beauty’; Tigre *bähagä* ‘to rejoice’. Zammit 2002: 102. Proto-Semitic **bah-ak’-* ‘to shine, to be white’ > Hebrew *bōhaḳ* [בֹּהַק] ‘a harmless eruption on the skin, vitiligo’; Aramaic *bəhaḳ* ‘to shine’; Arabic *bahaḳ* ‘herpetic eruption, a mild form of leprosy’; Ḥarsūsi *behōḳ* ‘having uncolored (white) blotches on the skin’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *bhɔḳ* ‘white patches on the skin’. D. Cohen 1970— :47 and 49; Klein 1987:65; Murtonen 1989:107. Central Chadic: Dghwede *ɓiya* ‘light’; Lame Pewe *buwo* ‘lightning’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:88, no. 364, **bVhVw-* ‘to shine’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **$b^h$eh-* [**$b^h$ah-*]/**$b^h$oh-* > **$b^h$ā-*/**$b^h$ō-* ‘to be bright, shining; to bring to light, to cause to appear; to make clear’: Sanskrit *bhā́ti* ‘to shine, to be bright, to be luminous; to be splendid or beautiful; to be conspicuous or eminent; to appear, to seem; to show one’s self, to manifest any feeling; to be, to exist’; Avestan *bānu-* ‘splendor’; Greek φάω ‘to give light, to shine’, φᾱνός ‘light, bright, joyous’, φαίνω ‘to bring to light, to cause to appear; to make known, to reveal, to disclose; to make clear; to show forth, to display; to set forth, to expound; to inform against one, to denounce; to give light, to shine; to come to light, to be visible, to appear; to come into being; to come about; to appear to be’, φάος, φῶς ‘light, daylight; light of the eyes’ (pl. φάεα ‘eyes’); Old Irish *bán* ‘white’; Old English *bōnian* ‘to polish’. Rix 1998a:54—55 **$b^h$e$h_2$-* ‘to glisten, to shine’; Pokorny 1959:104—105 **bhā-*, **bhō-*, **bhə-* ‘to glisten’; Walde

1927—1932.II:122—123 **bhā-*; Watkins 1985:5 **bhā-* (contracted from **bhaə̯-*) and 2000:7 **bhā-* 'to shine' (oldest form **bheə̯$_2$-*, colored to *bhaə̯$_2$-*, contracted to **bhā-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:513 **bheh$_2$-* 'to shine'; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:7—11 **b$^h$eh$_2$-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1168—1170 **bhā-* (= **bheə̯$_2$-*) and II:1170—1172; Frisk 1970—1973.II:992—994 and II:989—991; Boisacq 1950:1010—1011 **bhā-* and 1014—1015; Beekes 2010.II:1545—1546 **bheh$_2$-* 'to light, to shine'; Hofmann 1966:389—390 **bhā-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:493—494.

Buck 1949:15.56 shine; 16.22 joy; 16.81 beautiful. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:216, no. 20; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 179, **beha* (or **bäha*) 'to shine, to be bright'.

14. Proto-Nostratic root **baħ-* (~ **bəħ-*):
(vb.) **baħ-* 'to make noise';
(n.) **baħ-a* 'noise, sound; voice'

A. Proto-Afrasian **baaħ-* 'voice': Egyptian *bḥn* 'to bark, to bay, to bellow'. Hannig 1995:258; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:469. Proto-Southern Cushitic **baaħ-* 'to shout, to cry, to yell' > Alagwa *baḥus-* 'to shout'; Ma'a *-boha* 'to bark'. Ehret 1980:136. Proto-Chadic **ba* 'mouth' > Hausa *baa-kii* 'mouth'; Bole *bo* 'mouth'; Zaar *vi* 'mouth'; Daba *ma* 'mouth'; Lamang *ewe* 'mouth'; Musgu *ma* 'mouth'; Dangla *bii* 'mouth'; Sokoro *bo-* 'mouth'. Newman 1977:29, no. 88. Ehret 1995:81, no. 7, **baaḥ-* 'voice'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *pāṭu* (*pāṭi-*) 'to sing, to chant, to warble, to hum', *pāṭal* 'versifying, song', *pāṭi* 'singer, tune', *pāṭṭu* 'singing, song, music', *pā* 'verse, stanza, poem', *pāvalar* 'poets'; Malayalam *pāṭuka* 'to sing', *pāṭi* 'tune', *pāṭṭu* 'singing, song, poem'; Kota *pa·ṛv-* (*pa·ṛd-*) 'to make noise (crow, bees, gun)', *pa·ṭ* 'song'; Toda *po·ṛ-* (*po·ṛy-*) 'to sing (the song called *po·ṭ*)', *po·ṭ-* (*po·ṭy-*) 'to shout'; Kannaḍa *pāḍu* 'to sing'; Telugu *pāḍu* 'to sing, to chant, to warble', *pāṭa* 'singing, song'; Kolami *pa·ḍ-* (*pa·ḍt-*) 'to sing'; Naikṛi *pāṛ-* 'to sing'; Parji *pāḍ-* 'to sing', *pāṭa* 'song, story, word, language'; Gadba (Ollari) *pār-* 'to sing', *pāṭe* 'word, speech, pronunciation'; Kuṛux *pāṛnā* 'to sing'; Malto *páṛe* 'to sing, to bewail'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:361, no. 4065; Krishnamurti 2003:147 **pā-ṭ-*, **pā-ṯ-* 'to sing'.

C. Proto-Indo-European **b$^h$eḫ̯ḫ̯-* [**b$^h$aḫ̯ḫ̯-*]/**b$^h$oḫ̯ḫ̯-* > **b$^h$ā-*/**b$^h$ō-* 'to say, to speak': Greek (Doric) φᾱμί 'to declare, to make known; to say, to affirm, to assert', φήμη (Doric φάμα) 'a voice from heaven, a prophetic voice; an oracle'; Latin *fārī* 'to say, to speak'; Old English *bōian* 'to boast'; Russian Church Slavic *bajati* 'to tell, to heal'. Rix 1998a:55 **b$^h$eh$_2$-* 'to speak'; Pokorny 1959:105—106 **bhā-* 'to speak'; Walde 1927—1932.II:123—124 **bhā-*; Mann 1984—1987:61—62 **bhāi̯ō*, **bhāmi* 'to utter, to

declare, to make known'; Watkins 1985:5 **bhā-* (contracted from **bhaə̯-*) and 2000:7 **bhā-* 'to speak' (oldest form **bheə̯$_2$-*, colored to *bhaə̯$_2$-*, contracted to **bhā-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:535 **bheh$_a$-* 'to speak'; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1194—1196 **bh(e)ə̯$_2$-*; Boisacq 1950:1024—1025; Hofmann 1966:396—397 **bhā-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1009—1010 **bhā-*; Beekes 2010.II:1566—1567 **b$^h$eh$_2$-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:525—526; Ernout—Meillet 1979:245—246; De Vaan 2008:231; Orël 2003:52 Proto-Germanic **ƀōniz*; Kroonen 2013:72 Proto-Germanic **bōni-* 'request, prayer'.

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *paajuu-* 'to foretell', *paajuujiiče* 'prophet'. Nikolaeva 2006:341.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say.

15. Proto-Nostratic root **baħ-* (~ **bəħ-*):
(vb.) **baħ-* 'to cut, to cut off, to strike';
(n.) **baħ-a* 'cut, strike, blow'

A. Proto-Afrasian **baħ-* 'to cut, to cut off, to strike': Semitic: Arabic *baḥara* 'to cut (camel's ear)'. D. Cohen 1970— :56—57. Arabic *baḥaza* 'to strike'. D. Cohen 1970— :56. Egyptian *bḥn* 'to cut off, to wound; to drive off'. Erman—Grapow 1921:49 and 1926—1963.1:468; Faulkner 1962:83; Hannig 1995:258. Proto-Southern Cushitic **baħ-* 'to kill (animal)' > Asa *bahat* 'trap'; Dahalo *ɓaḥ-* 'to kill'. Ehret 1980:136. West Chadic **baHar-* 'to cut' > Tangale *bɛr* 'to cut'; Galambu *ɓar* 'to cut'. Ehret 1995:81, no. 6, **baḥ-* 'to strike with a blade or point'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:47, no. 188, **baḥar-*/**baḥir-* 'to cut, to tear'.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *pāy* 'to butt, to gore, to knock against'; Tuḷu *hākuni* 'to beat, to strike'; Naiki (of Chanda) *pāk-*/*pāg-* 'to beat, to shoot'; Gondi *pāy-*, *pāyānā*, *pānā*, *painā* 'to beat, to strike', *pā-*/*pāy-* 'to beat, to strike, to shoot', *pēhc-* 'to strike, to play on a drum, to clap (hands)'; Pengo *pāg-* (*pākt-*) 'to strike, to kill'; Manḍa *pāg-* 'to kill'; Kui *pāga* (*pāgi-*) 'to attack, to fight'; Kuwi *pāy-*, *paĭnai* 'to strike, to kill', *paiyali* 'to hit, to kill', *pay-* 'to beat, to kill'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:360, no. 4044.

C. Proto-Indo-European **b$^h$eḫ͡ḫ-w/u-* [**b$^h$aḫ͡ḫ-w/u-*] > **b$^h$ă̯w/u-* 'to beat, to strike': Latin *battuō* 'to beat, to knock' (Gaulish loan), *fūstis* 'stick, staff, cudgel, club'; Old Icelandic *bauta* 'to beat', *beysta* 'to beat, to thresh'; Old English *bēatan* 'to beat, to clash together; to tramp, to tread on', *bītel*, *bȳtel* 'mallet, hammer'; Old High German *bōz(z)an* 'to beat'. Rix 1998a:66 **b$^h$eu̯d-* 'to strike'; Pokorny 1959:111—112 **bhāt-*, **bhət-* 'to strike' and 112 **bhă̯u-*, **bhŭ-* 'to beat, to strike'; Walde 1927—1932.II:125—127 **bhaut-* (?), **bhŭt-* and II:127 **bhaud-*, **bhŭd-*; Mann 1984—1987:67 **bhatus*, **bhatu̯o-* 'fight', 67 **bhatu̯os* 'stupid', 68 **bhaudō*, *-i̯ō* 'to beat, to chastise'; Watkins 1985:6 **bhau-* and 2000:8 **bhau-* 'to strike' (oldest

form **bheə̯₂u-*, colored to *bhaə̯₂u-*, contracted to **bhau-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:549 **bheud-* ‘to strike, to beat’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:68; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:99 **bhăt-*; De Vries 1977:29 and 34; Onions 1966:83; Klein 1971:75 **bhat-*.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat).

16. Proto-Nostratic root **bak$^{h}$-* (~ **bək$^{h}$-*):
(vb.) **bak$^{h}$-* ‘to declare, to utter, to announce, to assert, to proclaim’;
(n.) **bak$^{h}$-a* ‘declaration, utterance, announcement, assertion, proclamation’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *pakar* ‘to tell, to utter, to declare, to say, to announce, to pronounce, to publish’, *pakarcci* ‘speech, utterance, word’; Telugu *pagaṭu* ‘to announce’. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:340, no. 3804.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **bak-* ‘to boast, to brag, to show off’: Georgian *bak-i* ‘boasting, bragging’, *bak-ia* ‘boaster, braggart’, *bak-ia-ob-a* ‘to boast, to brag, to show off’; Mingrelian *buk-ul-a* ‘boaster, braggart, show-off’, *buk-ul-ob-a* ‘boasting, bragging’, *a-buk-ar-i* ‘boaster, braggart’; Svan *li-bāk-e* ‘to waste one’s time, to amount to nothing’, *bak*, *bäk* ‘lie, fib’. Fähnrich 2007:53 **bak-*.

Buck 1949:18.43 announce; 18.45 boast (vb.).

17. Proto-Nostratic root **bak’-* (~ **bək’-*):
(vb.) **bak’-* ‘to cleave, to split, to break open’;
(n.) **bak’-a* ‘crack, split, break’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bak’-* ‘to cleave, to split, to break open’: Proto-Semitic **bak’-aʕ-* ‘to cleave’ > Hebrew *bāḳaʿ* [בָּקַע] ‘to cleave, to break open or through’; Aramaic *bəḳaʿ* ‘to cleave’; Ugaritic *bḳʿ* ‘to split’; Geez / Ethiopic *baḳʷʿa* [በቀዐ] ‘to scratch, to tear, to scrape, to rake’; Tigre *bäḳʿa* ‘to be sharp (knife)’, *(ʾ)bḳəʿa* ‘to sharpen’. D. Cohen 1970— :78; Klein 1987:81; Leslau 1987:100; Murtonen 1989:118. Proto-Semitic **bak’-ar-* ‘to split open’ > Arabic *baḳara* ‘to split open, to rip open, to cut open’; Hebrew *bāḳar* [בָּקַר] ‘to inquire, to seek’; Sabaean *bḳr* ‘to bore, to excavate’. D. Cohen 1970— :79; Murtonen 1989:118; Klein 1987:81. Proto-Semitic **bak’-ak’-* ‘to split, to break open’ > Hebrew *bāḳaḳ* [בָּקַק] ‘to lay waste’; Geez / Ethiopic *baḳḳa* [በቀ] ‘to split, to break up (clods of earth)’; Amharic *bäḳḳäḳä* ‘to open’; Gurage *bʷäḳäḳa* ‘crack in the ground after the rainy season’. D. Cohen 1970— :79; Klein 1987:81; Murtonen 1989:118. Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *baḳbaḳa* [በቅበቀ] ‘to cultivate the soil’; Amharic *bäḳäbbäḳä* ‘to break the soil’. D. Cohen 1970— :79; Leslau 1987:100 and 101. Proto-Semitic **bak’-aw-* ‘to separate, to split, to open, to break, to cut’ > Geez / Ethiopic *baḳawa* [በቀወ] ‘to separate, to

split, to open, to break, to cut, to be wide open'. D. Cohen 1970— :79; Leslau 1987:101. Egyptian *bqy* 'to open', (?) *bq* 'to be hostile, rebellious', (?) *bqbq* 'rebelliousness'. Hannig 1995:262—263 and 263; Faulkner 1962:85; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:479. Proto-East Cushitic **bak'*- 'to crush' > Afar *bak*- 'to crush'; Somali *baq*- 'to curdle'; Galla / Oromo *bak'*- 'to melt', *bak'ak'*- 'to crack'; Burji *bak'*- 'to split'. Sasse 1979:48 and 1982:32. Orël—Stolbova 1995:50, no. 200, **baḳ*- 'to cut, to split'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *paku* (*pakuv*-, *pakk*-) 'to be split, divided; to be at variance; to be separated; to divide; to distribute; to apportion', *pakir* 'to divide into shares, to distribute, to break, to split, to separate', (with nasal infix) *paṅku* 'share, portion, part, half'; Telugu *pagulu* 'to break, to crack, to go to pieces, to burst'; Tuḷu *pagiyuni* 'to split, to rend, to fall in pieces, to give way'; Manḍa *pak*- 'to split (firewood)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 340—341, no. 3808.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **bek'*- 'to trample down': Georgian *bek'-n*- 'to trample down'; Mingrelian *bak'*- 'to trample down'; (?) Svan *li-bek'* 'to press close'. Klimov 1998:11 **beḳ*- 'to trample down'; Fähnrich 2007:57 **beḳ*-. Assuming semantic development from 'to break, to smash, to crush (under foot)'.

D. Proto-Indo-European **b$^h$ek'*-/**b$^h$ok'*- 'to cut or split apart, to break apart', (with nasal infix) **b$^h$enk'*-/**b$^h$onk'*-: Sanskrit *bhanákti* 'to break, to shatter'; Armenian *bekanem* 'to break'; Old Irish *bongid* 'to break, to reap'. Rix 1998a:52 **b$^h$eg*- 'to break'; Pokorny 1959:114—115 **bheg*-, **bheng*- 'to break, to smash'; Walde 1927—1932.II:149—151 **bheng*-, **bheg*-; Mann 1984—1987:69 **bheg*- 'to break, to pierce'; Mallory—Adams 1997:81 **bheg*- 'to break'; Watkins 1985:6 **bheg*- and 2000:8 **bheg*- 'to break'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:141 **b[$^h$]ek'*-; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:469 **bheg*-, **bheng*-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:6 **b$^h$eg*-. Proto-Indo-European **b$^h$ak'*- 'to divide, to distribute': Sanskrit *bhájati* 'to divide, to distribute, to receive, to enjoy'; Avestan *bag*- (*bažaṯ*) 'to distribute'; Greek φαγεῖν 'to eat, to devour'; Tocharian A *pāk*, B *pāke* 'part, portion'. Rix 1998a:51 **b$^h$ag*- 'to share out, to apportion'; Pokorny 1959:107 **bhag*- 'to apportion'; Walde 1927—1932.II:127—128 **bhag*-; Mann 1984—1987:60 **bhag*-, **bhāg*- 'to enjoy; enjoyment', 61 **bhāĝos* 'part, share'; Watkins 1985:5 **bhag*- and 2000:7 **bhag*- 'to share out, to apportion, to get a share'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:141 (fn. 1) **b[$^h$]ak'*- and 1995.I:121 (fn. 62), I:132 (fn. 2), **b$^h$ak'*- 'share, portion'; Mallory—Adams 1997:161 **bhag*- 'to divide, to distribute'; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:1—2 **b$^h$ag*-; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:462—463; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1167—1168; Frisk 1970—1973.II:979—980; Beekes 2010.II:1543 **b$^h$(e)h$_2$g*-; Hofmann 1966:388 **bhag*-; Boisacq 1950:1010 **bhag*-; Adams 1999:363—364 and 2013:388—389 (possibly a borrowing from Iranian) **b$^h$eh$_a$go-* ~ **b$^h$ago*-; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:636 (Indo-Iranian loans).

E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pakka-* ‘to burst, to rend, to split’ > Finnish *pakku-* ‘to burst, to rend, to split’, *pakahtu-* ‘to burst, to break (intr.), to rend, to split (intr.)’; Vogul / Mansi *pokat-* ‘to open, to come out, to blossom’; Hungarian *fakad-* ‘to spring, to ooze, to blossom’. Collinder 1955:105 and 1977:120; Rédei 1986—1988:349—350 **pakka-*.

F. Proto-Altaic **baka-* ‘to divide’: Proto-Tungus **baK-* ‘to separate, to break, to divide bread’ > Evenki *bakla* ‘to separate’; Lamut / Even *bēkъl* ‘to separate’; Nanay / Gold (dial.) *baqta-* ‘to break, to divide bread’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:323 **baka* ‘to divide’.

G. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **pakak-* ‘to knock into’ > Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *pakaq-* ‘to knock against and break’; Greenlandic Inuit *pakaɣ-*, *pakamiɣ-*, *pakammiɣ-* ‘to happen to jostle’; Northwest Greenlandic *pakki-* ‘to parry a thrust, to jostle so as to make miss aim, to tackle’; East Greenlandic *pakki-* ‘to slap’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:247.

H. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pako-* ‘to strike, to knock’ > Chukchi *pako-* ‘to flick, to give a filip (on the forehead) to someone’; Koryak *pako-* ‘to touch or knock against, to cut into’. Fortescue 2005:207 **pako-* ‘to flick’ (?).

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.); 19.52 enemy. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:217—218, no. 22; Hakola 2000:130, no. 565.

18. Proto-Nostratic root **bal-* (~ **bəl-*):
(vb.) **bal-* ‘to be or become dark, obscure, blind’;
(n.) **bal-a* ‘darkness, obscurity, blindness’; (adj.) ‘dark, obscure, blind’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bal-* ‘(vb.) to be blind; (adj.) blind’: Coptic *blle* [ⲃⲗⲗⲉ] ‘blind’. Vycichl 1983:27; Černý 1976:23. Proto-East Cushitic **balʕ-*/**ballaʕ-* ‘blind, one-eyed’ > Burji *balʾ-áa* ‘blind’; Sidamo *balʾ-icca* ~ *ball-icca* ‘blind’; Gedeo / Darasa *ball-eʾ-* ‘to be blind’; Harso *pallaʿ-akko* ‘blind’; Galla / Oromo *balla-a* ‘blind’. Sasse 1982:33; Hudson 1989:28. Proto-Southern Cushitic **balaʕ-* ‘blind’ > K’wadza *balangayo* ‘blind person’. Ehret 1980:320. Orël—Stolbova 1995:51—52, no. 204, **bal-* ‘eye, eyelid; blind’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **bʰlendʰ-*/**bʰlondʰ-*/**bʰlm̥dʰ-* ‘to make blind, to be blind’: Gothic *blinds* ‘blind’, **gablindjan* ‘to make blind’, **afblindnan* ‘to become blind’; Old Icelandic *blinda* ‘to blind’, *blindr* ‘blind’, *blunda* ‘to shut the eyes’, *blundr* ‘dozing, slumber’; Old English *blendan* ‘to blind, to deceive’, *blind* ‘blind’; Old Frisian *blind* ‘blind’; Old Saxon *blind* ‘blind’; Old High German *blint* ‘blind’ (New High German *blind*); Lithuanian *blendžiù*, *blę̃sti* ‘to become dark’; Old Church Slavic *blędǫ*, *blęsti* ‘to go blindly’. Pokorny 1959:157—158 **bhlendh-* ‘dim, reddish’; Walde 1927—1932.II:216 **bhlendh-*; Rix 1998a:73—74 **bʰlendʰ-* ‘to become blurred, murky, confused’; Mann 1984—1987:82 **bhlendhō* ‘to mix, to

confuse, to dazzle', 84 **bhlm̥dh-* 'to confuse, to deceive, to err; confusion, error', 84 **bhlondh-* 'to confuse, to stir, to mix, to blur, to deceive'; Watkins 2000:9 **bhel-* 'to shine, to flash, to burn; shining white and various bright colors'; Mallory—Adams 1997:147 **bhlendh-* 'to be/make cloudy'; Orël 2003:48 Proto-Germanic **ƀlenđaz*; Kroonen 2013:69 Proto-Germanic **blinda-* 'blind'; Lehmann 1986:75—76 **bhlendh-* 'to be or make cloudy'; Feist 1939:100; De Vries 1977:44 and 45; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:53—54; Onions 1966:100 **bhlendhos*; Klein 1971:85 **bhlendh-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:84; Kluge—Seebold 1989:92; Derksen 2008:44; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:47—48; Smoczyński 2007.1:63—64.

C. Altaic: Mongolian *balai* 'dark, obscure, ignorant; intellectually or morally blind, stupid', *balaira-* 'to become blind; to become dark or obscure; to grow dim', *balar* 'dark, obscure, blind, unclear, ignorant; primitive, primeval; thick, dense, impenetrable', *balara-* 'to become obscure or dark, to blur, to become effaced; to become illegible; to become embroiled, confused', *balaraŋγui* 'dark, ignorant; darkness, obscurity, obscuration, stupidity', *balarqai* 'obscured, dark, blurred, indistinct, illegible'; Manchu *balu* 'blind'. Note: Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:339) include the Mongolian forms under Proto-Altaic **belo* 'pale'.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pəlmə-* '(to be) dark from snow or rain' > Chukchi *pəlməpəlm* 'darkness from falling snow or rain', *pəlm-at-* 'to be dark from falling snow or fog', *ləla-pəlmə-lʔən* 'blind, with poor vision'; Kerek *iŋaa-pəlmən* 'snow storm', *pəlʲməlla-lʁan* 'short-sighted'. Fortescue 2005:222.

Buck 1949:4.97 blind. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:175, no. 6, **balʌ* 'blind'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:208—209, no. 13; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 200, **baLʕV* 'blind'.

19. Proto-Nostratic root **bal-* (~ **bəl-*):
(vb.) **bal-* 'to well up, to surge, to overflow, to pour over';
(n.) **bal-a* 'outpour, downpour, surge, flow'

A. Proto-Afrasian **bal-* 'to flow, to overflow, to pour over': Proto-Semitic **bal-al-* 'to overflow, to pour over' > Hebrew *bālal* [בָּלַל] 'to anoint, to moisten (with oil), to pour (oil on someone)'; Phoenician *bll* 'a type of offering'; Arabic *balla* 'to moisten, to wet, to make wet', *billa*, *balal* 'moisture, humidity', *ball* 'moistening, wetting; moisture'; Old Akkadian *balālum* 'to pour out'; Sabaean *bll* 'wet, moist'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *eblél* 'to give (animals) their fill'; Geez / Ethiopic *balla* [በለ] 'to moisten, to wet, to immerse in liquid'; Tigre *bäläl* 'to be full, to overflow, to flow, to rain'. Murtonen 1989:112; D. Cohen 1970— :67—68; Klein 1987:75; Leslau 1987:96. Proto-Semitic **ba/wa/l-* 'to make water, to urinate' > Arabic *bāla* 'to make water, to urinate', *bawl* 'urine'. D. Cohen 1970— :51. Proto-

Semitic **wa-bal-* ‘to flow, to rain’ > Arabic *wabala* ‘to shed heavy rain’, *wabl* ‘downpour’, *wābil* ‘heavy downpour; hail, shower’; Hebrew *yāβāl* [יָבָל] ‘watercourse, stream’, *ʔūβāl* [אוּבָל] ‘stream, river’, *yūβal* [יוּבַל] ‘stream’; Amharic *wäbälo* ‘heavy rain’; Gurage (Ežа) *wäbär* ‘strong rain with wind’. Murtonen 1989:210; D. Cohen 1970— :485—486; Klein 1987:253; Leslau 1979:641. Berber: Tuareg *bəlulu* ‘to be very runny’, *ssəbəlulu* ‘to make very runny’. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **bal-* ‘to be wet’, **bale* ‘well’ > Sidamo *bale* ‘well’, (pl.) *balla* ‘springs, wells’; Gedeo / Darasa *bale(essa)* ‘well’, *ba’lessa* ‘fall, season of small rains’. Hudson 1989:60 and 165—166. Ehret 1995:84, no. 13, **bal-* ‘to wet’.

B. (?) Kartvelian: Svan *li-bēl-e* ‘to cause something to swell up, to swell up’. This is usually derived from Proto-Kartvelian **ber-* ‘to blow, to inflate’ (cf. Klimov 1964:50 and 1998:11; Fähnrich 2007:57—58). To account for the Svan form, Vogt (1939:133) proposed an alternative reconstruction, **bāl-*. However, Klimov (1998:11) rejects this.

C. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$l-ew-*/**b$^{h}$l-ow-*/**b$^{h}$l-u-* ‘to overflow, to pour over, to flow’: Greek φλέω ‘to abound, to team with abundance’, φλύω, φλύζω ‘to boil over, to bubble up’; Latin *fluō* ‘to flow’, *flūmen* ‘running water, stream, river’; Old Church Slavic *bljujǫ* ‘to vomit’. Rix 1998a:74—75 **b$^{h}$leu̯H-* ‘to overflow’; Pokorny 1959:158—159 **bhleu-* ‘to blow up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:212—214 **bhleu-*; Mann 1984—1987:85 **bhleu̯ō* ‘to blow, to bellow, to belch, to gush’, 86 **bhluu̯ō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to well up, to surge, to gush’; Watkins 1985:9 **bhleu-* and 2000:12 **bhleu-* ‘to swell, to well up, to overflow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:561 **bhleu-* ‘to swell, to overflow’; De Vaan 2008:228; Ernout—Meillet 1979:241—243 **bhleu-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:519—521 **bhleug$^{u̯}$-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1212 and II:1216 **bhl-eu-*; Frisk 1970—1971.II:1025—1026; Boisacq 1950:1030; Hofmann 1966:400 **bhleu-*; Beekes 2010.II:1568 **b$^{h}$leu-*. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$l-ey-t’-*/**b$^{h}$l-oy-t’-*/**b$^{h}$l-i-t’-* ‘to swell up, to overflow’: Greek φλιδάω ‘to overflow with moisture, to be ready to burst’, (Hesychius) φλοιδέω, φλοιδιάω ‘to seethe’; English *bloat* ‘to swell’. Rix 1998a:72 **b$^{h}$leid-* ‘to swell up, to overflow’; Pokorny 1959:156 **bhleid-* ‘to blow up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:211 **bhleid-*; Mann 1984—1987:85 **bhloid-* ‘to seethe, to swell’; Mallory—Adams 1997:71 **bhlei-* ‘to become inflated’; Watkins 1985:9 **bhlei-* and 2000:12 **bhlei-* ‘to blow, to swell’; Frisk 1970—1971.II:1027—1028; Boisacq 1950:1031; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1213—1214 **bhl-ei-*; Hofmann 1966:401 **bhlei-d-*; Beekes 2010.II:1579—1580 **b$^{h}$lid-*; Orël 2003:47 Proto-Germanic **blaitōjanan*; Onions 1966:100—101; Klein 1971:86 **bhlei-d-*. Some of these words may belong with Proto-Nostratic **bul-* (~ **bol-*) ‘to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate’ instead.

D. Altaic: Mongolian *balbai-* ‘to swell, to bulge’.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pəlʁə(lʁæt)-* ‘to flow’ > Chukchi *pəlʾəlʾet-* ‘to flow’, *pəlʾə-lʾen* ‘current, stream’; Kerek *pəlʁalɣaat-* ‘to flow’; Koryak *pəlʁəlʁet-* ‘to flow (water)’, *pəlʁə-lʁən* ‘current’. Fortescue 2005:223.

Sumerian *bal* ‘to pour out; to scoop out (water); to overflow, to spill’.
Buck 1949:10.32 flow (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:193—194, no. 29, **bʌlHʌ* ‘to blow, to inflate’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:205—206, no. 10.

20. Proto-Nostratic root **bal-* (~ **bəl-*):
(vb.) **bal-* ‘to bite, to eat’;
(n.) **bal-a* ‘bite, morsel’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bal-* ‘(vb.) to bite, to eat; (n.) bite’: Proto-Semitic **bal-aʕ-* ‘to eat, to swallow, to gulp down’ > Arabic *balaʿa* ‘to swallow, to gulp down’, *balʿa* ‘large bite, big gulp’, *balʿama* ‘to swallow greedily’; Hebrew *bālaʿ* [בָּלַע] ‘to swallow, to gulp down’; Aramaic *bəlaʿ* ‘to swallow’; Mehri *bōla* ‘to swallow’; Ḥarsūsi *bōla* ‘to swallow’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *bélaʿ* ‘to swallow’; Geez / Ethiopic *balʿa* [በልዐ] ‘to eat, to consume, to devour’; Tigre *bälʿa* ‘to eat’; Tigrinya *bälʿe* ‘to eat’; Amharic *bälla* ‘to eat’; Gafat *bällä* ‘to eat’; Harari *bälaʾa* ‘to eat’; Gurage (Selṭi) *bäla*, (Soddo) *bälla* ‘to eat’, (Selṭi) *bīli* ‘food’. D. Cohen 1970— :68—69; Leslau 1979:138 and 1987:94—95; Zammit 2002:100—101; Murtonen 1989:113. Cushitic: Bilin *bälʿ-* ‘to eat’, *belǎʿ* ‘food, nourishment’; Saho *balaʾ* ‘to eat’ (according to Leslau 1987:95, the preceding Cushitic forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic). Reinisch 1887:78. Beja / Beḍawye *bála* ‘throat’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:52, no. 208, **bal-aʕ-* ‘to eat, to swallow’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *pal* ‘tooth’, *pallan* ‘man with long or large teeth’, *palli* ‘woman with large or long teeth; a kind of harrow’; Malayalam *pal*, *pallu* ‘tooth’; Kota *pal* ‘tooth’; Kannaḍa *pal* ‘tooth’; Koḍagu *pallï* ‘tooth’; Tuḷu *paru* ‘animal’s tooth’; Telugu *palu*, *pallu* ‘tooth’; Kolami *pal* ‘tooth (especially front tooth)’; Naikṛi *pal* ‘tooth’; Naiki (of Chanda) *pal* ‘tooth’; Gadba (Salur) *pallū* ‘tooth’; Gondi *pal* ‘tooth’; Konḍa *pal* ‘tooth’; Manḍa *pal* ‘tooth’; Kuwi *pallū*, *pallu*, *palu* ‘tooth’; Kuṛux *pall* ‘tooth’; Malto *palu* ‘the teeth’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3986; Krishnamurti 2003:46, 108, and 196 **pal* ‘tooth’.
C. Proto-Uralic **pala-* ‘(vb.) to bite, to eat; (n.) bite, bit, morsel’: Finnish *pala* ‘fragment, bit, crumb’; Estonian *pala* ‘fragment, bit, crumb’; Lapp / Saami *buola* ‘small piece, bit’; Mordvin *pal* ‘small piece, bit’; (?) Cheremis / Mari *pultəš* ‘morsel, bit’; Vogul / Mansi *puul* ‘piece, bit, morsel’; Ostyak / Xanty *puł*, (Southern) *pul* ‘piece; mouthful (of food), morsel, crumb (of bread or other food)’, *pulem-* ‘to devour’; Hungarian *fal-* ‘to eat, to devour’, *falat* ‘morsel’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *paale-* ‘to devour’; Selkup Samoyed *poly-* ‘to devour’. Collinder 1955:46—46 and

1977:64; Décsy 1990:105 **pala* ‘(n.) a bit, a bite; (vb.) to eat’; Rédei 1986—1988:350 **pala*; Janhunen 1977b:116.

D. Altaic: Mongolian *balγu-* ‘to swallow, to gulp’, *balγu* ‘mouthful, gulp, swallow’; Manchu *bilχa* ‘throat’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:344.

E. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **ləpəlo-* ‘to gnaw or bite’: Chukchi *nalpəlo-* ‘to gnaw’; Koryak *pəlo-* ‘to gnaw, to lick around’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *pəl-kas* ‘to bite (for example, dog)’. Fortescue 2005:165—166; Mudrak 1989b:101 **lpəlo-* ‘to bite’. Note also: Proto-Chukotian **pəl-* (or **ləpəl-*) ‘to drink (up)’ > Chukchi *pəl-* ‘to drink (up)’, *ɣe-lpə-lin* ‘drunk’; Kerek *pəl-* ‘to drink’; Koryak *pəl-* ‘to drink (up)’; Alyutor *pəl-*, *-lp-* ‘to drink’, *ina-lp-at-* ‘to get drunk, to be a drinker’. Fortescue 2005:221. According to Fortescue (2005:165), the relationship, if any, between these two stems is obscure.

Buck 1949:4.27 tooth; 4.58 bite (vb.); 5.11 eat. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:173, no. 4, **balʕ/u/* ‘to swallow’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 201, **baḷ[i]ɣa* (or **baḷ[i]ɣ[U]* ?) ‘(vb.) to swallow; (n.) throat’.

21. Proto-Nostratic root **bal-* (~ **bəl-*):
(vb.) **bal-* ‘to shine, to be bright’;
(n.) **bal-a* ‘glitter, gleam, brightness’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bal-* ‘to shine, to be bright’: Proto-Semitic **bal-ag-* ‘to gleam, to shine’ > Hebrew *bālaγ* [בָּלַג] ‘to gleam, to smile’; Arabic *balağa* ‘to shine, to dawn’, *baliğa* ‘to be happy, glad’, *ʔablağ* ‘bright, clear, gay, serene, fair, beautiful, nice’. D. Cohen 1970— :65; Murtonen 1989:113. Proto-Semitic **bal-ac’-* ‘to sparkle, to glitter’ > Syriac *bəlṣūṣītā* ‘spark’; Geez / Ethiopic *balaṣa* [በለጸ] ‘to sparkle, to glitter’; Tigrinya *bəlläčč bälä*, *bələčəlläčč bälä* ‘to sparkle, to glitter’; Tigre *bäläčč bela*, *bäläčläča* ‘to sparkle, to glitter’; Amharic *bəlläčč alä*, *täbläčälläčä* ‘to shine, to twinkle, to glitter, to sparkle, to dazzle, to flash’; Argobba *bəlläčč alä* ‘to sparkle, to glitter’; Harari *bilič bilič bāya* ‘to scintillate’; Gurage (Wolane) *bəlläč alä* ‘to flash (lightning), to scintillate, to lighten’, (Wolane) *bələčləčtä* ‘lightning’. D. Cohen 1970— :69; Leslau 1963:41, 1979:140, and 1987:97. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **bal-bal-* ‘to blaze’ > Geez / Ethiopic *balbala* [በልበለ], *ʔanbalbala* [አንበልበለ] ‘to blaze, to emit flames, to kindle into a blaze, to let glitter, to flash’, *nabalbāl* ‘flame’; Tigrinya *bälbälä*, *bälbäl*, *bälä*, *tänbälbälä* ‘to flame, to blaze, to flicker’, *näbälbal* ‘flame’; Amharic *tänbäläbbälä*, *tänboläbbolä* ‘to blaze, to emit flames’, *näbälbal* ‘flame’; Gurage (Wolane) *bolbol balä* ‘to flicker, to blaze’. Leslau 1979:139 and 1987:95. Proto-Semitic **bal-bic’-* ‘to gleam, to glitter’ > Neo-Syriac *balbiṣ* ‘to gleam, to glitter’. D. Cohen 1970— :65. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *balak’a* ‘lightning’; Sidamo *belek’ó* ‘lightning’; Kambata *belell-ees-* ‘to reflect (of lightning), to shine’;

Hadiyya *belel-* ‘to reflect, to shine’. Hudson 1989:92 and 122. Proto-Sam **bil-ig-* ‘to flash (lightning)’ > Somali *bilig* ‘sparkling’; Boni *bilikso* ‘lightning’. Heine 1978:54. Perhaps also: Beja / Beḍawye *balōl-* ‘to burn, to flame’, *balṓl* ‘flame’. Reinisch 1895:48. Orël—Stolbova 1995:52, no. 207, **balag-/*balug-* ‘to shine’ (deverbative in Somali *bilig* ‘sparkling’).

B. Dravidian: Tamil (reduplicated) *paḷapaḷa* ‘to glitter, to shine’; Malayalam (reduplicated) *paḷapaḷa* ‘gleaming’, *paḷaṅṅuka* ‘to glitter’; Kannaḍa *paḷakane*, *paḷañce*, *paḷacane*, *paḷaccane* ‘with a glitter, with pure brightness, with a flash; brightness, pureness’; Tuḷu *paḷḷena* ‘to light, to shine’; Telugu (reduplicated) *paḷapaḷa* ‘glitteringly’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:357, no. 4012.

C. Proto-Indo-European **bʰel-/*bʰol-* ‘shining, white’: Sanskrit *bhāla-m* ‘splendor’; Greek φαλός ‘shining, white’; Old Church Slavic *bělъ* ‘white’; Lithuanian *bãlas*, *báltas* ‘white’. Pokorny 1959:118—120 **bhel-*, **bhelə-* ‘glittering, white’; Walde 1927—1932.II:175—176 **bhel-*; Mann 1984—1987:63 **bhal-* ‘white, pale, white-spotted, pallor’, 63 **bhāl-*; Watkins 1985:6 **bhel-* and 2000:9 **bhel-* ‘to shine, to flash, to burn; shining white and various colors’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:496—497; Hofmann 1966:391; Frisk 1970—1973.II:988—989; Beekes 2010.II:1550—1551 **bʰēlH-o-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1176 **bʰºl-*, **bhel-*; Boisacq 1950: 1013—1014. Proto-Indo-European **bʰles-/*bʰlos-* ‘to shine’: Old English *blæse*, *blase* ‘torch, fire’; Old Saxon *blas* ‘white, whitish’; Middle High German *blas* ‘bald’ (originally ‘white, shining’) (New High German *blaß*); Old High German *blassa* ‘white spot’ (New High German *Blesse*). Pokorny 1959:158 **bhles-* ‘to glitter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:217 **bhles-*; Onions 1966:99; Klein 1971:85; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:81—82 and 84 **bhles-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:89—90 and 92. Proto-Indo-European **bʰliyC-/*bʰleyC- > *bʰlīC-/*bʰlēC-* (**bʰliyV-/*bʰleyV-*) ‘to shine’: Old English *blēo* ‘color, appearance, form’, *blīcan* ‘to shine, to glitter’, *blāc* ‘bright, white’; Old Saxon *blī* ‘color’; Old Church Slavic *blědъ* ‘light green, yellow’. Rix 1998a:73 **bʰleiǵ-* ‘to shine’; Pokorny 1959:155—156 **bhlĕi-*, **bhləi-*, **bhlī-* ‘to glitter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:210 **bhlei-*; Mann 1984—1987:83 **bhlīgsō*, *-i̯ō* (**bhlĭ̄ks-*, radical **bhlīg-*) ‘to shine, to flash’, 82 **bhlĕdh-* ‘pale’. Proto-Indo-European **bʰlu-*, **bʰluH- > *bʰlū-* ‘to shine’: Old Icelandic *blys* ‘torch’; Old High German *bluhhen* ‘to burn, to light up’; Old English *blysa* ‘torch, fire’; Middle Irish *blosc* ‘clear, evident’, *bloscad* ‘radiance’; Czech *blčeti* ‘to flash, to blaze’, *blýskati* ‘to lighten, to flash’; Polish *błysk* ‘lightning’. Pokorny 1959:159 **bhlēu-* : **bhləu-* : **bhlū-* ‘to glitter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:214 **bhleu-s-*; Mann 1984—1987:85—86 **bhluk-* ‘to flash, to shine, to turn white’, 86 **bhlus-*, 86 **bhluskos* ‘light, bright, pale’; De Vries 1977:46 **bhleu-s-*. Proto-Indo-European **bʰlek’-/*bʰlok’-/*bʰl̥k’-*, **bʰelk’-/*bʰolk’-/*bʰl̥k’-* ‘to shine’: Sanskrit *bhárgas-* ‘splendor, radiance’; Old Church Slavic *blagъ* ‘good’; Greek φλέγω ‘to burn, to blaze’; Latin *fulgor* ‘lightning’, *flagrō* ‘to blaze,

to burn, to glow'; Old Icelandic *blakkr* 'dusky, black, dun'; Old English *blǣcern*, *blācern* 'lantern', *blæc* 'black'; Old Saxon *blac* 'ink'; Dutch *blaken* 'to burn'; Old High German *blah-*, *blach-* 'black' (in compounds). Rix 1998a:70—71 **b$^{h}$leg-* 'to shine, to glitter, to glisten'; Pokorny 1959:124—125 **bheleg-* 'to glisten'; Walde 1927—1932.II:214—215 **bhleg-*, **bhelg-*; Mann 1984—1987:80 **bhlāĝ-*, *-āi̯ō* 'to burn, to flame', 82 **bhleĝ-* '(adj.) bare, blank; (vb.) to look, to shine'; Mallory—Adams 1997:513 **bhleg-* 'to burn, to shine'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:479—480 **bhel-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1022—1024; Hofmann 1966:399 **bhleg-*; Boisacq 1950:1029 *bheleg-*, **bhleg-*, **bhelg-*; Beekes 2010.II:1575—1577 **b$^{h}$leg-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1208—1210 **bhel-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:510—511 **bheleg-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:238 and 259 **bhleǵ-*; De Vaan 2008:247 **b$^{h}$lg-e/o-*; De Vries 1977:42; Klein 1971:84 **bhleg-*; Onions 1966:97—98.

D. Altaic: Turkish *balkı-* 'to shimmer, to glitter'.

Buck 1949:1.55 lightning; 15.57 bright; 15.64 white; 16.25 laugh (vb.), smile (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:174, no. 5, **balq̇a* 'to flash, to sparkle'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:210—211, no. 15; Möller 1911:25—26 and 29—30.

22. Proto-Nostratic root **ban-* (~ **bən-*):
(vb.) **ban-* 'to pour, to sprinkle, to drip';
(n.) **ban-a* 'a drop (of water, rain, dew, etc.)'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *paṉi* 'to be bedewed, to flow out, to be shed, to rain incessantly, to become cool, to shiver with cold, to tremble, to fear, to spring forth (as tears)', *paṉi* 'dew, chill, cold, tears, rain, mist, fog, haze, trembling, fear', *paṉittal* 'incessant rain', *paṉukku* (*paṉukki-*) 'to sprinkle, to moisten by sprinkling'; Malayalam *pani* 'dew, fever'; *panekka* 'to ooze'; Toda *pony* 'dew'; Kannaḍa *pani*, *hani* '(vb.) to drop; (n.) a drop (of water, dew, etc.)', *haniku* 'to fall in drops', *hanisu*, *haṇisu* 'to pour (as water)'; Koḍagu *pann-* (*panni-*) 'to drizzle'; Tuḷu *pani* 'drizzling rain', *paṇi* 'dew, fog, mist, snow', *panipuni*, *paṇipuni* 'to drizzle, to shower'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:360, no. 4035; Krishnamurti 2003:13 **pan-i-(kil)* 'dew, cold, chill'.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **ban-* 'to wash, to wash oneself': Georgian *a-ban-o* 'bath', *ban-* 'to wash, to wash oneself; to bathe'; Mingrelian *bon-* 'to wash'; Laz *(m)bon-* 'to wash'. Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:46—47 **ban-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:43 **ban-*; Klimov 1964:48 **ban-* and 1998:7 **ban-* 'to wash, to wash oneself'; Schmidt 1962:95. Proto-Kartvelian (past participle) **ban-il-* 'washed': Georgian *banil-* 'washed'; Laz *boner-*'washed'; Mingrelian *bonil-*, *bonir-* 'washed'. Klimov 1998:8 **ban-il-* 'washed'.

C. Indo-European: Middle Cornish *banne*, *banna* ‘a drop’; Breton *banne* (Tréguier *bannec’h*) ‘a drop’. Not related to Sanskrit *bindú-ḥ* (*vindú-ḥ*) ‘a drop, globule, spot’ (cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:430—431).

Buck 1949:9.36 wash. Bomhard 1996a:222, no. 631.

23. Proto-Nostratic root **ban-* (~ **bən-*):
(vb.) **ban-* ‘to separate, to open, to spread’;
(n.) **ban-a* ‘separation, opening, stretch, spread, scattering’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ban-* ‘to separate, to open, to spread’: Proto-Semitic **ban-an-* ‘to spread, to scatter’ > Geez / Ethiopic *banana* [ነነነ] ‘to rise (dust), to ascend (smoke from a fire)’; Harari *bänänä* ‘to be sprinkled’, *biňbiň āša* ‘to scatter’; Amharic *bännänä* ‘to fly here and there (dust, smoke)’; Tigrinya *bänänä* ‘to evaporate’; Gurage (Soddo) *abännänä* ‘to spread, to scatter’. D. Cohen 1970— :72; Leslau 1963:43, 1979:144, and 1987:99. Egyptian *bnbn* ‘to extend, to stretch out’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:459; Hannig 1995:253. Proto-East Cushitic **ban-* ‘to separate, to open’ > Somali *ban*, *ban-n-aan* ‘plain, plateau’, (causative) *ban-n-ay-* ‘to make room’; Bayso *ban-* ‘to open’; Galla / Oromo *ban-* ‘to open’; Konso *pan-* ‘to open’; Gidole *pan-* ‘to spread the legs’; Gedeo / Darasa *ban-* ‘to open’, *ban-em-* ‘to be open’, *ban-ema* ‘(adj.) open’; perhaps Hadiyya *ban-* ‘to separate, to distinguish’; Burji *ban-* ‘to chase away’, *ban-ɗ-* ~ *ban-ʔ-* ‘to put to flight, to be defeated’, *ban-ʔ-a* ‘defeat’, *banɗ-am-* ‘to lose, to be defeated’. Sasse 1982:33; Hudson 1989:49—50 and 108. Perhaps also: Proto-Agaw **bän-* ‘to divide’ > Bilin *bän-* ‘to divide’, *bänǻ* ‘half; part, division; gift; payment’; Xamir *bin-* ‘to divide’; Quara *bän-* ‘to divide’; Awngi / Awiya *ben-* ‘to divide’. Reinisch 1887:80; Appleyard 2006:54. West Chadic **ban-* ‘to open, to uncover’ > Hausa *bányèè* ‘to open, to uncover’. Central Chadic **ban-H-*/**byan-H-* ‘to open’ > Mofu *baŋ*, *beŋ* ‘to open’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:264—265. Orël—Stolbova 1995:53, no. 210, **ban-* ‘field’, no. 212, **ban-* ‘to open’.

B. Kartvelian: Georgian *ben-*/*bn-*, *bnev-*/*bni(v)-* ‘to spread, to scatter, to disperse’.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pančе-* ‘to open’ > Mordvin (Erza) *panžo-* ‘to open’, (Moksha) *pańže-* ‘to open’; Cheremis / Mari (Kozmodemyansk) *pača-* ‘to open’, (Birsk) *poča-* ‘to open’, (Uržum) *poća-* ‘to open’; Ostyak / Xanty *punč-* ‘to open’; Vogul / Mansi (Tavda) *poonš-* ‘to open’, (Lower Konda) *puunš-* ‘to open’, (Pelymka) *punš-* ‘to open’, (Sosva) *puuns-* ‘to open’; (?) Lapp / Saami (Lule) (pred.) *buoʒ'ʒot*, (attr.) *buoʒʒos* ‘naked’. Collinder 1955:106, 1960:413 **pančõ-*, and 1977:120; Rédei 1986—1988:352 **pančе-* ~ **pačе-* ‘to open’; Sammallahti 1988:548 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **påncå* ‘naked, open’.

Buck 1949:12.23 separate (vb.); 12.24 open (vb.). Bomhard 1996a:224—225, no. 635.

24. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **ban-* (~ **bən-*):
(vb.) **ban-* ‘to cut, to strike’;
(n.) **ban-a* ‘cut, wound’

A. Indo-European: Proto-Germanic **banjō* ‘wound’ > Gothic *banja* ‘blow, wound’; Old Icelandic *bani* ‘death’, *ben* ‘mortal wound’, *benja* ‘to wound mortally’, *bana* ‘to kill’, *bend* ‘wound’; Swedish *bane* ‘death, murder’; Old English *benn* ‘wound’, *bana* ‘slayer, murderer’, *bennian* ‘to wound’, *bangār* ‘deadly spear’, *banweorc* ‘homicide, manslaughter’; Old Frisian *bona* ‘murderer’; Old Saxon *beni(-wunda)* ‘wound’, *bano* ‘murderer’; Old High German *bano* ‘murderer’, *bana* ‘murder’. Orël 2003:35—36 Proto-Germanic **ƀanjō*; Kroonen 2013:51 Proto-Germanic **banjō-* ‘wound’; De Vries 1977:32; Feist 1939:80; Lehmann 1986:61; Onions 1966:72; Klein 1971:69. Mann 1984—1987:65 **bhanō* ‘to slay’ — Mann also compares Old Irish *banaim* ‘to cut, to strike, to dig, to kill’. However, this comparison is rejected by Lehmann (1986:61). Note also Avestan (caus.) *bąn-* ‘to make ill, to afflict’ (rejected by Cheung 2007:4 but accepted by Kroonen 2013:51 and Feist 1939:80).
B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pänɜ-* ‘to whet, to sharpen’ > Votyak / Udmurt *penon* ‘grindstone’; Vogul / Mansi *pɔ̈ɔ̈nl-* ‘to grind, to cut, to sharpen’; Hungarian *fen-* ‘to whet, to sharpen; (dial.) whetstone’. Rédei 1986—1988:365 **pänɜ* ‘(vb.) to whet, to sharpen; (n.) whetstone’; Sammallahti 1988:548 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pänV-* ‘to grind’.
C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **pənæ-* ‘to sharpen’: Chukchi *pəne-* ‘to sharpen’, *pəna-kwən* ‘whetstone’; Kerek *pna-* ‘to sharpen’, *pna-kkun* ‘whetstone’; Koryak *pəne-* ‘to sharpen’, *pəna-wwən* ‘whetstone’; Alyutor *pna-* ‘to sharpen’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *pnav-zo-s* ‘to sharpen’, *pnavŏm* ‘whetstone’. Fortescue 2005:223; Mudrak 1989b:104 **pəna-* ‘to sharpen’.
D. Proto-Eskimo **pana* ‘lance’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Kodiak) *panaq* ‘fish spear’, (Kenai Peninsula) *panak* ‘spear’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *pana* ‘spear’; Sirenik *pana* ‘spear’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *pana* ‘long-handled spear’; North Alaskan Inuit *pana* ‘spear, double-edged blade, porcupine quill’; West Canadian Inuit *pana* ‘lance for killing enemies in war’; East Canadian Inuit *pana* ‘snow knife’; Greenlandic Inuit *pana* ‘large knife, sword’, *pana-*, *panaʁ-* ‘to hack with sword’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:249.

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.); 15.78 sharp; 20.26 spear; 20.27 sword.

25. Proto-Nostratic root **ban-* (~ **bən-*):

Extended form:
(vb.) *ban-V-d- ‘to tie, bind, fasten, or twist (together)’;
(n.) *ban-d-a ‘tie, bond’

Note: Only the extended form is attested in the daughter languages.

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *bnd* ‘to wrap, to put on clothing’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:465; Hannig 1995:255. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:194, no. 30, also cites Hebrew *ʾaβnēṭ* [אַבְנֵט] ‘girdle’. However, according to Murtonen (1989:80), Hebrew *ʾaβnēṭ* is a loan from Egyptian (see also Klein 1987:3).
B. Proto-Kartvelian **band-* ‘to interweave, to plait’: Georgian *band-* ‘to interweave, to plait’, *band-ul-i* ‘a type of mountaineering shoe with a braided sole’; Mingrelian *bond-i* ‘interwoven, plaited, braided; braided suspension bridge’; Svan *li-bānd-e* ‘to patch up (some cloth)’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:43—44 **band-*; Fähnrich 2007:47 **band-*; Klimov 1998:7 **band-* ‘to interweave, to plait’. Proto-Kartvelian **bandγ-* ‘to twist, to tie together’: Georgian *bandγ-* ‘to interlace’, (Imeruli) *bandγ-i* ‘spider’s web, cobweb’; Mingrelian *bondγ-* ‘to spin a web’, *bondγ-i* ‘spider’s web’. Klimov 1998:8 **bandɣ-* ‘to twist, to tie together’; Fähnrich 2007:47 **bandγ-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:44 **bandγ-*.
C. Proto-Indo-European **$b^h end^h$-/*$b^h ond^h$-/*$b^h n̥d^h$-* ‘to tie, to bind, to join, to unite’: Sanskrit *badhnā́ti*, *bandhati* ‘to tie, to bind, to fix, to fasten; to bind round, to put on; to catch, to take or hold captive; to arrest, to hold back, to restrain, to suppress, to stop, to shut, to close; to join, to unite; to fold (the hands), to clench (the fist), to knit or bend (the eyebrows), to arrange, to assume (a posture), to set up (a limit), to construct (a dam or a bridge); to form or produce in any way; to cause, to effect, to do, to make, to bear (fruit), to take up (one’s abode)’, (causative) *bandhayati* ‘to cause to bind or catch or capture, to imprison; to cause to be built or constructed; to cause to be embanked or dammed up’, *bandhá-ḥ* ‘binding, tying; a bond, tie, chain, fetter’, *bándhu-ḥ* ‘connection, relation, association’, *baddhá-ḥ* ‘bound, tied, fixed, fastened, chained, fettered; captured, imprisoned, caught, confined; joined, united, tied up, combined, formed, produced; conceived, formed, entertained, manifested, shown, betrayed, visible, apparent; clenched (as a fist), folded (as the hands); built, constructed (as a bridge); embanked (as a river)’, *bandhura-ḥ* ‘bent, inclined; curved, rounded, pleasant, beautiful, charming’; Gothic *bindan* ‘to bind’, *bandi* ‘band, bond’; Old Icelandic *band* ‘band, cord’, *binda* ‘to bind, to tie, to fasten, to tie up’, *benda* ‘to bend’, *benda* ‘band, tie’, *bendi* ‘cord’, *bundin* ‘sheaf (of corn), bundle’, *-byndi* in *handbyndi* ‘encumbrance’; Old English *bend* ‘band, ribbon, chaplet, crown; bond, chain’, *bendan* ‘to bind; to stretch, to bend’, *bindan* ‘to bind, to fetter’, *bund* ‘bundle’, *byndele*, *byndelle*, *bindele*, *bindelle* ‘binding, bandage’; Old Frisian *binda* ‘to bind’,

*bend*, *band* ‘bond, band, fetter’; Old Saxon *bindan* ‘to bind’, *band* ‘bond, band’; Old High German *bintan* ‘to bind’ (New High German *binden*), *binda* ‘bond’ (New High German *Binde*), *bant* ‘ribbon, band, bond’ (New High German *Band*); Middle High German *bunt* ‘band, neckband, collar, waistband’ (New High German *Bund*); Old Irish *bann* ‘bond, belt, hinge, chain, law’; Thracian βενδ- ‘to bind’. Rix 1998a:60—61 *$b^hend^h$- ‘to bind’; Pokorny 1959:127 **bhendh*- ‘to bind’; Walde 1927—1932.II:152 **bhendh*-; Mann 1984—1987:72 **bhendh*- ‘to bind’, 87 **bhn̥dh*- ‘bound, binding’, 92 **bhondhos*, *-ā*, *-i̯os* ‘band, thong, company’; Watkins 1985:7 **bhendh*- and 2000:10 **bhendh*- ‘to bind’; Mallory—Adams 1997:64 **bhendh*- ‘to bind’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:174 *$b[^h]end[^h]$-, *$b[^h]n̥d[^h]$- and 1995.I:150 *$b^hend^h$-, *$b^hn̥d^h$- ‘to tie, to bind’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:406 and II:407; Feist 1939:79 and 93; Lehmann 1986:60—61 and 71; Orël 2003:35 Proto-Germanic **ƀanđan*, 35 **ƀanđilaz*, 35 **ƀanđjan*, 35 **ƀanđjō*, 41 **ƀenđanan*; Kroonen 2013:51 Proto-Germanic **bandī*- ‘bond, fetter’ and 64 **bindan*- ‘to bind’; De Vries 1977:25, 32, 65, and 67; Klein 1971:69, 82—83 **bhendh*-, and 88; Onions 1966:72, 95, 106, and 126; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:49; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:48, 78 **bhendh*-, and 111; Kluge—Seebold 1989:86 **bhendh*- and 114.

D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **(lə)pənit*- ‘to tie’: Chukchi *pənit*- (medial *-lpənit*-) ‘to tie laces’, *pənit* ‘lace’; Kerek *pcii-twa*- ‘to untie laces’; Koryak (Kamen) *pənit*- (medial *-lpənit*-) ‘to tie laces’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *pons-nom* ‘binding, tying (of footwear)’, *nypint* ‘bundle’. Fortescue 2005:223.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind; 9.75 plait (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:194, no. 30, *$bʌnt̬ʌ$ ‘to bind’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 214, **bæñt̬V* (~ **bæñdV* ?) ‘to tie’; Bomhard 1981b:398, §3.14, G.

26. Proto-Nostratic root **bar*- (~ **bər*-):
(vb.) **bar*- ‘to swell, to puff up, to expand’;
(n.) **bar-a* ‘swelling, bulge, increase’
Derivatives:
(vb.) **bar*- ‘to bristle (up), to stand on end’;
(n.) **bar-a* ‘bristle, point, spike’
(vb.) *bar*- ‘to blow’;
(n.) * *bar-a* ‘wind’
(vb.) **bar*- ‘to be thick, bushy, shaggy; to be coarse, rough, harsh’
(n.) **bar-a* ‘roughness, coarseness, harshness; thickness, shagginess’; (adj.) ‘rough, harsh, coarse; thick, shaggy, bushy’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bar*- ‘to swell, to puff up, to expand’: Semitic: (?) Hebrew *bārāʔ* [בָּרָא] ‘to be fat’, *bārīʔ* [בָּרִיא] ‘fat’. D. Cohen 1970— :80; Klein 1987:82. Arabic *barḥ* ‘increase, abundance’. D. Cohen 1970— :83. Proto-Semitic **na-bar*- ‘(vb.) to raise, to elevate; to swell, to become swollen;

(n.) raised or elevated place' > Arabic *nabara* 'to raise, to elevate; to go up with the voice, to sing in a high-pitched voice; to stress, to emphasize, to accentuate; to shout, to yell, to scream, to cry out; to swell, to become swollen', *nabra* 'swelling, protuberance', *mimbar* 'pulpit, chair (of a teacher); platform'; Geez / Ethiopic *manbar* [መንበር] 'seat, chair, base, socle, residence, dwelling, high place, pulpit, throne, see (of bishop), altar on which the ark rests, session, office, function, state, position'. Leslau 1987:383—384. Egyptian *brbr* 'to boil'; Coptic *brbr* [ʙрʙр] 'to boil over'. Hannig 1995:256; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:466; Vycichl 1983:30; Černý 1976:26. Berber: Ghat *abər* 'to boil', *sibər* 'to make to boil'; Nefusa *awər* 'to boil'; Ghadames *abər* 'to boil', *ubbər* 'boiling water'; Mzab *abər* 'to boil', *ssibər* 'to make to boil'; Kabyle *bbərbər* 'to be boiled, to be boiling (for example, boiling with anger)', *sbbərbər* 'to boil'. East Cushitic: Proto-Sam **bar-ar-* 'to swell' > Somali *barar* 'to swell'; Boni *barer*/*bareera?* 'to swell'. Heine 1978:53. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *barkat-* 'to be abundant'; Kambata *baraat-* 'to multiply', *barg-*'to add (to), to repeat'. Hudson 1989:271 and 309.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *paru* 'to become large, bulky, plump; to swell', *paruppu* 'thickness, largeness', *pariya* 'thick, large, big'; Malayalam *paru* 'gross, big', *parukka* 'to grow bulky, stout', *paruma* 'grossness'; Kannaḍa *hari*, *hariba* 'a mass, multitude', *bardu* 'increase, greatness'; Tuḷu *pariya* 'plenty, exceeding, much'; Telugu *prabbu* 'to increase, to extend, to flourish, to thrive'; Kuṛux *pardnā* 'to grow in number, to increase in quantity, to grow in size or age, to prosper, to succeed, to thrive'; Malto *pathre* 'to grow'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:354, no. 3972. Tamil *paru* 'pimple, pustule, blister', *parukken-* 'to blister'; Malayalam *paru* 'boil, ulcer'; Kui *parngoli* 'sore on the tongue'; Kuwi *bāresi* 'pimple'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:354, no. 3974.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$b^her$-/*$b^hor$-/*$b^hr̥$- (also *$b^har$-) 'to swell, to puff up, to expand, to bristle', *$b^hr̥st^hi$-*s* 'bristle, point' (see below): Old Irish *bairgen* 'bread', *barr* 'top, tip, point, peak'; Welsh *bar* 'top, tip, point'; Gaelic *barr* 'point, top, tip, end, extremity'; Old Breton *barr* 'top, tip, point, peak''; Latin *fermentum* 'leaven, yeast'. Pokorny 1959:108—110 **bhar-*, **bhor-*, **bhr̥-* 'something jutting out', 132— 133 **bher-* 'to well up'; Walde 1927—1932.II:131—133 **bhares-* (?), **bhores-*, II:157—159 **bher-*; Watkins 1985:5 **bhar-* (**bhor-*) and 2000:7—8 **bhars-* (**bhors-*) 'projection, bristle, point'; Mann 1984—1987:115 **bhr̥stis*, *-os* (**bhurst-*, **bhrust-*) 'spike, shoot, twig, bristle'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:61 (fn. 79) *$b^har$- 'bristle'; De Vaan 2008:247. Proto-Indo-European *$b^hrews$-/*$b^hrows$-/*$b^hrus$- '(vb.) to swell; (n.) swelling': Gothic *brusts* 'breast'; Old Icelandic *brjóst* 'the front of the chest, breast'; Swedish *bröst* 'breast'; Norwegian *brjost* 'breast'; Danish *bryst* 'breast'; Old English *brēost* 'breast'; Old Frisian *brust-* 'breast'; Old Saxon *briost* 'breast'; Dutch *borst* 'breast'; Old High German *brust* 'breast' (New High German *Brust*);

Middle High German *briustern* ‘to swell’; Old Irish *brú* ‘belly’; Russian *brjúxo* [брюхо] ‘belly, paunch’. Pokorny 1959:170—171 **bhreu-s-* ‘to swell’; Walde 1927—1932.II:197—198 **bhreus-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:80; Mann 1984—1987:102—103 **bhreus-* ‘chest, front, paunch’; Watkins 1985:9 **bhreus-* and 2000:13 **bhreus-* ‘to swell’; Mallory—Adams 1997:561 **bhreus-* ‘to swell’; Lehmann 1986:82; De Vries 1977:57—58; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:64—65; Onions 1966:117; Klein 1971:93—94; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:105 **bhreus-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:109—110. Proto-Indo-European **$b^hard^heA$* (> **$b^hard^hā$*) ‘beard’: Latin *barba* ‘beard’; Old Icelandic *barð* ‘beard’; Old English *beard* ‘beard’; Old Frisian *berd* ‘beard’; Old Saxon *barda* ‘beard’; Dutch *baard* ‘beard’; Old High German *bart* ‘beard’ (New High German *Bart*); Old Church Slavic *brada* ‘beard’; Lithuanian *barzdà* ‘beard’. Pokorny 1959:110 **bhardhā* ‘beard’; Walde 1927—1932.II:35 **bhardhā* ‘beard’; Mann 1984—1987:65—66 **bhardhā* (**bharsdhā*), *-os* ‘beard’; Watkins 1985:5 **bhardhā* and 2000:7 **bhardh-ā* ‘beard’; Mallory—Adams 1997:251 **bhardh-$eh_a$-* ‘beard’; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:4—6 **$b^har(s)d^h$-o/$ah_2$-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:61 (fn. 79) **$b^hard^hā$* ‘beard’; De Vaan 2008:69; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:96; Ernout—Meillet 1979:66; De Vries 1977:26; Onions 1966:83; Klein 1971:75; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:39—40; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:54; Kluge—Seebold 1989:62. Proto-Indo-European **$b^herw$-/*$b^horw$-/*$b^hr̥w$-*, **$b^hrew$-/*$b^hrow$-/*$b^hru$-* ‘to boil, to bubble up’: Latin *fervō*, *ferveō* ‘to boil, to seethe’; Middle Irish *berbaim* ‘to boil’; Old Icelandic *brauð* ‘bread’, *brugga* ‘to brew’; Swedish *bröd* ‘bread’; Norwegian *braud*, *brød* ‘bread’; Danish *brød* ‘bread’; Old Saxon *breuwan* ‘to brew’; Old English *brēowan* ‘to brew’, *brēad* ‘bread’; Old High German *briuwan* ‘to brew’; New High German *brauen* ‘to brew’, *Bräu* ‘brew’, *Brot* ‘bread’. Rix 1998a:65—66 **$b^her̯u$-* ‘to boil, to seethe’, 80—81 **$b^hreu̯H$-* ‘to boil, to bubble’; Pokorny 1959:143—145 **bh(e)reu-*, **bh(e)rŭ-* ‘to boil, to bubble’; Walde 1927—1932.II:167—169 **bhereu-*, **bheru-*, **bhreu-*, **bhrŭ-*; Mann 1984—1987:75 **bher̯uō* (**bhreu̯ō*) ‘to seethe, to ferment’, 75 **bher̯uos* ‘brewing, brew’; Watkins 1985:9 **bhreu-* and 2000:13 **bhreuə-* (also **bhreu-*) ‘to boil, to bubble, to effervesce, to burn’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:643 **b[$^h$]reu̯-* and 1995.I:553 **$b^hreu$-* ‘to ferment (of beverages), to brew’; Mallory—Adams 1997:76 **bhereu-* ‘to seethe’ and 199 **bhreu-* ‘to brew’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:230; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:487 **bheru-*; De Vries 1977:54 and 60; Onions 1966:115 and 117 **bhreu-*, **bhru-*; Klein 1971:93 and 94; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:96—97 **bh(e)reu-*, **bh(e)rŭ-* and 103 **bh(e)reu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:103 and 107—108. Proto-Indo-European **$b^hrend^h$-/*$b^hrond^h$-/*$b^hrn̥d^h$-* ‘to swell up’: Old Irish *bruinnid* ‘to spring forth, to flow’; Lithuanian *brę́stu*, *bréndau*, *brę́sti* ‘to ripen, to mature’. Pokorny 1959:167—168 **bhrendh-* ‘to swell up’; Rix 1998a:79 **$b^hrend$-* ‘to swell, to swell up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:205 **bhrend(h ?)-*;

Mann 1984—1987:102 **bhrendh-* ‘to be full, to be ripe’. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$rew-*/**b$^{h}$ru-* ‘to sprout, to swell’: Latin *frutex* ‘shrub, bush’; Old High German *briezen* ‘to bud, to sprout, to swell’; Old Irish *broth* ‘whiskers’. Pokorny 1959:169 **bhreu-*, **bhreu-d-* ‘to sprout, to swell’; Mann 1984—1987:106 **bhrud-* ‘excrescent, bulging; excrescence, bulge’, 110 **bhrutos*, *-i̯os* ‘excrescence’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:554 **bhrutós*; Walde 1927—1932.II:195 **bhreu-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:257.

D. Proto-Uralic **parɜ*, **porɜ* (**parwa*, **porwa*) ‘pile, heap; swarm, flock, group’: (?) Finnish *parvi* ‘swarm, flock, shoal, troop’, *parveilla* ‘swarm, flock’; Estonian *parv* ‘ferry-boat; flock, flight; covey, bevy; swarm, shoal; crowd’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *pur* ‘raft’; (?) Zyrian / Komi *pur* ‘raft, ferry’; Vogul / Mansi *påra* ‘raft, ferry’; Ostyak / Xanty *păr* ‘raft; swarm, flock, crowd’. Collinder 1955:46 and 1977:65; Rédei 1984—1988:356—357 **parɜ*, **porɜ* (**parwa*, **porwa*); Sammallahti 1988:547 Proto-Finno-Ugrian (?) **poråwå* ‘loft, raft’; Décsy 1990:105 **parva* ‘pile, group’.

Sumerian *bàr* ‘to spread or stretch out, to lay out’, *bàra* ‘to spread or stretch out’, *bara$_4$* ‘to spread or stretch out, to open wide’.

Buck 1949:4.142 beard; 4.40 breast (front of chest); 4.46 belly, stomach; 10.31 boil (vb. intr.); 12.53 grow (= increase in size). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:198—200, no. 4; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:190—191, no. 24, **bur'a* ‘to boil, to bubble up’; Möller 1911:34; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 254, **baŕʔV* ‘big, much, thick’.

27. Proto-Nostratic root **bar-* (~ **bər-*):
(vb.) **bar-* ‘to bristle (up), to stand on end’;
(n.) **bar-a* ‘bristle, point, spike’
Derivative of:
(vb.) **bar-* ‘to swell, to puff up, to expand’;
(n.) **bar-a* ‘swelling, bulge, increase’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **barʒg-*, **burʒg-* ‘thorn, prickle, bristle’: Georgian *barʒg-i*, *baʒg-i* ‘thorny plant’, (Gurian) *baʒg-i* ‘thorny plant’, *baʒgar-i* ‘tall tree with thorns’, *burʒg-i* ‘thorn’, *burʒg-al-a-i* ‘the prickly shell of a chestnut’; Mingrelian (**borʒg-* >) **burʒg-*, **buʒg-*: *buʒg-a* ‘prickles on the shell of a chestnut’. Note also Georgian *buʒg-* ‘little hedgehog’. Klimov 1998:21 **burʒg-* ‘to bristle (up); to ruffle’, **burʒga-* ‘bristle’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:46 **barʒg-*; Fähnrich 2007:51—52 **barʒg-*. Proto-Kartvelian **burʒg-* ‘to bristle’: Georgian *burʒg-*: *a-burʒg-n-a* ‘to bristle (up), to stand on end (hair, fur, etc.)’; Laz *buʒg-*: *o-buʒg-u*, *o-buʒg-in-u* ‘to bristle (up)’; Mingrelian *buʒg-*, *biʒg-*: *buʒg-u-a*, *biʒg-u-a* ‘to bristle (up)’. Fähnrich 2007:86 **burʒg-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:69 **burʒg-*. As

noted by Fähnrich—Sardshweladse, the question of the relationship between **barʒg-* and **burʒg-* is unclear.

B. Proto-Indo-European **bʰer-/*bʰor-/*bʰr̥-* (also **bʰar-*) 'to bristle (up)', **bʰr̥stʰi-s* 'bristle, point': Sanskrit *bhṛṣṭí-ḥ* 'point, spike'; Latin **fa(r)sti-* in *fastīgium* 'the gable end, pediment (of a roof)'; Old Icelandic *burst* 'bristle(s)', *bursti* 'bristly hair', *burst-ígull* 'hedgehog', *byrsta* 'to furnish with bristles; to cover as with bristles; to bristle up, to show anger'; Norwegian *bust* 'bristle'; Swedish *borst* 'bristle'; Danish *børst* 'bristle'; Old English *byrst* 'bristle', *brord* 'point; first blade of grass, young plant'; Old Saxon *bursta* 'bristle'; Middle Dutch *borstel* 'bristle'; Old High German *burst* 'bristle' (New High German *Borste*); Russian *boršč* [борщ] 'hogweed'. Perhaps also Hittite (nom. sg.) *pár-ša-du-uš* 'leaf'. Pokorny 1959:108—110 **bhar-*, **bhor-*, **bhr̥-* 'something jutting out', 132—133 **bher-* 'to well up'; Walde 1927—1932.II:131—133 **bhares-* (?), **bhores-*, II:157—159 **bher-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:61 (fn. 79) **bʰar-* 'bristle'; Mann 1984—1987:115 **bhr̥stis*, *-os* (**bhurst-*, **bhrust-*) 'spike, shoot, twig, bristle'; Watkins 1985:5 **bhar-* (**bhor-*) and 2000:7—8 **bhars-* (**bhors-*) 'projection, bristle, point'; Mallory—Adams 1997:439 **bhr̥stís* 'point' and 2006:298 **bhr̥stís* 'point'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II: 523—524 *bhr̥s-tí-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:218; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:461—462 **bhₑrsti-*; De Vaan 2008:203—204; Orël 2003:64 Proto-Germanic **ƀurstiz*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:93; De Vries 1977:65 and 68; Onions 1966:119; Klein 1971:95; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:93 **bhers-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:99 **bhr̥s*/**bhares-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:645—646; Puhvel 1984— .8:168—170 **bhr̥stu-*.

Buck 1949:8.56 leaf. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 249, **baRʒV* 'to be uneven, rough; to bristle'.

28. Proto-Nostratic root **bar-* (~ **bər-*):
(vb.) *bar-* 'to blow';
(n.) * *bar-a* 'wind'
Derivative of:
(vb.) **bar-* 'to swell, to puff up, to expand';
(n.) **bar-a* 'swelling, bulge, increase'

A. Proto-Afrasian **bar-* 'to blow': Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **baraʕ-* or **baraʔ-* 'to blow' > Iraqw *barʕas-* 'to blow away'; K'wadza *balatuko* 'bellows'. Ehret 1980:338. Central Chadic **baraw-* 'wind' > Mbara *baraw-ay* 'wind'. East Chadic **(ka-)bar-* 'wind' > Kera *ka-bar* 'wind' (**ka-* prefix). Orël—Stolbova 1995:55, no. 220, **bar-* 'wind'.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **ber-* 'to blow, to inflate, to puff out': Georgian *ber-va* 'to blow, to inflate, to puff out'; Mingrelian *bar-*, *mbar-*, *nbar-* 'to blow, to inflate, to puff out'; Laz *bar-* 'to blow, to inflate, to puff out'; [Svan *li-bēl-*

*e* ‘to cause something to swell up, to swell up’]. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:49—50 **ber-*; Fähnrich 2007:57—58 **ber-*; Klimov 1964:50 **ber-* and 1998:11 **ber-* ‘to blow; to inflate, to distend’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:878 **ber-* and 1995.I:775 **ber-* ‘to blow, to inflate’; Schmidt 1962:97.

Sumerian *bar* ‘to blow, to stretch or spread out, to ferment, to blow away’, $bar_7$ ‘to blow at or upon’.

Buck 1949:10.38 blow (vb. intr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:198—200, no. 4.

29. Proto-Nostratic **bar-* (~ **bər-*):
(vb.) **bar-* ‘to be thick, bushy, shaggy; to be coarse, rough, harsh’;
(n.) **bar-a* ‘roughness, coarseness, harshness; thickness, shagginess’; (adj.) ‘rough, harsh, coarse; thick, shaggy, bushy’
Derivative of:
(vb.) **bar-* ‘to swell, to puff up, to expand’;
(n.) **bar-a* ‘swelling, bulge, increase’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *paṟaṭṭai* ‘tangled locks; shaggy, bushy hair’, *paṟaṭṭai-ttalai* ‘head with shaggy, untidy hair’, *paṟaṭṭaiyaṉ* ‘person with shaggy hair’, *paṟaṭṭai-kkīrai* ‘wild colewort’; Malayalam *paṟu* ‘rough, harsh’, *paṟu-tala*, *paṟan-tala* ‘curly hair’, *paṟaṭṭa-ccīra* ‘wild cole’; Kannaḍa *paṟaṭe* ‘state of being rough, harsh, bristled, bushy, or curly’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:358, no. 4022. Perhaps also: Tamil *paru* ‘coarse, rough’, *parukkaṉ*, *parumai* ‘roughness, coarseness, grossness’; Malayalam *parukku* ‘rough surface’, *parukkuva* ‘to make rough’, *paruparukka* ‘to be rough, harsh’, *paruparuppu* ‘roughness, harshness’, *parupara* ‘roughly, harshly’; Kannaḍa *parige*, *parparike*, *papparike* ‘roughness (of surface), harshness, rough manners’; Telugu *baraka* ‘rough’, *barusu* ‘rough, coarse, rude, brutal; roughness, rudeness’, *parusamu*, *parusana* ‘harshness, cruelty’, *parusapu* ‘hard, harsh’, *berasu* ‘cruel, rough, not fine’; Kolami *baragaṭe* ‘rough’; Koṇḍa *baRka* ‘roughness, rough’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:354, no. 3973. The Dravidian terms either were influenced by or exerted an influence on Sanskrit *paruṣá-ḥ*, originally ‘(adj.) knotty (as a reed); (n.) a reed’, later (*Atharva-Veda*) ‘uneven, hard’, (*Mahābhārata*) ‘harsh, cruel’ as well (cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:220; Mayrhofer rejects outright borrowing of the Sanskrit term, in its later meanings, from Dravidian).

B. Proto-Kartvelian **bard-* ‘shrubs, bushes, shrubbery, thicket; blackthorn, sloe’: Georgian *bard-i* ‘shrubs, bushes, shrubbery, thicket; undergrowth’; Mingrelian *burd-i* ‘sloe, blackthorn’; Svan *bärd* ‘ivy’. Klimov 1998:8—9 **bard-* ‘blackthorn, sloe’; Fähnrich 2007:50 **bard-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$b^hr̥s$- ‘shaggy, coarse, rough, prickly’: Latin *burra* ‘shaggy garment’, *burrae* ‘trash, refuse, garbage’, *reburrus* ‘bristly’ (loanwords); Greek βύρσα ‘the skin stripped off, a hide’ (loanword); Danish *borre* ‘burr, burdock’; Norwegian *borre* ‘burr, burdock’; Swedish *borre* ‘burr; sea-urchin’, *kardborre* ‘burdock’; Middle English *burre* ‘burr; roughness or harshness in the throat’ (Scandinavian loan); East Frisian *bure*, *burre* ‘gnarl, knot’. Mann 1984—1987:115 *$bhr̥sos$, *-$i̯os$*, *-ā*, *-is* ‘shag, tuft, bristles, fur’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:124; Ernout—1979:78; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:70 *$bhr̥sos$; Onions 1966:127 *$bhr̥s$-; Klein 1971:100; Skeat 1898:84; Boisacq 1950:137; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:202; Frisk 1970—1973.I.277—278 (without etymology); Hofmann 1966:41 (perhaps loanword); Beekes 2010.I:249 (without etymology — perhaps pre-Greek).

D. Altaic: Mongolian *barbai*- ‘to be coarse (of textiles); to be broad and thick (of a beard)’, *barbaγar* ‘coarse (of textiles); broad and thick (of a beard); hairy, shaggy’, *bartaira*- ‘to swell, to distend (as eyes, face, etc.)’. Proto-Tungus *bara- ‘(vb.) to increase; (n.) great number’ > Evenki *bara-ma* ‘great number’, *bara-l*- ‘to increase’; Lamut / Even *baran* ‘capacious’; Manchu *baran* ‘great number, large quantity’; Orok *bara* ‘great number, large quantity’; Solon *barā* ‘great number, large quantity’. Turkish *barak* ‘long-haired (animal), thick-piled (stuff), plush’. Note: Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:328) place the Tungus forms under Proto-Altaic *bara- ‘to possess goods, to earn’.

Buck 1949:15.76 rough. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 249, *$baRʒ́V$ ‘to be uneven, rough; to bristle’.

30. Proto-Nostratic root *bar- (~ *bər-):
(vb.) *bar- ‘to bear children, to give birth’;
(n.) *bar-a ‘child’

A. Proto-Afrasian *bar- ‘child’: Proto-Semitic *bar-aw- ‘child, son’ > Aramaic *bar* ‘son’; Sabaean *brw* ‘child, son’; Ḥarsūsi *berō* ‘to bear children’, *ber* ‘son’; Soqoṭri *bíroh* ‘to bear children’, *ber* ‘son’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *bíri* ‘to give birth’, *bɛr* ‘son’. Proto-Berber *barar- ‘son’ > Ayr *a-barar* ‘son’; Ahaggar *a-burir* ‘son’; Tawlemmet *barar*- ‘son’. Proto-Chadic *bərḍ- ‘to give birth’ > Warji *vurḍ*- ‘to give birth’; Tsagu *vərdə* ‘to give birth’; Jimbin *vurḍ*- ‘to give birth’; Zime-Batna *frà$^{ʔ}$à*/*vərà$^{ʔ}$à* ‘to give birth’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:77 and II:160—161. West Chadic *bar-/*byar- ‘young girl, child’ > Hausa *beera* ‘young girl’; Angas *par* ‘child’; Galambu *baryawa* ‘young girl’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:53, no. 213, *bar- ‘child’.

B. Proto-Elamo-Dravidian *par ‘child, young one’: Middle Elamite *pa-ar*, Royal Achaemenid Elamite *ba-ir* ‘descendants; sperm, semen; seed’.

Dravidian: Malayalam *pārppu* ‘shoal of young fish, small fry’; Tamil *pārppu* ‘fledgling, young of birds, young of tortoise, frog, toad, lizard, etc.’, *pārval* ‘fledgling, young of deer or other animals’; Kannaḍa *pāra* ‘boy’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:364, no. 4095; McAlpin 1981:104.

C. Proto-Indo-European **bʰer-/*bʰor-/*bʰr̥-* ‘to bear, to carry; to bring forth, to bear children’, **bʰer-no-s/*bʰor-no-s* ‘son, child’: Sanskrit *bhárati* ‘to bear, to carry, to convey, to hold; to support, to maintain, to cherish, to foster; to endure, to experience, to suffer, to undergo; to conceive, to become pregnant’, *bhṛtá-ḥ* ‘borne, carried, brought’, (passive) *bhriyáte* ‘to be borne’, *bhariman-*, *bhárīman-* ‘supporting, nourishing; household, family’; Armenian *berem* ‘to bear’; Greek φέρω ‘to bear, to carry; to endure, to suffer; to bring, to offer, to present; to bring forth, to produce, to bear fruit, to be fruitful’, φορέω ‘to bear, to carry’, φορτίον ‘load, burden, child in the womb’; Albanian *bir* ‘son’, *burrë* ‘man’; Latin *ferō* ‘to bear, to carry, to bring forth’; Old Irish *biru* ‘to bear, to carry’; Gothic *bairan* ‘to bear, to carry, to bring forth’, *barn* ‘son’, *baur* ‘son, child’; Old Icelandic *bera* ‘to bear, to carry, to give birth to’, *barn* ‘child, baby’, *burðr* ‘birth; extraction’; Old Frisian *bera* ‘to bear, to give birth; to be born’, *bern* ‘child’; Old English *beran* ‘to carry, to bring, to produce, to bring forth, to bear; to endure, to suffer, to tolerate’, *bearn* ‘child’, *beorþor* ‘childbirth’; Lithuanian *bérnas* ‘son’. Rix 1998a:61—62 **bʰer-* ‘to carry, to bring’; Pokorny 1959:128—132 **bher-* ‘to carry, to bring’; Walde 1927—1932.II:153—157 **bher-*; Mann 1984—1987:72 **bhēr-* ‘carry; conveyor, conveyance’, 73 **bherətrom* (**bherədhlom*) ‘bearer, carrier’, 74 **bhermn-*, **bhern-* ‘load’, 74 **bherō* ‘to bear, to carry, to bring, to take’, 74 **bhernos* ‘son, fellow’, 74—75 **bheront-* (**bhern̥t-*) ‘bearing, bearer’, 75 **bheros* ‘bearing’, 75 **bhertos* ‘born, carried; burden’, 94 **bhorm-* (**bhormos*, *-ā*, *-is*, *-i̯ə*) ‘burden; bearer, holder, container’, 94 **bhorn-* ‘holder, container’, 94 **bhorn-* ‘son, fellow’, 94 **bhoros*, *-ā*, *-om* ‘bearing; burden, produce, offspring’, 95 **bhortos* ‘carried; load, burden’, 114 **bhr̥i̯os* (**bhr̥ō[n]*) ‘bearer, holder’, 114 **bhr̥i̯os* ‘son, young man’, 115—116 **bhr̥t-* ‘bearing, load, product’, 116 **bhr̥tós*, *-ā* ‘borne, carried’, 125 **bhūrn-*, **bhrūn-* ‘son, fellow’; Watkins 1985:7 **bher-* and 2000:10 **bher-* ‘to carry, to bear children’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:340 **b[ʰ]er-oH* and 1995.I:32 **bʰer-* ‘to bear’; Mallory—Adams 1997:56 **bhére/o-* ‘to bear (a child)’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:473—476; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1003—1005; Boisacq 1950:1021—1022 **bher(e)-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1189—1191; Hofmann 1966:395 **bher-*; Beekes 2010.II:1562—1564 **bʰer-*; De Vaan 2008:213—214; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:483—485 **bher-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:227—229; Kroonen 2013:59 Proto-Germanic **beran-* ‘to bear, to carry, to give birth’; Orël 1998:26, 43 (Albanian *burrë* borrowed) and 2003:37 Proto-Germanic **þarnan*, 41—42 **þeranan*, 43 **þerþran*; De Vries 1977:27, 33, and 65; Feist 1939:75 **bher-*; Lehmann 1986:57 **bher-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:38—39 and 40—41; Onions

1966:83 and 96; Klein 1971:75 and 83; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:15—30 *$b^h$*er*-.

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *para*, *-bare*, *-bara* ‘basis, essence, origin; bottom, end’, *paral* ‘ancestor’, *parańe* ‘to originate from’. Nikolaeva 2006:343.

E. (?) Proto-Altaic **bi̯ōr[e]*- (‘to bring, to offer, to present’ >) ‘to give; to take, to collect’: Proto-Tungus **bū*- ‘to give’ > Manchu *bu*- ‘to give’; Evenki *bū*- ‘to give’; Lamut / Even *bō̄*- ‘to give’; Negidal *bū*- ‘to give’; Ulch *būwu* ‘to give’; Orok *bū*- ‘to give’; Nanay / Gold *bū*- ‘to give’; Oroch *bū*- ‘to give’; Udihe *bū*- ‘to give’; Solon *bū*- ‘to give’. Proto-Turkic **bēr*- ‘to give’ > Old Turkic *ber*- ‘to give’; Karakhanide Turkic *ber*- ‘to give’; Turkish *ver*- ‘to give, to deliver, to pay, to offer, to sell’; Gagauz *ver*- ‘to give’; Azerbaijani *ver*- ‘to give’; Turkmenian *ber*- ‘to give’; Uzbek *ber*- ‘to give’; Uighur *bär*- ‘to give’; Karaim *ver*- ‘to give’; Tatar *bir*- ‘to give’; Bashkir *bir*- ‘to give’; Kirghiz *ber*- ‘to give’; Kazakh *ber*- ‘to give’; Noghay *ber*- ‘to give’; Sary-Uighur *per*- ‘to give’; Tuva *ber*- ‘to give’; Chuvash *par*- ‘to give’; Yakut *bier*- ‘to give’; Dolgan *bier*- ‘to give’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:353 **bi̯ōr[e]* ‘to give; to take, to collect’. Assuming semantic development as in Greek φέρω ‘to bear, to carry; to endure, to suffer; to bring, to offer, to present; to bring forth, to produce, to bear fruit, to be fruitful’.

Sumerian *bar* ‘origin, descent, ancestry; family; descendants, offspring’.

Buck 1949:4.72 bear (of mother). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:194—195, no. 32, *bʌrʌ ‘child’; Möller 1911:34—35; Brunner 1969:27; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 230, **berEʔa* ‘to give birth to; child’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:200—202, no. 6, **bar*-/**bər*- ‘to bear, to carry, to bring forth’.

31. Proto-Nostratic root **bar*- (~ **bər*-):
(vb.) **bar*- ‘to take or seize hold of, to grasp’;
(n.) **bar-a* ‘hold, grasp, seizure’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bar*- ‘to take’: Berber: Kabyle *bbər* ‘to take, to take a small quantity of’; Tuareg *a-bər* ‘to take’. East Cushitic: Saho *bar*- ‘to grasp, to hold’. Beja / Beḍawye *bari*- ‘to get, to collect, to have’. Reinisch 1895:49. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ber*- ‘to touch’ > K’wadza *belet*- ‘to grasp’; Ma’a *ɓer*- ‘to touch’. Ehret 1980:137. Central Chadic **mV-bwar*- ‘to seize, to grasp’ > Sukur *mbwɔř* ‘to seize, to grasp’. Ehret 1995:86, no. 21, **ber*- ‘to hold’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:54, no. 215, **bar*- ‘to take’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *parru* (*parri*-) ‘(vb.) to grasp, to seize, to catch, to hold, to adhere to, to touch, to comprehend; to hold (as color), to be kindled, to have effect (as drugs), to stick, to become joined to or welded to (as metals soldered), to be fitting, to be sufficient; (n.) grasp, seizure, acceptance,

adherence, affection, friendship, affinity, solder, paste', *parram* 'grasping'; Malayalam *parru* 'adhesion, close relation, friendship', *parruka* 'to stick to, to adhere, to catch, to suit, to fit, to take effect (as fire), to get, to seize'; Kota *paṯ-* (*pac-*) 'to catch, to seize, to hold, to hold out, to be obstinate, to resolve, to catch (fire), to suit, to please'; Kannaḍa *paṭṭu* '(vb.) to seize, to catch, to hold, to take hold of; to be held or contained, to stick to; (n.) hold, seizure, firm grasp, persistence, resolution, obstinacy, habit, coherence'; Tuḷu *pattuni* 'to hold, to catch; to adhere, to stick, to be joined'; Telugu *paṭṭu* '(vb.) to hold, to catch, to seize, to take hold of, to restrain, to receive; to be required (days, money), to be contained; (n.) hold, grasp, seizure, a wrestler's hold, perseverance, obstinacy, diligence'; Parji *patt-* 'to take hold of, to buy'; Gadba (Ollari) *pat-* 'to take hold of, to catch, to buy, (Salur) *patt-* 'to take hold of, to catch'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:359—360, no. 4034.

C. Proto-Altaic **bari-* 'to take, to hold': Proto-Mongolian **bari-* 'to take, to hold' > Written Mongolian *bari-* 'to take, to hold'; Monguor *bari-* 'to take, to hold'; Dagur *bari-* 'to take, to hold'; Khalkha *bari-* 'to take, to hold'; Buriat *bari-* 'to take, to hold; Kalmyk *bär-*, *bäŕ-* 'to take, to hold'. Poppe 1955:26 and 99; Starostin 1991:287, no. 268, **bārV*; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:328 **bāra* 'goods; to possess, to earn'.

Buck 1949:11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 224, **ba[ʔ]eri* 'to hold, to take'; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:176—177, no. 8, **bari* 'to take'.

32. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bar-a* 'seed, grain':

A. Proto-Afrasian **bar-*/**bur-* 'grain, cereal': Proto-Semitic **barr-*/**burr-* 'grain, cereal' > Hebrew *bar* [בַּר] 'grain'; Arabic *burr* 'wheat'; Akkadian *burru* 'a cereal'; Sabaean *brr* 'wheat'; Ḥarsūsi *berr* 'corn, maize, wheat'; Mehri *ber* 'corn, maize, wheat'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *bohr* 'maize'; Soqoṭri *bor* 'wheat'. D. Cohen 1970— :87; Klein 1987:82. Berber: Ayr *a-bora* 'sorghum'; Ghadames *a-βar-ən* 'flour'; Ahaggar *a-bōra* 'sorghum'. East Cushitic: Somali *bur* 'wheat'. Proto-Southern Cushitic **bar-*/**bal-* 'grain (generic)' > Iraqw *balaŋ* 'grain'; Burunge *baru* 'grain'; Alagwa *balu* 'grain'; K'wadza *balayiko* 'grain'. Ehret 1980:338. West Chadic **bar-*/**bur-* 'a kind of flour, gruel' > Hausa *buri*, *biri* 'a kind of flour'; Ngizim *bàr̃bàr̃í* 'gruel flavored with the desert date *ákdâ*'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:56, no. 224, **bar-*/**bur-* 'grain, cereal' and 84, no. 344, **b[u]ray-* 'grain, corn' (derived from no. 224, **bar-*/**bur-* 'grain, cereal').

B. Dravidian: Tamil *paral* 'pebble, seed, stone of fruit'; Malayalam *paral* 'grit, coarse grain, gravel, cowry shell'; Kota *parl* 'pebble, one grain (of any grain)'; Kannaḍa *paral*, *paraḷ* 'pebble, stone'; Koḍagu *para* 'pebble';

Tuḷu *parelụ* ‘grain of sand, grit, gravel; grain of corn, etc.; castor seed’; Kolami *parca* ‘gravel’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:353, no. 3959.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$b^h$*ar(s)*- ‘grain’: Ossetic (Digor) *bor* ‘millet’; Latin *far* ‘spelt, grain’; Umbrian *far* ‘spelt’; Oscan *far* ‘spelt’; Gothic **barizeins* ‘(prepared of) barley’; Old Icelandic *barr* ‘barley’; Old English *bere* ‘barley’; Old Frisian *ber* ‘barley’; Old Church Slavic *brašьno* ‘food’; Russian (dial.) *bórošno* [борошно] ‘rye-flour’; Serbo-Croatian *brȁšno* ‘food, flour’; Albanian *bar* ‘grass’. Pokorny 1959:111 **bhares*- ‘barley’; Walde 1927—1932.II:134 **bhares*-; Mann 1984—1987:66 **bhars*- ‘wheat, barley’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:872—873 *$b[^h]$*ar(s)*- and 1995.I:770 *$b^h$*ar(s)*- ‘grain, groats’, I:836 *$b^h$*ar*- ‘grain’; Watkins 1985: 5—6 **bhares*- (**bhars*-) and 2000:8 **bhars*- ‘barley’; Mallory—Adams 1997:51 **bhárs* ‘barley’; De Vaan 2008:201—202; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:455—456 **bhar-es*-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:216; Orël 1998:16—17 and 2003:36 Proto-Germanic **ƀaraz* ~ **ƀariz*; Kroonen 2013:52 Proto-Germanic **bariz*- ~ **barza*- ‘barley’ (< *$b^h$*ar-s*-); Feist 1939:81 **bhares*-; Lehmann 1986:62; De Vries 1977:27; Onions 1966:75; Klein 1977:71; Derksen 2008:57. Note: This term may be a borrowing.

Sumerian *bar* ‘seed’.

Buck 1949:8.31 sow, seed; 8.42 grain; 8.44 barley. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 219, no. 24; Brunner 1969:27, no. 79. For the semantics, cf. the following meanings of the English word *grain*: (1) ‘a small, hard seed or seedlike fruit (as of wheat, rye, oats, barley, maize, or millet)’; (2) ‘cereal seeds in general’; (3) ‘a tiny, solid particle, as of salt or sand’; (4) ‘a tiny bit, smallest amount’; etc.

33. Proto-Nostratic root **bar*- (~ **bər*-):
(vb.) **bar*- ‘to shine, to be bright, to sparkle, to flash’;
(n.) **bar-a* ‘light, brightness; lightning’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bar*-/**bir*- ‘to shine, to be bright, to sparkle, to flash’, **bar-ak’*-, **bar-ik’*-, **bir-ik’*- ‘(vb.) to flash; (n.) lightning’: Proto-Semitic **barak’*- ‘to shine, to glitter, to sparkle, to flash’, **bark’*-/**birk’*- ‘lightning’ > Hebrew *bāraḳ* [בָּרָק] ‘to flash’, *bārāḳ* [בָּרָק] ‘lightning’; Aramaic *barḳā* ‘lightning’; Ugaritic *brḳ* ‘lightning’; Arabic *baraḳa* ‘to shine, to glitter, to sparkle’, *barḳ* ‘lightning’; Akkadian *birḳu* ‘lightning’, *barāḳu* ‘to flash’; Amorite *brḳ* ‘to shine, to lighten’; Sabaean *brḳ* ‘lightning’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *bɔ́rɔ́ḳɔ́t* ‘to flash’, *bɛrḳ* ‘lightning’; Ḥarsūsi *hebērēḳ* ‘lightning’, *berḳōt* ‘to flash, to lighten’; Mehri *bərḳáwt* ‘to lighten, to flash’, *bōrəḳ* ‘lightning’; Geez / Ethiopic *baraḳa* [**በረቀ**] ‘to flash, to lighten, to scintillate, to shine, to become shining, to sparkle’, *mabarḳ* [**መበርቅ**], *mabrəḳ* ‘lightning, thunderbolt, bright light’; Tigre *bärḳa* ‘to flash, to lighten, to scintillate’; Tigrinya *bäräḳä* ‘to flash, to lighten, to

scintillate'; Amharic *bärräḳä* 'to lighten, to shine, to scintillate', *bəraḳ* 'thunderbolt'; Harari *bərāḳ* 'lightning'; Gurage *bəraḳ* 'lightning'. D. Cohen 1970— :86; Klein 1987:85; Leslau 1987:106; Murtonen 1989:122; Zammit 2002:93. Proto-Semitic **bar-ac'-* 'to sparkle, to shine' > Akkadian *barāṣu* 'to sparkle, to shine brightly'; Arabic *barīṣ* 'shining, glistening'; Geez / Ethiopic *tabāraṣa* [ተባረጸ] 'to scintillate, to flash, to redden'; Tigrinya *bärṣäṣä* 'to shine, to flash'; Gurage *(a)braṭa* 'to be smooth and shiny' (from either **brṣʔ* or **brṭʔ*); Amharic *boräboč'*, *borboč'* 'multicolored smooth pebbles'. D. Cohen 1970— :86; Leslau 1987:107—108. Proto-Semitic **bar-ar-* 'to be or become clear or bright, to purify, to clean' > Hebrew *bārar* [בָּרַר] 'to purify', *bar* [בַּר] 'bright, clean, pure'; Aramaic *bərar* 'to purify'; Akkadian *barīru* '(sun's) rays'; Ugaritic *brr* 'pure, clean'; Geez / Ethiopic *barra* [በረ] 'to purify, to make white', *bərur* [ብሩር] 'silver'; Tigrinya *bərur* 'silver'; Amharic *bərr* 'silver, thaler'; Gurage *bər* 'silver, thaler', (reduplicated) *bərbər* 'to shimmer, to flicker (flame), to burn in a wavy way'. D. Cohen 1970— :87; Klein 1987:86; Leslau 1979:149 and 1987:106—107; Murtonen 1989:119. Proto-Semitic **bar-ah-* 'to light up' > Geez / Ethiopic *barha* [በርሀ] 'to shine, to be bright, to be light, to light up, to be clear', *bərhān* [ብርሃን] 'light, brightness, glitter, splendor, proof'; Tigre *bärha* 'to be bright, to be clean, to shine'; Tigrinya *bärhe* 'to shine'; Amharic *bärra* 'to be lit', *abärra* 'to be aglow, to shine, to be bright', *mäbrat* 'lamp, light', *bərhan* 'light, glow, flame'; Gurage *abärra* 'to glitter, to shine, to illuminate'. D. Cohen 1970— :82; Leslau 1979:150 and 1987:103—104. Egyptian *brg* 'to give light'; Coptic *ebrēče* [ⲉⲃⲣⲏϫⲉ] 'lightning' (Semitic loans [cf. Černý 1976:33; Vycichl 1983:39]). Proto-East Cushitic **bar-/*ber-/*bor-* 'dawn, morning, tomorrow' > Bayso *gee-bari* 'tomorrow', *bar-i* 'morning'; Galla / Oromo *bor-u* 'tomorrow'; Saho-Afar *beera* 'tomorrow'; Somali *ber-iy-* 'to dawn', *ber-r-i(to)* 'tomorrow'; Burji *buráy* 'yesterday', *bóru* 'tomorrow' (this may be a loan from Galla / Oromo); Kambata *bere* 'yesterday'; Gedeo / Darasa *berek'e* 'yesterday'; Sidamo *bero* 'yesterday'. Sasse 1982:34 and 40; Hudson 1989:156 and 171. Proto-East Cushitic **bark'-/*birk'-* 'lightning' > Dasenech *biddî* (< **birk'-ti*) 'lightning'; Elmolo *i-birʃa* 'lightning'. Sasse 1979:49. Proto-Southern Cushitic **bur-* 'morning' > Dahalo *ɓurra* 'morning'. Ehret 1980:321. Proto-Southern Cushitic **birik'-* 'lightning' > Dahalo *ɓirík'ina* 'lightning'. Ehret 1980:321. Ehret 1995:86, no. 22, **bir-* 'to burn brightly', no. 23, **birk'-/*bark'-* 'to flash' (**bir-* 'to burn brightly' plus **-k'-* intensive extension of effect); Orël—Stolbova 1995:56, no. 223, **bar-/*bur-* 'morning', 57, no. 225, **baraḳ-* 'lightning', 58, no. 321, **bariḳ-* 'to shine, to be bright'; Diakonoff 1992:82 **bar(-)aḳ-* 'lightning'.

B. Dravidian: Kota *par par in-* 'to become a little light before dawn'; Kannaḍa *pare* 'to dawn'; Telugu *parãgu* 'to shine'; Malto *parce* 'to shine brightly, to be seen clearly'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:354, no. 3980.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **bar-* ‘to glow, to burn, to flame, to blaze’, (reduplicated) **bar-bar-*: Georgian *bar-bar-i*/*bal-bal-i* ‘to glow, to burn, to flame, to blaze’; Mingrelian *bor-bonǯ-ia* ‘glowing, burning, flaming, blazing’. Fähnrich 2007:49 **bar-*. Proto-Kartvelian **berc’q’-*/**brc’q’-* ‘to shine’: Georgian *brc’q’-in-v-a* ‘to shine; brightness’, *brc’k’iali* ‘to light, to illuminate’, *brc’q’invale* ‘white’; Mingrelian *rc’k’-* (the initial labial has been lost) ‘to shine’; Laz *pinc’k’-*/*pic’k’-* ‘to shine’; Svan [*berc’q’-*] (Georgian loan). Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:60—61 **berçq̇-*/**brçq̇-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:51—52 **berçq̇-*/**brçq̇-*; Klimov 1964:50 **berçq̇-*/**brçq̇-*; Schmidt 1962:99.

D. Proto-Indo-European **$b^herEk’$-*, **$b^hreEk’$-* > **$b^hrēk’$-* ‘to shine, to gleam, to be bright’: Sanskrit *bhrā́jate* ‘to shine, to gleam, to glitter’; Avestan *brāzaiti* ‘to beam’, *brāza-* ‘shimmering; radiance’; Welsh *berth* ‘beautiful’; Gothic *bairhts* ‘bright, manifest’, *bairhtei* ‘brightness’; Old Icelandic *bjartr* ‘bright, shining’, *birti* ‘brightness’; Old English *beorht* ‘bright’; Old Saxon *berht*, *beraht* ‘bright’; Old High German *beraht* ‘bright’; Lithuanian *brė́kšti* ‘to dawn’; Palaic (3rd sg. pres.) *pa-ar-ku-i-ti* ‘to clean, to purify’; Hittite *pár-ku-iš* ‘pure, clean’. Rix 1998a:76—77 **$b^hreh_1ĝ$-* ‘to glitter, to shine’; Pokorny 1959:139—140 **bherəĝ-*, **bhrēĝ-* ‘to glitter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:170—171 **bherēĝ-*; Mann 1984—1987:73 **bherĝ-* ‘brightness, bright’; Watkins 1985:7 **bherəg-* and 2000:11 **bherəg-* ‘to shine; bright, white’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:620 **b[$^h$]erHk̂’-* and 1995.I:532 **$b^herHk̂’$-* ‘to shine, to be bright’; Mallory—Adams 1997:513—514 **$bherh_xĝ$-* ‘to shine, to gleam’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II: 529—530; Lehmann 1986:58; Feist 1939:76—77 **bherĕĝ-*; De Vries 1977:39; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:55—56; Smoczyński 2007.1:71; Puhvel 1984— .8:133—146 **$bh_ǝrg^w$-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:637—639. Proto-Indo-European **$b^hrek^h$-* ‘to shine, to glitter’: Sanskrit *bhrā́śate* ‘to shine, to glitter’ (in view of the Germanic forms, the long vowel is probably secondary); Old Icelandic *brjá* (< Proto-Germanic **breχan*) ‘to sparkle, to flicker, to gleam’; Middle High German *brehen* ‘to twinkle, to sparkle’. Pokorny 1959:141—142 **bherək̂-*, **bhrēk̂-* ‘to glitter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:169 **bherek̂-*; Mann 1984—1987:102 **bhrēk̂-* ‘to shine’; Watkins 1985:8 **bherək-* and 2000:11 **bherək-* ‘to shine, to glitter’; Mallory—Adams 1997:514 (?) **bherk̂-* ‘to shine’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:532; Orël 2003:55 Proto-Germanic **þrexanan* ~ **þrexōjanan*; De Vries 1977:57.

Sumerian *bar* ‘(vb.) to shine, to light, to illuminate, to sparkle, to glitter, to glisten; (adj.) bright, shining; (n.) light, brightness’, $bar_6$-$bar_6$ ‘(adj.) light, white; (vb.) to whiten, to make white’.

Buck 1949:1.55 lightning; 15.57 bright; 15.87 clean; 17.34 clear, plain. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 247, **bVR[V]ḳæ* ‘to flash, to shine’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:211—213, no. 16; Brunner 1969:27, no. 74.

34. Proto-Nostratic root **bar-* (~ **bər-*):
(vb.) **bar-* ‘to be kind, charitable, beneficent; to do good’;
(n.) **bar-a* ‘goodness, kindness’; (adj.) ‘good, kind, beneficent’

    A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **bar-ar-* ‘to be kind, charitable, beneficent; to do good’ > Arabic *barra* ‘to be reverent, dutiful, devoted; to be kind, charitable, beneficent; to do good’, *birr* ‘piety, good action’; Tamūdic *br* ‘to be righteous’, *hbr* ‘beneficence, charity, benevolence’; Sabaean *brr* ‘to make upright’. D. Cohen 1970— :82; Zammit 2002:92. Perhaps also Harari *bäraḥ* ‘good’ (used mainly by women), *bäraḥ bāya* ‘to have pity’, if these are not loans (cf. Leslau 1963:45).
    B. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$er-/*b$^{h}$or-/*b$^{h}$r̥-* ‘to be kind, charitable, helpful, beneficent; to do good’: Avestan *bairišta-* ‘the most willing to help, the most helpful’; Armenian *bari* ‘good’; Greek φέριστος, φέρτατος ‘bravest, best’, φέρτερος ‘braver, better’; Old High German *bora-* ‘better’. Mann 1984—1987:74 **bheristh̥os* ‘best, bravest’; Boisacq 1950:1021; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1002; Hofmann 1966:394—395; Beekes 2010.II:1562 **b$^{h}$er-ist(H)o-*; Meillet 1936:155.
    C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **para* ‘good’ > Finnish (superlative) *paras* ‘best’, (comparative) *parempi* ‘better, superior’; Lapp / Saami *buorre*/*buorrĕ* ‘good, kind, pleasant’; Mordvin (Erza) *paro*, (Moksha) *para* ‘good’; Cheremis / Mari (Birsk) *poro* ‘good’; Votyak / Udmurt *bur* ‘good, kind, benevolent’; Zyrian / Komi *bur* ‘good’. Rédei 1986—1988:724 **para*.

    Buck 1949:16.71 good (adj.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:175—176, no. 7, **bara* ‘big, good’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:213, no. 17.

35. Proto-Nostratic root **bar-* (~ **bər-*):
(vb.) **bar-* ‘to split (with a tool or weapon); to cut into, to carve; to scrape’;
(n.) **bar-a* ‘carving, engraving, cuttings, chip’

    A. Proto-Afrasian **bar-* ‘to cut, to cut off, to cut down; to carve, to scrape’: Proto-Semitic **bar-aʔ-* ‘to cut, to carve’ > Hebrew *bērēʔ* [בְּרֵא] ‘to cut down (timber, woods), to cut out’; Punic *brʔ* ‘engraver’; Liḥyānite *baraʔ* ‘to cut, to carve’. D. Cohen 1970— :80—81; Klein 1987:82. Proto-Semitic **bar-ay-* ‘to cut, to trim, to carve’ > Arabic *barā* ‘to trim, to shape, to sharpen, to scratch off, to scrape off’; Sabaean *bry* ‘carved monument’. D. Cohen 1970— :82—83. Berber: Semlal *bri* ‘to cut’. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *barc’umma* ‘stool of wood’; Sidamo *barc’im-* ‘to

be circumcised', *barc'in-šiiš-* 'to circumcise'. Hudson 1989:40, 232, and 352.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **berg-* 'to hoe': Mingrelian *barg-*, *berg-* 'to hoe', *berg-i* 'hoe'; Laz *berg-* 'to hoe', *berg-i* 'hoe'; Svan *li-bērg-e* 'to hoe', *bērg* 'hoe'. Klimov 1998:11 **berg-* 'to hoe'; Fähnrich 2007:59 **berg-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:50 **berg-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$er-/*b$^{h}$or-/*b$^{h}$r̥-* 'to strike, to smite, to beat, to knock, to cut, to thrust, to hit; to kill by striking, to give a death blow, to slay': Sanskrit *bhára-ḥ* 'war, battle, contest'; Latin *feriō* 'to strike, to smite, to beat, to knock, to cut, to thrust, to hit; to kill by striking, to give a death blow, to slay; to kill or slaughter animals for sacrifice'; Old Icelandic *berja* 'to beat, to strike, to smite'; Middle High German *berien* 'to strike'; Old Church Slavic *borjǫ*, *brati* 'to fight'. Rix 1998a:64—65 **b$^{h}$erH-* 'to work with a sharp tool'; Pokorny 1959:133—135 **bher-* 'to work with a sharp tool, to cut, to split'; Walde 1927—1932.II:159—161 **bher-*; Mann 1984—1987:74 **bher̥iō* (**bhor-*, **bhr̥-*) 'to strike', 74 **bhērā* 'striker', 94 **bhoros* 'stroke, blow, fight'; Watkins 2000:10 **bher-* (also **bherə-*) 'to cut, to pierce, to bore'; Mallory—Adams 1997:549 **bher-* 'to strike (through), to split'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:476—477; Ernout—Meillet 1979:227; De Vaan 2008:213; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:481—482 **bher-*; De Vries 1977:33 **bher-*. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$ord$^{h}$-/*b$^{h}$r̥d$^{h}$-*, **b$^{h}$red$^{h}$-* '(piece) cut off': Sanskrit *bardhaka-ḥ* 'cut off'; Old Icelandic *borð* 'board, plank'; Old English *bred* 'board', *bord* 'board, plank'; Old Frisian *bord* 'board'; Old Saxon *bord* 'board', *bred* 'board'; Dutch *boord* 'board'; Old High German *bret* 'board, plank' (New High German *Brett*). Pokorny 1959:138 **bheredh-* 'to cut'; Walde 1927—1932.II:174 **bherdh-* (also **bhredh-* ?); Mann 1984—1987:111 **bhr̥dhos*, *-om* 'board, table', 111 **bhr̥dhos* 'cutting, separating; cut, division'; Watkins 1985:7 **bherdh-* and 2000:10—11 **bherdh-* 'to cut'; De Vries 1977:50 **bherdh-*; Onions 1966:103; Klein 1971:87; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:99; Kluge—Seebold 1989:105. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$reyH-*, **b$^{h}$riH-* > **b$^{h}$rī-* 'to cut, to clip, to scrape': Sanskrit *bhrīṇā́ti* 'to injure, to hurt'; Welsh *briw* 'wound'; Russian Church Slavic *briju*, *briti* 'to shear, to clip'; Lithuanian *brėžti* 'to scratch, to sketch, to design'. Rix 1998a:77 **b$^{h}$reu̯H-* 'to cut'; Pokorny 1959:166—167 **bhrēi-*, **bhrĭ-* 'to cut'; Walde 1927—1932.II:194—195 **bhrēi-*; Mann 1984—1987:103 **bhrĭi̯ō* 'to wear down, to file, to erode'; Watkins 1985:9 **bhrēi-* (also **bhrī-*) and 2000:13 **bhreiə-* 'to cut, to break'; Mallory—Adams 1997:158 **bhreh$_{x}$i-* 'to destroy, to cut to pieces'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:532—533 **bhr-ī-*. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$r-ew-/*b$^{h}$r-ow-/*b$^{h}$r-u-* 'to break into pieces, to cut or break off'': Old Icelandic *brjóta* 'to break, to break open, to break off; to destroy, to demolish', *brotna* 'to break, to be broken', *brytja* 'to chop', *braut* 'road (cut through rocks, forests, etc.)', *brot* 'breaking; fragment, broken piece'; Swedish *bryta* 'to break'; Old English *brēotan* 'to

break in pieces, to hew down, to demolish, to destroy, to kill', *gebrȳtan* 'to crush, to pound; to break up, to destroy', *brēoðan* 'to decay, to waste away', *breodwian* 'to strike down, to trample', *brytnian* 'to deal out, to distribute', *gebryttan* 'to break to pieces, to destroy', *(ge)brytsen* 'fragment', *bryttian* 'to tear to pieces, to divide; to dispense, to distribute, to share'; Old High German *brōdi* 'breakable, brittle, fragile', *bruzī*, *bruzzī* 'fragility, frailty, feebleness, infirmity, decrepitude'; Latvian *braũna*, *braũņa* 'shell, husk, pod (of fruit); scab, scale, scurf (of skin)'. Rix 1998a:81 *$b^hreu̯H$- 'to break into pieces, to break off'; Pokorny 1959:169 *$bhr\check{e}u$-, *$bhr\check{u}$- 'to cut with a sharp instrument, to scrape off, etc.' (in Germanic, 'to break into pieces, to break off'); Walde 1927—1932.II: 195—196 *bhreu-; Mann 1984—1987:102 *bhreud-, *bhroud-, *$bhr\check{u}d$- 'to crumble, to break'; Watkins 1985:9 *bhreu- and 2000:13 *bhreu- (also *bhreuə-) 'to cut, to break up'; Mallory—Adams 1997:81 *bhreu- 'to cut, to break up'; Orël 2003:56 Proto-Germanic *ƀreutanan; De Vries 1977: 55, 58, 59, and 62. Proto-Indo-European *$b^hr$-ew-s-/*$b^hr$-ow-s-/*$b^hr$-u-s- 'to cut or break into pieces; to smash, to crush, to crumble, to shatter': Latin *frustrum* 'a bit, piece, morsel'; Old Irish *brúid* 'to break, to crush'; Welsh *briw* 'wound'; Old English *brīesan*, *brȳsan* 'to bruise', *brȳsian* 'to bruise, to crush, to pound', *brosnian* 'to crumble, to decay; to perish, to pass away'; Middle High German *brōsem* 'crumb'. Rix 1998a:82 *$b^hreu̯s$- 'to break in pieces, to smash, to shatter'; Pokorny 1959:171 *bhreu-s- 'to smash, to break into pieces'; Walde 1927—1932.II:198—199 *bhreus-; Mann 1984—1987:109 *bhrus- '(vb.) to break, to crumble; (n.) fragment, crumb', 109 *bhrusdhō (*bhrusd-) 'to crumble, to break'; Watkins 1985:9 *bhreus- 'to break' and 2000:13 *bhreu- (also *bhreuə-) 'to cut, to break up' (extended zero-grade form *$bhru̯s$- [< *$bhru̯ə s$-]); Mallory—Adams 1997:81 *bhreus- 'to break, to smash to pieces'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:257; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:553—554 *bhreus-; De Vaan 2008:245 *$b^hrus$-to-; Onions 1966:121; Klein 1971:97 *bhreus-, *bhres- 'to break, to crush, to crumble'; Barnhart 1995:89; Hoad 1986:51. Proto-Indo-European *$b^her$-s-/*$b^hor$-s-/*$b^hr̥$-s- *$b^hr$-es-/*$b^hr$-os-/*$b^hr̥$-s- 'to split into parts; to break, to divide': Hittite (3rd sg.) *pár-ši-ya-az-zi* 'to break, to divide', (nom. sg.) *pár-ša-aš* 'morsel, fragment'; Greek φάρσος 'part, portion'; Old Irish *brissid* 'to break; to defeat'; Old Icelandic *brestr* 'crash; chink, crack; want, loss', *bresta* 'to burst, to be rent; to break, to snap; to burst forth'; Old English *berstan*, *burstan* 'to break, to burst; to break away from, to escape; to break to pieces, to crash, to resound', *byrst* 'loss, calamity, injury, damage, defect', *byrstig* 'broken, rugged'; Old Frisian *bresta* 'to break; to disappear'; Old Saxon *brestan* 'to burst, to break'; Dutch *barsten* 'to burst, to crack; to explode, to snap'; Old High German *brestan* 'to burst' (New High German *bersten*). Pokorny 1959:169 *bhres- 'to burst, to break'; Walde 1927—1932.II:206 *bhres-; Mann 1984—1987:114—115 *$bh̥rs$- 'break, fragment', 115 *$bh̥rst\underline{i}ō$ to break out, to

shoot, to burst'; Watkins 1985:9 **bhres-* and 2000:13 **bhres-* 'to burst'; Mallory—Adams 1997:81 (?) **bhres-* 'to burst'; Hoffmann 1966:392; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1179—1180 **bhr̥-s-*, **bher-s-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:994—995 **bher-s-*, **bhr̥-s-*; Beekes 2010.II:1555 **bʰrs-*; Boisacq 1951:1017 **bhr̥-s-es-*; Kroonen 2013:75 **bhrest-*; Onions 1966:129 **bhrest-*; Klein 1971:101 **bhreus-*, **bhres-*; Vercoullie 1898:20; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:68 **bhres-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:77; Walshe 1951:20; Sturtevant 1951:64, §86; Puhvel 1984— .8:150—165 **bhér-s-*, **bhr-és-*, **bhr̥-s-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:642—643 **bʰrs-* (?).

D. Proto-Uralic **parɜ-* 'to scrape, to cut, to carve': Hungarian *farag-* 'to carve, to cut, to whittle (wood), to hew, to trim, to chip (stone)', *forgacs* 'shavings, scobs, chips, cuttings, filings'; Vogul / Mansi *pår-* 'to plane'; Tavgi Samoyed / Enets (Baiha) *bora-* 'to plane, to scrape, to rub, to dress (hides), to tan'; Selkup Samoyed *poorgaana-* 'cut leather, hides'; Kamassian *paargə-* 'to scrape, to cut, to carve'. Collinder 1960:401 and 1977:32; Rédei 1986—1988:357 **parɜ-*; Décsy 1990:105 **para* 'to cut'.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pare-* 'to shave' > Chukchi (Southern) *pare-* 'to shave (off), to plane, to remove hair from'; Kerek *pa(a)ja-* 'to shave'; Koryak *paje-* 'to shave'; Alyutor *pari-*, (Palana) *paret-* 'to shave'. Fortescue 2005:209; Janhunen 1977b:117.

Sumerian *bar* 'to split (with a tool or weapon)', *bar* 'to cut into, to notch, to cut or slit open, to carve, to slice, to cut up', *bar* 'to dig, to excavate'.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.22 cut (vb.); 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.52 board; 9.81 carve. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:226—227, no. 32.

36. Proto-Nostratic root **bar-* (~ **bər-*):
(vb.) **bar-* 'to make a sound, to utter a noise';
(n.) **bar-a* 'sound, noise'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *paṟai* '(vb.) 'to speak, to say; (n.) word, saying, statement', *paṟaiccal* 'talk, speech'; Malayalam *paṟayuka* 'to say, to speak, to tell', *paṟaccal* 'speech'; Kannaḍa *paṟe* 'abuse, censure', *parcu*, *paccu* 'to whisper', *parisu* 'to speak, to chat', *parañcu* 'to mutter'; Koḍagu *pare-* (*parev-*, *parand-*) 'to utter'; Tuḷu *pareñcuni* 'to prate, to prattle, to find fault with', *parañcena*, *parañcelu̯* 'prattling, grumbling, murmuring', *paraṇṭele* 'prattler, grumbler', *parañcele* 'prattler, babbler, grumbler', *paraṇḍa* 'murmuring, grumbling'; Gadba (Salur) *park-* 'to say, to speak'; Kui *bargi* 'order, command'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:359, no. 4031. (?) Kuṛux *barᵃxnā* 'to snore'; Malto *barġe* 'to snore'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3983. (?) Kui *parṛi* 'hornet'; Kuwi *prāṛi* 'wasp', *parṛi* 'wild bee'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3985.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **bɣrdɑwen-* ‘to growl, to snarl, to grumble’: Georgian *brdγen-*, *brdγvin-* ‘to growl, to snarl, to be angry’; Mingrelian *burdγin-* ‘to growl, to snarl, to mutter, to mumble’; Laz *bundγin-* ‘to grumble, to hiss at (of cats)’. Klimov 1964:54 **bɣrdγwin-* and 1998:18—19 **brdγw-en-* ‘to growl, to grumble’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:61—62 **brdγwen-*; Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:76—77 **brdγwen-*; Jahukyan 1967:59—60.

C. Proto-Indo-European **bʰer-/*bʰor-/*bʰɣ̊r-* ‘to make a sound, to hum, to buzz, to mutter’: Armenian *boṙ* ‘bumble-bee, hornet’; Sanskrit *bambhara-ḥ* ‘bee’, *bambharālĭ̄-* ‘fly’; Greek πεμφρηδών ‘a kind of wasp’; Lithuanian *barbėti* ‘to jingle, to clink’, *birbiù*, *birbiaũ*, *biřti* ‘to play a reed(-pipe)/flute’, *burbiù*, *burbėti* ‘to mutter, to mumble, to grumble’. Pokorny 1959:135—136 **bher-* ‘to hum, to buzz’; Walde 1927—1932.II:161—162 **bher-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:410; Boisacq 1950:765—766 **bh(e)rĕ̆-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:504; Hofmann 1966:261 **bher-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:880; Beekes 2010.II:1171. Proto-Indo-European **bʰerk'-/*bʰork'-/*bʰɣ̊rk'-* ‘to drone, to bark’: Latvian *brèkt* ‘to cry’; Serbo-Croatian *brèktati* ‘to puff’; Slovenian *brę́hati* ‘to pant’; Czech *břechati* ‘to yelp’; Russian *brexát'* [брехать] ‘to yelp, to bark, to tell lies’, *brexnjá* [брехня] ‘lies’; Polish *brzechać* ‘to bark’. Pokorny 1959:138—139 **bhereg-* (also **bhereq-*) ‘to drone, to bark’; Walde 1927—1932.II:171—172 **bherg-*; Mann 1984—1987:112 **bhɣ̊rgō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to chirp, to crackle, to bark’; Watkins 1958:8 **bherg-* ‘to buzz, to growl’ and 2000:13 **bherg-* ‘to make noise’; Mallory—Adams 1997:51 (?) **bhereg-* ‘to bark, to growl’. Proto-Indo-European **bʰerm-/*bʰorm-/*bʰɣ̊rm-*, **bʰrem-/*bʰrom-/*bʰɣ̊rm-* ‘to buzz, to hum, to make a sound’: Latin *fremō* ‘to roar, to murmur, to growl’; Sanskrit *bhramará-ḥ* ‘bee’; Greek φόρμιγξ ‘a kind of lyre or harp’; Russian *brjacát'* [бряцать] ‘to clang, to clank’; Old English *bremman* ‘to resound, to roar’; Old High German *breman* ‘to growl, to mutter’; Middle High German *brummen* ‘to growl, to grumble’ (New High German *brummen*). Rix 1998a:78—79 **bʰrem-* ‘to growl, to grumble’; Pokorny 1959:142—143 **bherem-* ‘to buzz, to hum’; Walde 1927—1932.II:202—203 **bhrem-*; Mann 1984—1987:102 **bhremō* ‘to roar, to hum, to rumble’, 104 **bhroməlos* ‘buzz, hum, roar’; Watkins 1985:9 **bhrem-* and 2000:13 **bhrem-* ‘to growl’; Mallory—Adams 1997:24 (?) **bhrem-* ‘to make a noise (of animals)’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:528—529; Boisacq 1950:1035; Beekes 2010.II:1587 (pre-Greek loanword); Frisk 1970—1973.II:1036—1037; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1222; Hofmann 1966:403 **bhrem-*; De Vaan 2008:241 **bʰrem-e/o-* ‘to hum, to rumble’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:252—253; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:544—545; Orël 2003:55 Proto-Germanic **ƀrem(m)anan*; Kroonen 2013:75 **breman-* ~ **brimman-* ‘to drone, to hum’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:104; Kluge—Seebold 1989:109.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *parčəγə-* ‘to chatter, to splash’, (Northern / Tundra) *porčaγa-* ‘to chatter, to splash’, *parčehabod'e-kodek* ‘chatterbox’. Nikolaeva 2006:344.

Buck 1949:3.82 bee; 18.12 sing; 18.14 (words denoting various cries, especially of animals); 18.21 speak, talk. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:227—228, no. 33.

37. Proto-Nostratic **bar-* (~ **bər-*):
(vb.) **bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’;
(n.) **bar-a* ‘walking, going (away), leaving, departing’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bar-* ‘to go (away), to leave, to depart’: Proto-Semitic **bar-aḥ-* ‘to go (away), to leave, to depart’ > Arabic *bariḥa* ‘to leave (a place), to depart’, *barāḥ* ‘departure; cessation, stop’, *mubāraḥa* ‘departure’; Ugaritic *brḥ* ‘to flee’ (?); Hebrew *bāraḥ* [בָּרַח] ‘to go or pass through, to flee’; Phoenician *brḥ* ‘to depart’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *bəraḥ* ‘to flee’; Geez / Ethiopic *barrəḥa* [በርሐ] ‘to enter the wilderness, to take to the woods, to flee, to escape, to run’. D. Cohen 1970— :83; Murtonen 1989:120—121; Klein 1987:84; Tomback 1974:55; Zammit 2002:91—92; Leslau 1987:104—105. Proto-Southern Cushitic **bariy-* ‘to travel’ > Ma’a *-bári* ‘to travel’; Dahalo *ɓarij-* ‘to go out, to depart’. Ehret 1980:135. West Chadic: Angas *bar-* ‘to escape’; Tangale *bar-* ‘to go out’; Warji *var-* ‘to go out’; Ngizim *vàrú* ‘to leave, to go out and leave a place; to escape, to get out of a dangerous situation’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:164. Orël—Stolbova 1995:58, no. 230, **bariḥ-* ‘to run, to go’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **berq-* ‘step’: Old Georgian *berq-*, *perq-* (< **berq-* through assimilation) ‘foot’ (Modern Georgian *pex-i* [< **perq-*, with loss of the *r* before *x*] ‘foot’); Mingrelian *bax-* (< **barx-* < **barq-*) in *la-bax-u* ‘passage in a wattle-fence’; Svan *bērq*, *bä(r)q*, *bāq* ‘step’, *na-barq-* ‘track, foot-print’, (Upper Bal) *li-bāq-i* ‘to step over something’. Klimov 1964:50 **berq-* ‘foot, step’ and 1998:12 **berq-* ‘leg, step’; Schmidt 1962:135; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:52—53 **berq-*; Fähnrich 1994:221 and 2007:61—62 **berq-*.

C. Altaic: Proto-Turkic **bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Karakhanide Turkic *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Turkish *var-* ‘to go towards; to arrive; to reach, to attain; to approach; to result, to end in’, *varış* ‘arrival’; Gagauz *var-* ‘to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach’; Azerbaijani *var-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Turkmenian *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Uzbek *bɔr-* ‘to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach’; Uighur *ba(r)-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Karaim *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Tatar *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Bashkir *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Kirghiz *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Kazakh *bar-* ‘to walk, to go (away)’; Noghay *bar-* ‘to walk, to go

(away)'; Sary-Uighur *par-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away); to come, to reach'; Tuva *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Chuvash *pĭr-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Yakut *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away)'; Dolgan *bar-* 'to walk, to go (away)'. Note: Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:930) derive the above Turkic forms from Proto-Altaic **mi̯ori* 'road, track; to follow'. Here, I follow Dolgopolsky in deriving them from Proto-Nostratic **bar-* (~ **bər-*) 'to walk, to go (away)' instead.

Buck 1949:4.37 foot; 10.45 walk (vb.); 10.47 go; 10.49 go away, depart. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 238, **barqV* (~ **barXV*) 'to go, to go away, to step'. The Dravidian forms included by Dolgopolsky do not belong here.

38. Proto-Nostratic root **bar$^{y}$-* (~ **bər$^{y}$-*):
(vb.) **bar$^{y}$-* 'to be or become barren, desolate, useless, unfruitful';
(n.) **bar$^{y}$-a* 'open, fallow, or barren land'; (adj.) 'barren, desolate, useless, unfruitful'

A. Proto-Afrasian **bar-* 'open, fallow, barren, or uncultivated land': Proto-Semitic **barr-* 'open country, field' > Akkadian *barru*, *bāru* 'open country'; Hebrew *bar* [בַּר] 'field, open country' (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Syriac *barrā* 'open field'; Arabic *barr* 'land, mainland, open country', *barrīya* 'open country, steppe, desert'; Sabaean *barr* 'open country'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ɛbrór* 'far away desert'. D. Cohen 1970— :87; Klein 1987:82; Murtonen 1989:119; Zammit 2002:92. Proto-Semitic **ba/wa/r-* 'fallow, uncultivated; wasteland' > Syriac *būrā* 'uncultivated land', *bayyīrā* 'barren, fallow, uncultivated'; Arabic *būr* 'uncultivated, fallow' (Syriac loan). D. Cohen 1970— :53. (Orël—Stolbova 1995:82—83 connect the preceding Semitic forms with words meaning 'earth, sand'; however, the primary meaning in Semitic appears to be 'open, fallow, barren, or uncultivated land'). Semitic: Arabic *barāḥ* 'a wide, empty tract of land, vast expanse, vastness'; Geez / Ethiopic *baraḥā* [በረሓ] 'wilderness, uninhabited place' (Amharic loan); Tigrinya *bäräk̲a* 'desert'; Tigre *bäräka* 'desert'; Gurage *bäräha* 'uncultivated land, uncultivated pasture land'; Amharic *bäräha* 'wild region, wilderness', *bärähamma* 'deserted'. D. Cohen 1970— :83; Leslau 1979:153 and 1987:104—105. East Chadic **bar-H-* 'field' > Kwan *koo-ɓaraa* 'field'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *pāṟ* '(vb.) to go to ruin, to be laid waste, to become useless, to be accursed (as a place or house); (n.) desolation, ruin, damage, loss, corruption, baseness, evil, emptiness, barrenness, barren or waste land', *pāṟi* 'desolation', *paṟutu* 'unprofitableness, damage, ruin'; Malayalam *pāṟ* 'an empty place, void, desolation, waste; vain, useless', *pāṟan* 'one good for nothing, wicked, scamp; left uncultivated'; Kannaḍa *pāṟ* 'ruin, desolation, a waste', *pāṟtana* 'a ruined state'; Tuḷu *pāḷu*, *hālu* 'ruin, destruction, desolation; desolate, waste, ruined, destroyed', (?)

*paḍilu̯* ‘waste, barren, unfruitful; wasteland’; Telugu *pāḍu* ‘ruin, destruction, dilapidated condition; ruined, dilapidated, desolate, waste, dreary, bad, wicked, evil’; Gondi *pāṛ* ‘desert’, *pār* ‘a deserted village site’; Koṇḍa *pāṛ* ‘old, devastated’, *pāṛu* ‘neglected, spoiled’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:365, no. 4110.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **barč’-* ‘barren, infertile’: Old Georgian *berc’i* ‘barren, infertile (of a woman)’; Mingrelian *burč’i* ‘barren, infertile (of a cow)’. Klimov 1964:49 **barç$_1$-* and 1998:9 **barç$_1$-* ‘barren, dry’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:46—47 **barç$_1$-*; Fähnrich 1994:229 and 2007:52 **barç$_1$-*.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pəʁa-* ‘to dry out’ > Chukchi *pʔa-* ‘to dry (out) (intr.)’, *rə-pʔa-w-* ‘to dry out (tr.)’, *ta-pʔa-ŋ-* ‘to dry out, to hang out to dry’; Kerek *nə-pʔa-u-* ‘to dry out (tr.)’, *hətɣə-pʔailən* ‘dried out lake’, *nuta-pʔa-* ‘to dry out (earth)’; Koryak *pəʁa-* ‘to dry (out) (intr.); to be thirsty’, *jə-pʁa-v-* ‘to dry out (tr.)’; Alyutor *pʁa-* ‘to dry (out) (intr.)’, *tə-pʁa-v-* ‘to dry out (tr.)’, *qasa-pʁa-* ‘to be thirsty’. Fortescue 2005:225.

Sumerian *bar* ‘open land, steppe; wasteland, desert’.

Buck 1949:15.84 dry. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 219, **bArV* ‘earth, land, dust’.

39. Proto-Nostratic root **baw-* (~ **bəw-*):
(vb.) **baw-* ‘to be or become aware of or acquainted with, to observe, to notice’;
(n.) **baw-a* ‘awareness, knowledge’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **baw-aħ-* ‘to become known, to be revealed’ > Arabic *bāḥa* ‘to become known, to be revealed; to reveal, to disclose’; Geez / Ethiopic *bōḥa* [ቦሐ] ‘to be seen, revealed, clear’; Amharic *bäha* ‘to be visible, seen’ (loan from Geez), *buh* ‘that which is seen’. D. Cohen 1970— :51; Leslau 1987:115. Proto-Semitic **baw-ah-* ‘to be aware of, to be mindful of’ > Arabic *bāha* ‘to understand’; Maghrebi *bawwah* ‘to stare’; Tamūdic **bwh* ‘to remember’. D. Cohen 1970— :51.

B. Proto-Indo-European **bʰewdʰ-/*bʰowdʰ-/*bʰudʰ-* ‘to be or become aware of’: Sanskrit *bódhati* ‘to wake, to wake up, to be awake; to perceive, to notice, to understand, to be or become aware of or acquainted with; to think of; to know to be, to recognize as; to deem, to consider, to regard as’, *buddhá-ḥ* ‘awakened, enlightened, learned, understood, known’, *buddhí-ḥ* ‘intelligence, reason, mind, discernment, judgment’, *bodhi-ḥ* ‘perfect knowledge or wisdom, the illumined or enlightened mind’, *bodhá-ḥ* ‘perception, thought, knowledge, understanding, intelligence’; Greek πεύθομαι ‘to learn of’; Lithuanian *budĕti* ‘to be awake’; Old Church Slavic *bъdĕti* ‘to be awake’, *buditi* ‘to awaken’, *bъdrъ* ‘watchful’. The following Germanic forms probably belong here as well: Gothic **biudan* in: *ana-*

*biudan* ‘to order, to command’, *faur-biudan* ‘to forbid’; Old Icelandic *bjóða* ‘to offer’; Old English *bēodan* ‘to offer’, *on-bēodan* ‘to announce, to tell; to command’, *for-bēodan* ‘to forbid’; Old Frisian *biada* ‘to order, to offer’; Old Saxon *biodan* ‘to order, to offer’; Old High German *biotan* ‘to order, to offer’ (New High German *bieten*), *far-biotan* ‘to forbid’ (New High German *verbieten*). Rix 1998a:66—68 *$b^heu̯d^h$- ‘to awaken, to be aware’; Pokorny 1959:150—152 *bheudh-, *bhu-n-dh- ‘to awaken’; Walde 1927—1932.II:147—148 *bheudh-; Watkins 1985:8 *bheudh- and 2000:11 *bheudh- ‘to be aware, to make aware’; Mann 1984—1987:75 *bheudhō ‘to prompt, to arouse, to exhort; to be awake’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:174 *$b[^h]eu̯d[^h]$-,*$b[^h]ud[^h]$- ‘to be awake, to notice’ and 1995.I:193 *$b^heud^h$-/*$b^hud^h$- ‘to be awake, to notice’; Mallory—Adams 1997:516 *bhoudhéi̯e/o- ‘to waken, to point out’ and 636 *bheudh- ‘to watch over, to be concerned about’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:449—450; Hofmann 1966:266; Frisk 1970—1973.II:625—626 *bheudh-e(-ti, -tai); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:954—955 *bheudh-e-; Boisacq 1950:776—777 *bheudh-; Prellwitz 1905:365; Beekes 2010.II:1258 *$b^heud^h$-; Smoczyński 2007.1:78—79 *$b^héu̯d^h$-e-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:62; Kroonen 2013:61 Proto-Germanic *beudan- ‘to command, to offer’ (< *$b^héud^h$-e-); Orël 2003:43 Proto-Germanic *þeuđanan; Feist 1939:41 *bheu̯dh-; Lehmann 1986:30; De Vries 1977:40; Klein 1971:81 *bheudh-; Onions 1966:93 *bheudh-, *bhudh- and 369; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:45—46; Kluge—Seebold 1989:84 *bheudh-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:75—76 *bheudh-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:36—37 *$b^heu̯d^h$-.

Sumerian *bu-i* ‘knowledge, learning’.

Buck 1949:15.11 perceive by the senses, sense; 17.16 understand; 17.24 learn; 17.31 remember. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:195—196, no. 1.

40. Proto-Nostratic root *bay- (~ *bəy-):
(vb.) *bay- ‘to apportion, to divide into shares, to distribute, to allot, to share’;
(n.) *bay-a ‘portion, share’

A. Proto-Afrasian *bay- ‘to apportion, to divide into shares; to trade, to buy and sell’: Proto-Semitic *bay-aʕ- ‘to trade, to buy and sell’ > Arabic *bāʿa* ‘to sell, to offer for sale; to buy, to purchase’, *bayʿ* ‘sale, exchange’, *mubtāʿ* ‘buyer, purchaser’, *bayʿa* ‘agreement, arrangements, business deal, commercial transaction, bargain; sale, purchase’; Tamūdic *byʿ* ‘to sell’; Punic *bʿt* ‘tariff’. D. Cohen 1970— :62—63; Zammit 2002:104. Proto-Semitic *bay-aḥ- ‘to cut into pieces and distribute’ > Arabic *bayyaḥa* ‘to cut into pieces and distribute’; Soqoṭri *ʾebiḥ* ‘to fall to one’s lot’, *šeʾebaḥ* ‘to share’. D. Cohen 1970— :62. Berber: Tamazight *bbəy* ‘to cut , to divide, to pluck’, *ubuy* ‘cut, pluck’; Kabyle *əbbi* ‘to cut, to pluck’, *tibbit*

'plucked'; Nefusa *əbbi* 'to gather, to pick fruit'; Ghadames *əbbək* 'to gather'; Mzab *əbbi* 'to take, to take away, to remove, to gather'. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **biʔ-* 'to trade, to buy and sell' > Iraqw *bu-* 'to pay'; Alagwa *bu-* 'to pay'; K'wadza *beʔ-* 'to buy, to sell, to trade'. Ehret 1980:338. West Chadic **bay-* 'to sell, to trade' > Tangale *paya* 'to trade'; Kirfi *bayi* 'to sell'; Galambu *baya-* 'to sell'; Hausa *bayarr̃* 'to give'. Ongota *biʔe* 'to give'. Fleming 2002b:48. Orël—Stolbova 1995:64, no. 254, **bayVʕ-* 'to sell'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *paya* (*-pp-*, *-nt-*) 'to yield, to produce, to put forth fruit, to be productive', *payappu* 'profit, advantage', *payam* 'profit, advantage, fruit', *payantōr* 'parents''; Tuḷu *paya*, *payi* 'an ear of rice', *payakelu̯*, *payac(c)elu̯* 'the time of shooting of the ears of corn', *payatāye* 'thriving man', *payă̄vuni* 'to shoot (as an ear of corn)', *pāya* 'gain, profit; coming into existence, being delivered of a child'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:351, no. 3937. Semantic development as in English *yield* '(n.) the amount produced, gain, profit' < Old English *gield* '(n.) payment, tribute, tax, compensation', (vb.) *gieldan* 'to pay, to pay for, to give, to render'.

C. Proto-Indo-European **bʰey-*/**bʰoy-*/**bʰi-* 'to give': Hittite (3rd sg. pres., *ḫi*-conjugation) *pa-a-i*, (3rd sg. pres., *mi*-conjugation) *pí-e-ya-zi*, *pi-iz-zi* 'to give'; Palaic *piša-* 'to give'; Hieroglyphic Luwian *pi-ya-* 'to give'; Luwian *piya-* 'to give'; Lycian *piye-* 'to give'; Lydian *bi-* 'to give'. Puhvel 1984— .8:39—57 **bheA$_2$-*, with suffixes **-y-* or **-n-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:614—616. Semantic development as in Kashmiri *bazun* 'to give away (prizes, etc.), to distribute' < Old Indic (Sanskrit) *bhájati* 'to divide, to distribute, to allot or apportion to, to share with; to grant, to bestow, to furnish, to supply'.

D. Altaic: Proto-Turkic **bāy* 'rich' > Old Turkic *bay* 'rich'; Karakhanide Turkic *bay* 'rich'; Turkish *bay* (originally) 'a rich man', (now) 'gentleman, Mr.'; Gagauz *bay* 'rich'; Azerbaijani *bay* 'rich'; Turkmenian *bāy* 'rich'; Uzbek *bɔy* 'rich'; Uighur *bay* 'rich'; Karaim *bay* 'rich'; Tatar *bay* 'rich'; Bashkir *bay* 'rich'; Kirghiz *bay* 'rich'; Kazakh *bay* 'rich'; Noghay *bay* 'rich'; Tuva *bay* 'rich'; Chuvash *poyan* 'rich'; Yakut *bāy* 'rich'. Turkic loans in Classical Mongolian *bayan* 'rich' and related forms in other Mongolian languages. Poppe 1955:128 and 1960:66, 97; Street 1974:8 **bāya(n)* 'rich'. Semantic development as in Old Church Slavic *bogatъ* 'rich', *bogatiti* 'to be rich' < **bogъ* 'share, portion' < Proto-Indo-European **bʰak'-* 'to divide, to distribute' (cf. Sanskrit *bhájati* 'to divide, to distribute, to allot or apportion to, to share with; to grant, to bestow, to furnish, to supply'; Tocharian A *pāk*, B *pāke* 'part, portion'). Note: Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:340—341) include the above forms under Proto-Altaic **bēžu* 'numerous, great'.

E. Proto-Eskimo **payuɣ-* 'to bring food or supplies to': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *payuxtə-* 'to take food to'; Central Alaskan Yupik *payuxtə-* 'to take food to'; Central Siberian Yupik *payuxtə-* 'to go check on'; Seward

Peninsula Inuit *payuk*- ‘to bring food or supplies to’; Western Canadian Inuit *payuk*- ‘to give food, clothing to those remaining’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *payuk*- ‘to bring a gift to’; Greenlandic Inuit *payuɣ* ‘to bring a gift to’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:253.

Sumerian *ba* ‘to give as a gift or ration’.

Buck 1949:11.21 give; 11.42 wealth, riches; 11.51 rich; 11.65 pay (vb.); 11.73 profit; 11.81 buy; 11.82 sell; 11.83 trade (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:219—220, no. 25; Arbeitman 1987:19—31.

41. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bay-a* ‘honey, bee’:

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *bỉ-t*, *by-t* ‘bee, honey’, *bỉty* ‘bee-keeper’; Demotic *ỉbỉ-t* ‘honey’; Coptic *ebiō* [ⲉⲃⲓⲱ] ‘honey’, *ebit* [ⲉⲃⲓⲧ, ⲉⲃⲉⲓⲧ] ‘honey dealer’. Gardiner 1957:564; Erman—Grapow 1921:46 and 1926—1963.1:434; Faulkner 1962:79; Hannig 1995:245; Vycichl 1983:38; Černý 1976:32.

B. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$ey-*/**b$^{h}$oy-*/**b$^{h}$i-* ‘honey, bee’: Old Icelandic *býˊ* ‘bee’; Swedish *bi* ‘bee’; Old English *bēo* ‘bee’; Old Frisian *bē* ‘bee’; Old Saxon *bīa* ‘bee’; Old High German *bīa*, *bīna* ‘bee’ (New High German *Biene*); Old Irish *bech* (< **b$^{h}$i-k$^{h}$o-s*) ‘bee’; Lithuanian *bìtė*, *bitìs* ‘bee’; Old Church Slavic *bьčela* ‘bee’; Baluchi *bēnog* ‘honey’; Dameli *bin* ‘honey’, *binaká* ‘bee’; Pashai *bēn* ‘honey’; Shumashti *bəen* ‘honey’. Pokorny 1959:116 **bhei-* ‘bee’; Walde 1927—1932.II:184—185 **bhĭ̆-*; Mann 1984—1987:80 **bhit-* ‘bee’; Watkins 1985:6 **bhei-* and 2000:8 **bhei-* ‘bee’; Turner 1966:548, no. 9614, **bhēna-* ‘honey’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:611 (fn. 1) **b[$^{h}$]i-t[$^{h}$]h-* and 1995.I:516, I:523—524 **b$^{h}$ei-* ‘bee’; Mallory—Adams 1997:57 **bhi-k$^{w}$ó-* ‘bee, stinging insect’; Kroonen 2013:64 **bīōn-* ‘bee’; Orël 2003:46 Proto-Germanic **ƀīō(n)*; De Vries 1977:66; Onions 1966:84; Klein 1971:76; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:75 **bhĭ̆-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:83 **bhi-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:45; Smoczyński 2007.1:62; Derksen 2015:91—92 **b$^{h}$i-*.

Buck 1949:3.82 bee; 5.84 honey. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:222—223, no. 27; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 273, **bVyV* (or **bVyʔV*) ‘bee’.

42. Proto-Nostratic root **baǯ-* (~ **bəǯ-*):
(vb.) **baǯ-* ‘to be abundant, to be numerous, to be much, to be many’;
(n.) **baǯ-a* ‘abundance’; (adj.) ‘abundant, much, many’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **baʒ-ax-* ‘(vb.) to be abundant, to be numerous, to be much, to be many; (adj.) abundant, much, many; (n.) abundance’ > Arabic *bazḫ* ‘abundance of wealth’; Geez / Ethiopic *bazḫa* [በዝኀ], *bazḥa* [በዝሐ] ‘to be numerous, to be abundant, to be much, to be many, to

increase', *bəzuḫ* [ብዙኅ] 'many, much, numerous, abundant', *bəzḫ* [ብዝኅ] 'multitude, large number, large amount'; Tigrinya *bäzäḥa* 'to be abundant, to be numerous'; Tigre *bäzḥe* 'to be abundant, to be numerous'; Harari *bäzäḥa* 'to be abundant, to abound, to be numerous, to increase'; Argobba *bäzzaḥa* 'to be abundant, to be numerous'; Amharic *bäzza* 'to be abundant, to be numerous'; Gurage *bäzza* 'to be abundant, to be too much, to become more, to be augmented', *bəzä* 'abundant, much'. D. Cohen 1970— :54; Leslau 1963:49, 1979:168, and 1987:117.

B. Dravidian: Pengo *bajek* 'much', *bajoŋ* (pl.) 'many'; Manḍa *bejek* 'much'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:343, no. 3830.

C. Proto-Altaic **bēžu* 'numerous, great': Proto-Tungus **beǯun* 'multitude' > Evenki *beǯen* 'ten deer'; Manchu *baǯi* 'a little bit (more), a while', *baǯikan* 'just a tiny bit (more)'; Nanay / Gold *beǯu* 'thick (of a tree)'. Proto-Mongolian **buǯa-* 'strong, durable; quite good' > Mongolian *buǯaγai* 'strong, sturdy, stalwart; hard, firm, durable, solid; quite good', *buǯamaγai* 'strong, solid, hard, durable; rigid, stiff'; Khalkha *buʒgay* 'strong, durable; quite good'; Buriat *bužagar* 'strong, durable; quite good'; Kalmyk *buzgə̄* 'strong, durable; quite good'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:340—341 **bēžu* 'numerous, great'.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pað-ol*, **pað-oc* 'excess (what is left over)' > Chukchi *parol*, *paroc* 'excess, extra, additional', *parol-at-* 'to add'; Kerek *pajul* 'excess, additional'; Koryak *pajoc* 'excess, additional', *pajoc-at-* 'to remain, to be in excess'; Alyutor *pasus* 'excess', *pasus-at-* 'to remain', (Palana) *patol* 'additional'. Fortescue 2005:207.

Buck 1949:12.15 much; many.

43. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ber-a* 'swamp':

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian (pl.) *berātu*, *birātu* 'swamps'.

B. Indo-European: Pre-Slavic **bʰōr-* 'swamp' > Czech *bara* 'swamp'; Slovak *bára* 'swamp'; Bulgarian *bara* [бара] 'small river, stream; stagnant water; puddle'; Macedonian *bara* [бара] 'puddle'; Serbo-Croatian *bȁra* 'puddle, meadow'.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **perɜ* 'mud; swamp' > Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *pera* 'soft, black earth used to dye cloth', *ber-gop* 'swamp, quagmire'; Zyrian / Komi (Letka) *pereb* 'moss-covered riverbank in a forest'; (?) Hungarian *berëk* 'grove, marshy pasture'. Rédei 1986—1988:374—375 **perɜ* 'mud; swamp'.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 219a, **beRV* 'mud, swamp'.

44. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **b[e]r-a* 'knee':

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **birak-* ‘knee’ > Hebrew *bereχ* [בֶּרֶךְ] ‘knee’, *bāraχ* [בָּרַךְ] ‘to kneel, to bless’ (denominative); Aramaic *birkā* ‘knee’; Syriac *burkā* ‘knee’; Akkadian *birku*, *burku* ‘knee’; Arabic *baraka* ‘to kneel down’ (denominative), (metathesis in) *rukba* ‘knee’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *bɛrk* ‘knee’, *bérɔ́k* ‘(camels) to kneel’ (denominative); Mehri *bark* ‘knee’, *bərōk* ‘(camels) to kneel’ (denominative); Ḥarsūsi *bark* ‘knee’, *berōk* ‘to kneel’ (denominative); Ugaritic *brk* ‘knee’; Geez / Ethiopic *bərk* [ብርክ] ‘knee’, (denominative) *baraka* [በረከ] ‘to kneel, to kneel down, to bend the knee, to genuflect’; Tigre *bərk* ‘knee’, (denominative) *bäräka* ‘to kneel, to lie down’; Tigrinya *bərk̲i* ‘knee’; Gurage *bərk* ‘knee, elbow, joint of finger’; Amharic *bərk* ‘knee’ (loan from Geez); Harari *bərxi*, *bəxri* ‘the unit between two joints (in a finger, sugar-cane, etc.)’, from the term for ‘knee’. D. Cohen 1970— :84; Murtonen 1989:121; Klein 1987:85; Leslau 1963:41, 45—46, 1979:153, and 1987:105; Militarëv 2011:79 Proto-Semitic **bi/ark-*.

B. Kartvelian: Mingrelian (Zugdidian) *birgul-*, (Senakian) *burgul-* ‘knee’; Laz (Atinuri) *burgul-*, (Xopuri) *burgil-* ‘knee’.

Buck 1949:4.36 knee. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:194, no. 31, **bʌrKʌ* ‘knee’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 244, **b[E]RV[k]V* ‘knee’. If we are not dealing with loanwords here, then the Proto-Nostratic root is to be reconstructed as **b[e]r-* (the root vowel is uncertain), to which different derivational suffixes have been added in Afrasian, on the one hand, and Kartvelian, on the other.

45. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bey-a* ‘spirit, soul, self’:

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *bꜣ* ‘soul’ (Demotic *by*); Coptic *bai* [ⲃⲁⲓ] ‘soul’. Hannig 1995:237; Faulkner 1962:77; Erman—Grapow 1921:44 and 1926—1963.1:411—412; Gardiner 1957:563; Vycichl 1983:25; Černý 1976:20.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *pēy* ‘devil, goblin, fiend; madness (as of a dog), frenzy; wildness (as of vegetation)’, *pēyan̲* ‘demoniac, madmen’, *pēytti*, *pēycci*, *pēcci* demoness, woman under possession of a demon’; Malayalam *pē*, *pēyi* ‘demon; rage, madness, viciousness’, *pēna* ‘ghost, spirit’, *pē-nāyi* ‘mad dog’; Kota *pe·n*, *pe·nm* ‘possession of a woman by spirit of the dead’, *pe·y* ‘demon’; Toda *ö·n* ‘the god of the dead’; Kannaḍa *pē*, *hē* ‘madness, rage, viciousness; growing wild (as plants); worthlessness’, *pētu*, *hētu* ‘demon’, *pēṅkuṇi*, *pēṅkuḷi*, *hēkuḷi* ‘demon; madness, fury’, *hēga* ‘a mad, foolish man’; Tuḷu *pēyi* ‘demon’; Gondi *pēn*, *pen*, *ven*, *pēnu* ‘god’, *peṇ* ‘idol, god’, *pēnvor* ‘priest’; Pengo *pen* ‘god’; Kui *pēnu*, *vēnu* ‘a god, a spirit’; Kuwi *pēnū*, *pēnu* ‘god’, *pēnu* ‘devil’, *pēneʔesi* ‘deceased person’; (?) Malto *peypeyre* ‘to feel fervent or animated’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:393, no. 4438; Krishnamurti 2003:7 **pē(y)*/**pēṇ* ‘devil’, 11.

C. Proto-Altaic **bĕye* ‘person, self, body’: Proto-Tungus **beye* ‘person, man’ > Evenki *beye* ‘person, man’; Lamut / Even *bey* ‘person, man’; Negidal

*beye* ‘person, man’; Nanay / Gold *beye* ‘person’; Solon *bei*, *beye* ‘person, man’. Proto-Mongolian **beye* ‘body, person, self’ > Written Mongolian *beye* ‘body, physique, organism; health’; Khalkha *biye* ‘body, physique, stature’; Buriat *beye* ‘body, person; self’; Kalmyk *bī*, *bīyə* ‘body, person; self’; Ordos *biye*, *beye* ‘body, person; self’; Dagur *bey(e)* ‘body, person; self’; Dongxiang *beije* ‘body, person; self’; Shira-Yughur *bəi* ‘body, person; self’; Monguor *bīye*, *buye* ‘body, person; self’. Poppe 1955:47. Poppe 1960:66 and 126; Street 1974:9 **beye* ‘body, person’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:335 **běje* ‘man; self, body’.

Buck 1949:4.11 body; 16.11 soul, spirit; 22.34 devil; 22.35 demon (evil spirit); 22.45 ghost, specter, phantom. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 274, **beʔyV* ‘body, self’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘soul’). The semantic development is more likely to have been from ‘spirit, soul, self’ (= ‘life force, vital energy; living being’ [same semantic range as Latin *anima*]) to ‘body, person’ rather than the other way around.

46. Proto-Nostratic relational marker **bi* ‘in addition to, with, together with’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **bi* ‘in addition to, with, together with’: Proto-Semitic **ba* ~ **bi* ‘in, with, within, among’ > Hebrew *bə-* [בְּ־] ‘in, at, on, with’; Arabic *bi* ‘in, within, among’; Ugaritic *b* ‘in, with, from’; Sabaean *b* ‘from, of, in, on, at’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *b-* ‘at, about, by, with, in’; Ḥarsūsi *b(e)-* ‘in, with, by’; Geez / Ethiopic *ba* [በ] ‘in, at, into, on, by, through, with (by means of), after (kind and means), by reason of, because of, out of, on account of, according to, concerning, against (contiguity)’; Harari *-be* ‘with, from, by, of, in, on, at’; Gurage *bä* ‘with, in, at, by, out, out of, from’. Klein 1987: 62; D. Cohen 1970— :39—40; Leslau 1987:82; Zammit 2002:87. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye (postposition) *-b* ‘by, in, of’. Reinisch 1895:38; Appleyard 2007a:456.

B. Proto-Indo-European **(-)bʰi/y-*, **-bʰo-* ‘in, with, within, among’: Gothic *bi* ‘by, about, over; concerning, according to; at’, *bai* ‘both’; Old English *be*, *bi*; *bī* ‘(of place) near, in, on, upon, with, along, at, to; (of time) in, about, by, before, while, during; for, because of, in consideration of, by, by means of, through, in conformity with, in comparison with’, *-b(e)* in: *ymb(e)* ‘around’; Old Frisian *be-*, *bī-* ‘by, about, at, on’; Old Saxon *be-*, *bī-* ‘by, about, at, on’; Dutch *bij* ‘by, about, at, on’; Old High German *bi-*, *bī* ‘by, about, at, on’ (New High German *bei*); Greek (suffix) -φ(ι), ἀμ-φί ‘on both sides, around’, ἄμ-φω ‘both’; Latin *ambō* ‘both’, (pl. case ending) *-bus*; Sanskrit *a-bhí* ‘to, towards’, *u-bhau* ‘both’, case endings: (instr. pl.) *-bhis*, (dat.-abl. pl.) *-bhyas*, (instr.-dat.-abl. dual) *-bhyām*. Pokorny 1959:34—35 **ambhi* ‘around’, **ambhō(u)* ‘both’, **m̥bhi*, **bhi*; Walde 1927—1932.I:54—55 **ambhi*; **m̥bhi*, **bhi*; **ambhō(u)*; Mann 1984—1987:1 **abhəi* (**əbhəi*) ‘both’, **abhi* (**əbhi*) ‘round, about’, 1—2 **abhu*

(*abhudu*, *abhūḏuə*) ‘both’, 18 *ambh- (*əmbh-, *ᵚmbh-) ‘round’, 18—19 *ambhi (*əmbhi, *ᵚmbhi) ‘on both sides, around’, 19 *ambhō (*əmbhō, *ᵚmbhō) ‘both’, 77 *bhī- ‘by, at’, 862 *obhi-, *obh- ‘athwart, against, at’; Watkins 1985:2 *ambhi (also *ᵚmbhi) ‘around’, 2 *ambhō ‘both’ and 2000:3 *ambhi (also *ᵚmbhi) ‘around’, 3 *ambhō ‘both’; Brugmann 1904:386, 389, 467—468, and 468; Meillet 1964:298—299; Meier-Brügger 2003:197 *-bhi; Fortson 2004:106—107; De Vaan 2008:37—38; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:288, I:380, I:381, I:394, I:396 *-b[ʰ]i/*-b[ʰ]i-s, *-b[ʰ]os and 1995.I:250, I:333, I:334, I:345, I:347 *-bʰi/*-bʰi-s, *-bʰos; Orël 2003:44—45 Proto-Germanic *ƀi; Feist 1939:74 and 88 *bhi; Lehmann 1986:56 and 67; Onions 1966:131; Klein 1971:102; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:45; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:61; Kluge—Seebold 1989:70.

C. Etruscan *pi* (also *pul*) ‘at, in, through’.

Sumerian *bi* ‘with, together with, in addition to’; *-bi*, *bi-da*, *-bi-(da)* ‘and’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:218—219, no. 23; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 272, *bayV ‘(n.) place; (vb.) to be somewhere’.

47. Proto-Nostratic root *bin- (~ *ben-):
(vb.) *bin- ‘to tie (together), to fasten, to twist together, to bind (together)’;
(n.) *bin-a ‘tie, bond’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ben- ‘to tie’: Berber: Ghadames *aβən* ‘to tie’; Ahaggar *ahən* ‘to tie’. Central Chadic *byan- ‘to tie’ > Logone *ɓən*, *bən* ‘to tie’; Buduma *peenai*, *fanai* ‘to tie’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:66, no. 262, *ben- ‘to tie’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *piṇai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to entwine (intr.), to unite, to copulate; to tie, to fasten, to clasp each other’s hands as in dancing’, *piṇai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘(vb.) to link, to unite, to tie, to fasten, to clasp hands; (n.) being knit together, joint in planks, tie, flower garland, bail, security, pledge, consent’, *piṇaiyali* ‘joining together, flower garland, hinge, copulation’, *piṇi* ‘(vb.) to tie, to fetter, to link, to win over; (n.) fastening, bond, attachment, plait’, *piṇippu* ‘binding, tie, attachment’, *piṇaṅku* (*piṇaṅki-*) ‘to be linked together, to be intertwined, to be at variance’, *piṇakku* (*piṇakki-*) ‘to fasten, to intertwine’; Malayalam *piṇa* ‘tying, yoke, being involved, bail, surety, coupling’, *piṇekka* ‘to tie together, to yoke, to ensnare’; Toda *pïṇ* ‘surety’; Kannaḍa *peṇe* ‘(vb.) to unite or tie different things together, to intertwine, to twist, to plait, to braid; to be jointed, to unite, to be intertwined, to get entangled; (n.) an entwined state, union, company’; Telugu *peṇa* ‘a twist of ropes, tie, bond’, *penãcu* ‘to twist, to twist together’, *penãgonu* ‘to be twisted, to be mingled, to join, to unite’, *penapu* ‘(vb.) to join, to unite, to twist; (n.) dispute’, *pēnu* ‘to twist, to entwine, to twist two or three single threads into a thick thread’; Naikṛi

*pēnḍ-* ‘to twist, to twine’; Parji *pinna* ‘bund of field’; Brahui *pinning* ‘to be twisted’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:368, no. 4159. Tamil *pi<u>nn</u>u* (*pi<u>nn</u>i-*) ‘to plait, to braid, to lace, to knit, to weave, to entwine, to bind, to embrace; to become united’, *pi<u>nn</u>al* ‘braiding, web, entanglement, matted hair’, *pi<u>nn</u>akam* ‘braided hair’, *pi<u>nn</u>u* (*pi<u>nn</u>i-*) ‘to weave’; Gadba (Salur) *pannap-* ‘to weave’; Kuṛux *pandnā* ‘to roll and twist together filaments into threads’; Malayalam *pinnuka* ‘to plait, to twist’, *pinnal* ‘embroilment’; Toda *pïn-* (*pïny-*) ‘to be matted (of hair); to weave (basket), to plait (hair)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:373, no. 4207.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind; 9.75 plait (vb.).

48. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bin-a*, **ban-a* ‘younger relative: (m.) younger brother, younger son; (f.) younger sister, younger daughter’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **bin-* (~ **ban-*) ‘(m.) younger brother, younger son; (f.) younger sister, younger daughter’: Proto-Semitic (m.) **bin-* ‘son’, (f.) **bint-* ‘daughter’ > Akkadian *bīnu*, *binnu*, *būnu* ‘son’, *bintu*, *bunatu*, *buntu* ‘daughter’; Amorite *binum*, *bunum* ‘son’, *bintum*, *bittum*, *bina* ‘daughter’; Hebrew *bēn* [בֵּן] ‘son’ (construct *ben-* [בֶּן]), *baθ* [בַּת] ‘daughter’; Phoenician *bn* ‘son’, *bt* ‘daughter’; Moabite *bn* ‘son’; Ugaritic *bn* /bun-/ ‘son’, *bnt*, *bt* ‘daughter’, *bnš* /bun(n)ōš-/ or /bunuš-/ ‘man’ (< *bn* /bun-/ ‘son’); Arabic *ʔibn* ‘son’, *bint* ‘daughter’; Liḥyānite *bin* ‘son’, *bint* ‘daughter’; Sabaean *bn* ‘son’, *bnt* ‘daughter’; Mehri *ḥə-bōn* (construct *bə́ni*) ‘children’. D. Cohen 1970— :70—71; Murtonen 1989:114; Zammit 2002:102; Klein 1987;76. West Chadic **mV-bVn-* ‘person’ (prefix **mV-*) > Buli *mbən*, *mban* ‘person’. Central Chadic **bin-* ‘brother’ > Lame Pewe *bin* ‘brother’. Ehret 1995:85, no. 18, **bin-*/**ban-* ‘to beget’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:72, no. 288, **bin-* ‘man, male relative’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *pi<u>n</u>* ‘younger brother’, *pi<u>nn</u>ava<u>n</u>* ‘younger brother, youngest son’, *pi<u>nn</u>aval*, *pi<u>nn</u>a<u>n</u>* ‘younger brother’, *pi<u>nn</u>i* ‘younger sister, mother’s younger sister’, *pi<u>nn</u>ar* ‘younger brother’, *pi<u>nn</u>ai* ‘younger brother, younger sister’; Toda *pïn* ‘younger (son), second (wife)’; Tuḷu *piñyañvu* ‘small, little’, *panne* ‘small’; Telugu *pinnayya* ‘father’s younger brother, mother’s younger sister’s husband’, *pina*, *pinna*, *punna* ‘young, younger, small, tiny’, *pinni*, *pinnamma* ‘mother’s younger sister, father’s younger brother’s wife’; Konḍa *pina* ‘young, small’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:373, no. 4205. Kuṛux *pinnī* ‘aunt (wife of father’s younger brother), niece (older brother’s daughter)’; Malto *peni* ‘mother’s elder sister’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:373, no. 4209.

C. Proto-Eskimo **paniɣ* ‘daughter’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *panik* ‘daughter’; Central Alaskan Yupik *panik* ‘daughter’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *panik* ‘daughter’; Central Siberian Yupik *panik* ‘daughter’; Sirenik *panəx*, *panix* ‘daughter’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *panik* ‘daughter’; North Alaskan Inuit

*panik* ‘daughter’; Western Canadian Inuit *panik* ‘daughter’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *panik* ‘daughter’; Greenlandic Inuit *panik* ‘daughter’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1995:249.

Buck 1949:2.41 son; 2.42 daughter; 2.44 brother; 2.45 sister; 14.14 young. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 212, **beǹ|ńV* ‘younger relative’.

49. Proto-Nostratic root **bir-* (~ **ber-*):
(vb.) **bir-* ‘to swell, to rise, to grow’;
(n.) **bir-a* ‘largeness, greatness, height, tallness’; (adj.) ‘big, large, great, tall’
Extended form:
(vb.) **bir-V-g-* ‘to be high’;
(n.) **bir-g-a* ‘height, high place’; (adj.) ‘high, tall, lofty’

Note: The unextended form is found in Dravidian.

A. Proto-Afrasian **birVg-* ‘to be high’: Berber: Tuareg *burg-ət* ‘to rise’. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *bírga* ‘high, tall’; Galla / Oromo *borgi* ‘height’. Reinisch 1895:51. Orël—Stolbova 1995:73, no. 294, **birVg-* ‘to be high’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *per*, *perum*, *pēr* ‘great’, *peru* ‘to grow thick, large, stout; to become numerous’, *peruku* (*peruki-*) ‘to increase in numbers, to multiply; to become full, perfected; to rise, to overflow, to swell; to be increased, augmented, enlarged; to prosper, to grow’; Kannaḍa *per*, *pēr* (before vowels) ‘largeness, tallness, greatness; large, tall, great’; Koḍagu *perï-*, *perïm-* ‘big’, *perï-* (*perïp-*, *perït-*) ‘to increase’; Tuḷu *peri*, *periya* ‘large, great, high, superior’, *percuni*, *pērcuni* ‘to rise, to increase’; Telugu *perũgu*, *per(u)gu*, *per(u)vu* ‘to grow, to grow up, to increase, to accumulate, to be augmented, to expand, to extend’; Malayalam *peru*, *pēr* ‘great, large, chief’, *periya* ‘large, great’, *perukuka* ‘to grow large, to be multiplied’; Kolami *perg-* (*perekt-*) ‘to grow’; Konḍa *pergi-* ‘to grow up’, *per*, *peri* ‘big, large, elder (of siblings)’, *pir-* ‘to grow’; Kuwi *bir-* ‘to grow, to multiply’; Brahui *piring* ‘to swell (of the body or limbs)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:389—390, no. 4411; Krishnamurti 2003:118 **per-V-* ‘to grow big’ and 393—394 **pēr*/**per-V* ‘big’. Tamil *per̲ram* ‘greatness; bull or cow; buffalo’, *per̲ru* ‘greatness, bull’, *per̲ri*, *per̲rimai* ‘greatness, esteem’, *pir̲aṅku* (*pir̲aṅki-*) ‘to be great, exalted, lofty, elevated; to grow full, complete, abundant; to overflow; to grow large in size; to be densely crowded’, *pir̲aṅkal* ‘greatness, abundance, fullness, height, mountain, heap, mass’, *pir̲akkam* ‘loftiness’; Malayalam *per̲ran* ‘stout, robust’; Telugu *per̲ugu*, *per̲ũgu* ‘to swell, to rise’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:392, no. 4425. (?) Kui *pṛihpa* (*pṛiht-*) ‘to be tall, high, lofty; to grow tall’, *pṛīpa* (*pṛīt-*) ‘to be tall’, *pṛīsa* ‘tall, high, lofty’; Kuwi *pli-* ‘to be big’, *plīnai* ‘to grow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:371, no. 4192.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **bɻg-* ‘strong, high, large’: Georgian *brge* ‘high’; Svan *bəg-i* (< **big-* < **bɻg-*) ‘firm, bold’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:60—61 **brg-*; Fähnrich 2007:76 **brg-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:879 and 1995.I:776 **bɻg-*. Proto-Kartvelian **breg-* ‘hill’: Georgian *breg-i* ‘hill, hillock’; Mingrelian *rag-a* (< **brag-*) ‘hill’ (toponym). Fähnrich 2007:77 **breg-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European **bʰergʰ-*/**bʰorgʰ-*/**bʰɻgʰ-* ‘(adj.) high, tall; (n.) mountain, hill’: Hittite *pár-ku-uš* ‘high’; Sanskrit *bṛhánt-* ‘high, tall, great, strong’; Avestan *bərəzant-* ‘great, lofty’; Armenian *barjr* ‘high’; Welsh *bre* ‘hill’; Gothic **bairgs* ‘mountain’, *baurgs* ‘city, town’; Old Icelandic *bjarg*, *berg* ‘mountain, rock’, *borg* ‘stronghold, fortification, castle; fortified town, city’; Old English *beorh*, *beorg* ‘hill, mountain’, *burg*, *bur(u)h* ‘fortified place, (fortified) town, city’; Old Frisian *berch* ‘mountain’, *bur(i)ch* ‘fortified place, castle, city’; Old Saxon *berg* ‘mountain’, *burg* ‘fortified place, castle, city’; Old High German *berg* ‘mountain’ (New High German *Berg*), *burg* ‘fortified place, castle, city’ (New High German *Burg*); Tocharian A *pärk-*, *park-*, B *pärk-* ‘to rise (sun)’, B *pärkare* ‘long’; Greek πύργος ‘tower’ (pre-Greek loanword). Germanic loans in: Latin *burgus* ‘castle, fort, fortress’; Old Irish *brugh*, *brog*, *borg* ‘castle’. Rix 1998a:63—64 **bʰergʰ-* ‘to be high, to rise, to raise’; Pokorny 1959:140—141 **bhereĝh-* ‘high, noble’; Walde 1927—1932.II:172—174 **bherĝh-*; Mann 1984—1987:74 **bherĝh-* ‘high; height’, 125 (**bhurgh-*, **bhrugh-*); Watkins 1985:8 **bhergh-* and 2000:11 **bhergh-* (reduced-grade form **bhɻgh-*) ‘high’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:217 **b[ʰ]erĝ[ʰ]-*, II:744—745, II:781, II:879 **b[ʰ]erĝ[ʰ]-*/**b[ʰ]ɻĝ[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:150 **bʰergʰ-* ‘high, large; strong; top’, I:576—577, I:648; Mallory—Adams 1997:269 **bhɻĝhús*, **bhɻĝhént-* ‘high’, 269 **bhɻĝhu̯tih$_a$-* ‘high one’, and 269 **bherĝh-*, **bhɻĝh-* ‘high; hill, mountain’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:445—447 **berǵh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:629—630; Beekes 2010.II:1262 (pre-Greek loanword); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:958; Boisacq 1950:829; Hofmann 1966:291; Ernout—Meillet 1979:78; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:124; Orël 2003:42 Proto-Germanic **þerɣan* ~ **þerɣaz* and 63—64 **þurɣz*; Kroonen 2013:60 **berga-* ‘mountain’; Feist 1939:75—76 and 85—86; Lehmann 1986:57—58 and 64—65; De Vries 1977:39 and 50; Onions 1966:108; Klein 1971:89 **bherĝh-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:39; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:66 and 111—112; Kluge—Seebold 1989:75 and 114—115; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:362 **bherĝh-*; Adams 1999:372—373 and 2013:399—400 **bʰerĝʰ-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:30—34 **bʰerĝʰ-*; Puhvel 1984— .8:127—133 **bhɻgh-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:636—637; Georgiev 1981:99 and 100; Katičić 1976.I:71—72, 93, and 94. Probable Indo-European loans in Semitic (Arabic *burǧ* ‘tower, castle’; Aramaic *burgin*, *burgon* ‘tower’; Syriac *būrgā* ‘tower’).

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 12.31 high. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:214—216, no. 19; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:177, no. 9, **berg/i/* ‘high’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 243, **b[i]rVgE* ‘high, tall’.

50. Proto-Nostratic root **bir-* (~ **ber-*):
(vb.) **bir-* ‘to sing, to play (a musical instrument)’;
(n.) **bir-a* ‘singing, playing (a musical instrument), musical instrument’

    A. Dravidian: Koṇḍa *piruṛi* ‘flute’; Kui *piroṛi* ‘flute’; Kuwi *pīrūri*, *pīruḍi*, *pīruṛi* ‘flute’; Kuṛux *pẽ̃õē* ‘flute, pipe, whistle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:370, no. 4178.
    B. Proto-Kartvelian **bir-* ‘to sing’: Mingrelian *bir-* ‘to sing, to play (a musical instrument)’; Laz *bir-* ‘to sing’; Svan *br-* ‘to sing’, *la-brjäl* ‘singing’. Klimov 1964:53 **br-* and 1998:17—18 **br-* ‘to sing’; Fähnrich 2007:68—69 **bir-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:56 **bir-*.

    Buck 1949:18.12 sing.

51. Proto-Nostratic root **bir-* (~ **ber-*):
(vb.) **bir-* ‘to cut, rip, pull, break, or tear off; to pull’;
(n.) **bir-a* ‘the act of cutting, ripping, pulling, breaking, or tearing off’

    A. Proto-Afrasian **ber-* ‘to cut off’: Proto-Southern Cushitic **biir-* ‘to cut off’ > K’wadza *bilaʔi-* ‘dull’, *bilat-* ‘to drill, to cut a hole’; Dahalo *ɓiir-* ‘to cut grass, to mow’. Ehret 1980:138. Central Chadic **byar-* ‘to cut off’ > Tangale *ber* ‘to cut off’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:67, no. 266, **ber-* ‘to cut’.
    B. Dravidian: Tamil *piri* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) (also *piṟi*) ‘to become disjoined or parted; to become unfastened; to be untwisted, ripped, or loosened (as a seam or texture); to disagree (as persons); to part (tr.), to sever’, *piri* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to separate (tr.), to disunite, to sever, to divide, to untwist, to disentangle, to untie, to solve (as a riddle), to dismantle (as the thatch of a roof), to distribute’, *pirical* ‘division, partition, threadbare or tattered condition’, *pirippu* ‘separation, division, estrangement’, *piripu*, *pirivu* ‘separation, severance, division, disunion, disagreement, loosening, secession, gap’; Malayalam *pirikka* ‘to sever, to dismiss, to divorce’, *piriccal* ‘separation, dismissal’, *piriyukka* ‘to become disjoined, to separate, to part with’; Kota *piry-* (*pirc-*) ‘to separate part from part (intr., tr.); to demolish (building)’, *pirc-* (*pirc-*) ‘to separate (persons) (tr.)’, *pirnj-* (*pirnj-*) ‘to separate oneself from’, *piryv* ‘a place separate from another’s place’; Toda *pïry-* (*pïrs-*) ‘to be demolished’, *pïry-* (*pïrc-*) ‘to demolish’; Kannaḍa *hiri* ‘to separate into portions, to break up, to pull to pieces, to demolish, to pull out of, to unsheathe, to take (pearl) from (a string); to be broken up or demolished, to fall from (a bundle, a string)’, *higgisu* ‘to separate, to disjoin’, *higgu* ‘to separate (intr.), to be disconnected’, *higgalisu* ‘to separate or disjoin (as

the legs), to open wide (as an eye with the fingers, as the mouth of a bag)'; Koḍagu *piri-* (*pirip-*, *piric-*) 'to turn (cattle) in a different direction; to send away, to cause to disperse', *piri-* (*piriv-*, *piriñj-*) '(assembly) to disperse, (person) to return to one's own place', *piriv* 'dispersing'; Tuḷu *piripu*, *biripu* 'abatement, cessation'; Koraga *pirpi* 'to make the spirit leave a person'; Telugu *pridulu* 'to become loose, to fall off, to separate, to leave each other, to be dislocated'; Gadba (Salur) *pirg-* (*pirig-*) 'to open (like a flower)', *pirukp-* 'to open (like a book, packet) (tr.)'; Kui *prīva* (*prīt-*) 'to be cracked, cloven, opened out; to be hatched', *priŋg-* 'to be torn'; Kuwi *prik-* 'to break open (fruit)', *prik-* 'to split (bamboo)'; Malto *pirce* 'to be smashed'; Brahui *pirghing* 'to break, to rend, to transgress, to solve (a riddle)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:370, no.4176.

C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **pər-* 'to pull out': Chukchi *pər-* 'to pull out by the root, to rip out'; Koryak *pəj-* 'to pluck, to harvest, to peel, to take away'; Alyutor *pr-* 'pluck, to take off'. Forescue 2005:225.

Sumerian *bir* 'to tear, to rip, to rend; to pull, to snatch, to yank', $bir_6$ 'to tear up, to tear to pieces, to shred; to rip apart, to sever, to break up'.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.).

52. Proto-Nostratic **bir$^{y}$-* (~ **ber$^{y}$-*):
(vb.) **bir$^{y}$-* 'to enjoy, to savor';
(n.) **bir$^{y}$-a* 'fruit'
Extended form:
(n.) **bir$^{y}$-q'-a* 'plum'

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic (collective) *barḳūḳ* 'plum', *birḳūḳ-*, *burḳūḳ-* 'apricot, yellow plum'. Note: These may be loanwords from Latin.

B. Dravidian: Koṇḍa *piṛika*, *pṛīka*, *piṛka* 'green mango'; Pengo *pṛīla* 'green mango'; Manḍa *pṛīla* 'green mango'; Kui *pṛia* 'unripe mango'; Kuwi *pṛilā* 'unripe mango'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:371, no. 4184.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **berq'en-* 'wild pear, wild plum(-tree)': Georgian *b(e)rq'ena-* 'wild pear'; Svan *barq'wen(d)*, *bärq'en* 'wild plum(-tree)' (this may be a loan from Georgian). Klimov 1964:54 **brǫen-* and 1998:12 **berǫen-* 'wild pear, wild plum(-tree)'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:41 **berǫen-*; Fähnrich 2007:60 **berǫen-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$r-uH-k'-* (> **b$^{h}$rūk'-*) '(vb.) to enjoy, to use; (n.) fruit': Latin *frūx* (gen. sg. *frūgis*), usually plural *frūgēs* 'fruits of the earth', *fruor* (< **frūu̯or* < **frūgu̯or*) 'to have the benefit of, to enjoy', (dat. sg.; used as indecl. adj.) *frūgī* 'useful, honest, discreet, moderate, temperate', *frūctuōsus* 'fruit-bearing, fruitful, fertile', *frūgifer* 'fruit-bearing, fruitful, fertile', *frūctus* 'enjoyment, enjoying; proceeds, profit, produce, fruit, income'; Umbrian (acc. pl.) *frif*, *fri* 'fruits'; Gothic *brūks* 'useful', *brūkjan*

‘to use’; Old English *brȳce* ‘useful’, *brūcan* ‘to make use of, to enjoy’ (Middle English *brūken* ‘to enjoy, to use’, [pres.] *brouke*; *brūche* ‘useful’), *broc* ‘use, benefit’; Old Frisian *brūka* ‘to use’; Old Saxon *brūkan* ‘to use’; Dutch *gebruiken* ‘to use’; Old High German *prūhhi* ‘useful’, *brūhhan*, *brūhhen* ‘to use’ (New High German *brauchen* ‘to need, to want, to require’). Rix 1998a:81 **b$^{h}$reu̯Hg-* ‘to use, to enjoy’; Pokorny 1959:173 **bhrūg-* ‘(n.) fruit; (vb.) to use, to enjoy’, perhaps originally from **bhreu-* ‘to cut off’, becoming ‘to remove fruit for one’s own use’, then ‘to enjoy, to use’; Walde 1927—1932.II:208 **bhrūg-*; Watkins 1985:9—10 **bhrūg-* and 2000:13 **bhrūg-* ‘agricultural produce; to enjoy (results, produce)’; Mann 1984—1987:106 **bhrūg-* ‘use, benefit, product, profit’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:256—257 and 257; De Vaan 2008:244—245; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:552—553 **bhrūg-*; Orël 2003:60 Proto-Germanic **ƀrūkanan*; Kroonen 2013:79—80 **bruk(k)ōn-* ‘to break, to crumble’; Feist 1939:107 possibly originally from **bhreu̯-* ‘to cut off’ (for the meaning, cf. Sanskrit *bhunákti* ‘to enjoy, to use, to possess’, especially, ‘to enjoy a meal, to eat, to eat and drink, to consume’); Lehmann 1986:81 possibly originally from **bhrew-* ‘to cut off’; Onions 1966:120 **bhrug-*; Klein 1971:96; Barnhart 1995:88; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:96 **bhrŭ̄g-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:102—103; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:64.

Buck 1949:5.71 fruit; 9.423 use (vb. = make use of). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 257, **b[i]ŕ[üw]ą́a* (or **b[i]ŕ[uw]ą́a* ?) ‘edible fruit’.

53. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bir$^{y}$-a* ‘penis’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **bVr-* ‘penis’: Proto-Semitic **ʔibr-(at-)* ‘penis’ > Hebrew *ʔēβār* [אֵבָר, אֵיבָר] ‘penis’; Aramaic *ʔēβrā* ‘penis’; Arabic *ʔibrat-* ‘penis’; Arabic (Daṯina) *burrat*, *barbūr* ‘glans penis’; Arabic (Omani) *barbur* ‘penis’. Klein 1987:4; Militarëv 2005:92; Militarëv—Kogan 2000:4—5. (?) Egyptian *bȝȝwt* ‘virility’. Faulkner 1962:77; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:417; Hannig 1995:240. Chadic: Hausa *buuraa* ‘penis’; Bura *bura* ‘penis’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:83, no. 339, **bur-* ‘penis’.

B. Dravidian: Kota *pi·ṛ* ‘penis’; Manḍa *pīḍa* ‘penis’; Kuwi *pīṛā*, *pīrā* ‘penis’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:374, no. 4220.

Buck 1949:4.492 penis.

54. Proto-Nostratic root **bit’$^{y}$-* (~ **bet’$^{y}$-*):
(vb.) **bit’$^{y}$-* ‘to press between the fingers, to squeeze, to crush’;
(n.) **bit’$^{y}$-a* ‘squeeze, pinch, pressure’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *picai* ‘to work with the thumb and fingers in mixing, to knead, to squeeze or mash between the palms, to crush and separate (as

kernels of grain from the ear), to rub or apply on the skin, to strike against one another (as branches in the wind)', *picakku* (*picakki-*) 'to press between the fingers, to squeeze, to crush', *picaṟu* (*picaṟi-*) 'to mingle, to mix with the hand'; Kota *pick-* (*picky-*) 'to squeeze, to pinch'; Kannaḍa *pisuku* 'to squeeze, to press (as a fruit), to knead, to shampoo', *hisi* 'to squeeze (a ripe fruit) so as nearly to separate it into two pieces'; Tuḷu *piskuni*, *pīsuni* 'to squeeze, to press'; Koraga *pijaŋki* 'to crush'; Telugu *pisuku* 'to squeeze, to press, to knead, to shampoo, to handle'; Naikṛi *pijg-* 'to knead'; Parji *pīk-* 'to crush'; Gadba (Ollari) *piskolp-* (*piskolt-*) 'to squeeze'; Gondi *piskānā* 'to knead flour'; Pengo *pīc-* (*pīcc-*) 'to squeeze, to milk'; Kui *pīc-* 'to press, to squeeze, to milk'; Kuṛux *picka'ānā* 'to press and bruise, to flatten by crushing'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:366, no. 4135; Krishnamurti 2003:149 **pic-V-* (~ **piẓ-V-*) 'to squeeze'.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **bič'k'-* 'to break, to crumble': Old Georgian *bič'-* 'to crumble', participial derivatives *na-bič'-* // *na-bič'-ev-* 'crumb'; Svan *li-beč'k'w* 'to break (apart), to burst', *li-bč'k'we* 'to split something'. Klimov 1964:52 **biç̌-* and 1998:14 **beç̌-/*biç̌-* 'to crumble, to break'; Fähnrich 1994:230; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:54 **beç̌-/*biç̌-*.

Sumerian *biz* 'to press or squeeze out (oil)'.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:179, no. 12, **biç̌-* 'to break'; Bomhard 1996a:226.

55. Proto-Nostratic root **biṯɬ$^h$- (~ *beṯɬ$^h$-)*:
(vb.) **biṯɬ$^h$-* 'to break, to split, to prick (tr.); to split apart, to break open, to burst forth (intr.)';
(n.) **biṯɬ$^h$-a* 'break, slit, hole, piece broken off'

A. Proto-Afrasian **biṯɬ-* 'to break, to split, to prick (tr.); to break open, to burst forth (intr.); (?) to split': Proto-Semitic **baṯɬ-aʕ-* 'to prick, to pierce, to break or tear off' > Geez / Ethiopic *basʿa* [**ሰሰዐ**] 'to flay alive'; Tigrinya *bäsʿe* 'to pierce'; Tigre *bašʿä* 'to tear off a very small piece'; Amharic *bässa* 'to perforate, to puncture, to pierce, to drill a hole'. Amharic *bässäkä* 'to tear, to rip'. D. Cohen 1970— :73 **bsɛ* (that is, **bsʕ*); Leslau 1987:109. Proto-Semitic **baṯɬ-at'-* 'to slit' > Śḥeri / Jibbāli *bɔ́śɔ́ṯ* 'to slit'; Ḥarsūsi *beśōṯ* 'to slit'; Mehri *bəśōṯ* 'to slit'. (?) Egyptian *bšy*, *bšỉ* 'to spit; to vomit', *bšw* 'vomit' (semantic development as in German *sich (er)brechen* 'to vomit' < 'to break open, to burst forth'). Hannig 1995:262; Faulkner 1962:85; Erman—Grapow 1921:50 and 1926—1963.1:477; Gardiner 1957:564. (?) West Chadic **biṯɬ-* 'to spit' > Angas *bis*, *bes* 'to spit'. (?) East Chadic **bVṯɬ-* 'to spit' > Somray *bəːsə* 'to spit'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:43, no. 170, **baĉaʕ-* 'to tear off, to break off' (but, for

Chadic, cf. Newman 1977:23, no. 15, Proto-Chadic *ɓahlə ‘to break’), and 70, no. 280, *biĉ- ‘to spit’.

B. Dravidian: Malayalam *pikkuka* (*picc-*) ‘to break in pieces’; Telugu *pigulu*, *pikulu*, *pivulu* ‘to burst’; Kui *pinja* (*pinji-*) ‘to burst’; Kuwi *pinj-* ‘(fire) to explode, to spark out’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:366, no. 4129.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **peðä-* ‘to prick’ > Lapp / Saami *bæðð̂-/bæð̂-* ‘to prick, to make a hole in’; Mordvin *pele-* ‘to bore, to drill’; Vogul / Mansi *peel-* ‘to prick’; Ostyak / Xanty *pel-*, (Southern) *pet-* ‘to prick’. Collinder 1955:74, 1960:410 **peðä-*, and 1977:90; Sammallahti 1988:547 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pedä-* ‘to prick’. But, cf. Rédei 1986—1988:371 under **pelɜ-*.

Buck 1949:4.56 spit; 4.57 vomit; 9.27 split (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 379, no. 214.

56. Proto-Nostratic **bor$^{y}$-a* ‘(n.) a dark color; (adj.) dark, dark-colored’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **bor-* ‘dark-colored’: Egyptian *br* ‘pigment, color’. Hannig 1995:256. Berber: Mzab *bbərçən* ‘to be or become dark’, *abərçan* ‘black’; Tamazight *bərkin*, *bərcin* ‘to be black, swarthy; to blacken’, *abərkan* ‘black; Kabyle *ibrik* ‘to be black’, *abərkan* ‘black, dark, swarthy, of a dark complexion’. Proto-East Cushitic **boʔr-* (< **borʔ-*) ‘red, yellow, brown, dark-colored’ > Burji *bóor-ee* ‘(n.) yellow color’; Somali *bor-a* ‘gray, dirty’; Arbore *bur-iy-ɗa* ‘red’; Dasenech *bur* ‘red’; Konso *poor-* (pl. *puʔʔur-*) ‘black’; Dobase *poor-e* ‘burned or carbonized material’; Elmolo *burr-i-ɗa* ‘red’; Galla / Oromo *boor-uu* ‘ash-colored, dim, dull’; Hadiyya *bork’-* (< **borʔ-*) ‘dark-colored’; Gidole *poor-* ‘black’. Sasse 1982:39. Orël—Stolbova 1995:76, no. 307, **boHar-* ‘to be yellow, to be gray’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$or-*, **b$^{h}$ru-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **b$^{h}$er-*) ‘brown’ (< ‘dark-colored’), (reduplicated) **b$^{h}$e-b$^{h}$ru-*: Sanskrit *babhrú-ḥ* ‘reddish brown, brown’; Latin *fiber* ‘beaver’; Old Icelandic *brúnn* ‘brown’, *björn* ‘bear’, *bjórr* ‘beaver’; Swedish *brun* ‘brown’; Old Norwegian *brúnn* ‘brown’; Old English *brūn* ‘brown’, *bera* ‘bear’, *beofor* ‘beaver’; Old Frisian *brūn* ‘brown’; Old Saxon *biƀar* ‘beaver’, *brūn* ‘brown’; Dutch *beer* ‘bear’, *bever* ‘beaver’, *bruin* ‘brown’; Old High German *brūn* ‘brown’ (New High German *braun*), *bero* ‘bear’ (New High German *Bär*), *bibar* ‘beaver’ (New High German *Biber*); Lithuanian *bẽras* ‘brown’, *bebrùs* ‘beaver’; Old Church Slavic **bebrъ* ‘beaver’; Russian *bobr* [бобр] ‘beaver’; Polish *bóbr* ‘beaver’; Greek φρῦνη, φρῦνος ‘toad’. Pokorny 1959:136—137 **bher-* ‘glittering, bright brown’; Walde 1927—1932.II:166—167 **bhĕro-s*, **bheru-s*; Mann 1984—1987:69 **bhebhros*, *-us* ‘red-brown, beaver’, 108 **bhrūnos* ‘dun, brownish; brown or dun-colored creature’; Watkins 1985:7 **bher-* and 2000:10 **bher-* ‘bright, brown’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:22 **b[$^{h}$]er-*, II:530 **b[$^{h}$]ib[$^{h}$]er-*,

*b[ʰ]eb[ʰ]er- and 1995.I:23 *bʰer- ‘brown’, I:448 *bʰibʰer-, *bʰebʰer- ‘beaver’; Mallory—Adams 1997:57 *bhébhrus ‘beaver’ and 85 *bher- ‘brown’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1230—1231; Hofmann 1966:405—406; Boisacq 1950:1040; Beekes 2010.II:1594; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1047; De Vaan 2008:217; Ernout—Meillet 1979:231—232; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:490—491 *bhe-bhru-s (*bhe-bhro-s); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:409—410 *bhe-bhr-u- (also *bhebhro-); Orël 2003:40—41 Proto-Germanic *ƀeƀruz, 60 *ƀrūnaz; Kroonen 2013:56—57 Proto-Germanic *bebura- ‘beaver’; De Vries 1977:40, 41, and 61; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:64; Klein 1971:74—75 *bhero- ‘brown’, 75 *bhe-bhru-s ‘very brown’, and 97; Onions 1966:83 and 121; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:50—51 *bhero-, 73—74 *bhebhrú-, and 97; Kluge—Seebold 1989:59—60, 82—83, and 103; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:39.

C. Proto-Altaic *borʸV ‘dark-colored, gray’: Proto-Mongolian *boro ‘dark-colored, gray’ > Written Mongolian *boro*, *boru* ‘gray, brown, dark, swarthy (face)’; Monguor *boro* ‘gray’; Ordos *boro* ‘gray’; Khalkha *bora* ‘gray’; Buriat *boro* ‘gray’; Moghol *borō* ‘gray’; Kalmyk *borə* ‘gray’. Mongolian loans in: Manchu *boro* ‘gray’; Evenki *boroŋ* ‘gray’, *boronkōn* ‘brown stag, hart’. Proto-Turkic *borʸ- ‘dark-colored, gray’ > Old Turkic *boz* ‘gray’; Azerbaijani *boz* ‘gray’; Turkmenian *boz* ‘gray’; Uzbek *bụz* ‘gray’; Uighur *boz*, *bos* ‘gray’ Kirghiz *boz* ‘gray’; Kazakh *boz* ‘gray’; Noghay *boz* ‘gray’. Poppe 1955:54 and 1960:20 and 81; Street 1974:9 *bor²- ‘gray’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:376 *boŕV ‘gray’.

Buck 1949:3.37 bear; 15.63 dark (in color). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:224, no. 29; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:183—184, no. 18, *bor'a ‘brown, gray-brown’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 255, *boŕ[ʔ]û ‘brown, yellow’.

57. Proto-Nostratic root *bud- (~ *bud-):
(vb.) *bud- ‘to set fire to something, to kindle’;
(n.) *bud-a ‘blaze, light, fire’

A. Dravidian: Pengo *puṭ-* ‘to set fire to, to kindle’; Kui *puṭpa* (*puṭṭ-*), *puṛpa* (*puṛt-*) ‘to roast’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:377, no. 4260.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *bdw- ‘to set fire, to catch fire’: Old Georgian *bdv-* ‘to set fire, to catch fire’, (participle) *m-bdvin-vare-* ‘kindled’; Laz *d(v)-* ‘to set fire, to catch fire’; Svan *bd-*/*bid-* (*li-bd-ine*) ‘to set fire to something’, *mə-bid* ‘combustable’. Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:67 *bidw-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:55 *bidw-; Klimov 1998:10 *bdw- ‘to set fire, to catch fire’, *bdw-in- ‘to set fire’.

Buck 1949:1.86 light (vb.), kindle.

58. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bud-a* ‘lowest part or region (of anything)’:

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **budu* ‘buttocks’ > K’wadza *bulituko* ‘woman’s garment covering the hips’, *bulum-* ‘to bend over’; Ma’a *ᵐbúru* ‘goat’s tail’; Dahalo *ɓuu̲w-* ‘to run away’ (for the semantics, Ehret cites English ‘to turn tail’). Ehret 1980:140.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *puṭai*, *puṭam* ‘side, place’; Malayalam *puṭa* ‘side’; Kannaḍa *hoḍe* ‘side’; Tuḷu *puḍè* ‘border, edge, brink, margin, brim, side, interval, space’, *poḍatarè* ‘the side-bone of the skull’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:377, no. 4255. Assuming semantic development from ‘lowest part or region’ to ‘side’ (cf. Buck 1949:12.36 side: “…in general, words for ‘part’ [besides those included in the list here] are often used in the sense of ‘side’.”).

C. Proto-Kartvelian **bud-* ‘lowest part or region (of anything)’ (?): Georgian *bud-e* ‘nest’; Svan *bud*, *bid* ‘vulva’. Klimov 1964:54 **bude-* and 1998:20 **bude-* ‘nest’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:66 **bud-*; Fähnrich 2007:81 **bud-*. Note: Mingrelian *bude* ‘nest’ is borrowed from Georgian.

D. Proto-Indo-European **bʰudʰ-* with various extensions: **bʰudʰ-no-*, **bʰudʰ-mo-* **bʰudʰ-men-*, **bʰu-n-dʰ-* ‘bottom, ground, base, depth, lowest part of anything’: Sanskrit *budh-ná-ḥ* ‘bottom, ground, base, depth, lowest part of anything’; Prakrit *buṁdha-* ‘foot of a tree, root’; Pāḷi *bunda-* ‘root of a tree’; Gujarati *bũdhũ* ‘bottom of a pot’; Marathi *bũdh* ‘bottom of a pot’, *bũd* ‘bottom or base of anything’; Sindhi *b̲uṇḍaṛu* ‘buttock, rump, hip’; Lahnda (f.) *buṇḍṛī* ‘anus, buttock’; Greek πυθμήν ‘the bottom or foundation (of a thing); the bottom or depth (of the sea); the bottom, stock, root (of a tree); the hollow bottom or stand of a cup’, πύνδαξ ‘the bottom (of a vessel)’; Latin *fundus* ‘ground; the bottom or base of anything’; Old Irish *bond*, *bonn* ‘sole of the foot’; Welsh *bon* (< **bʰudʰ-no-*) ‘stem, base, stock’; Old Icelandic *botn* ‘bottom (of a vessel, of a haycock, of the sea); the head of a bay, firth, lake, valley’; Faroese *botnur* ‘bottom’; Norwegian *botn* ‘bottom’; Swedish *botten* ‘bottom’; Danish *bund* ‘bottom’; Old English *botm* (Middle English *boþem*), *bodan* ‘bottom, ground, foundation; ship’s keel’, *bytme*, *byþme*, *byþne* ‘bottom; ship’s keel’; Old Saxon *bodom* ‘bottom’; Dutch *bodem* ‘bottom’; Old High German *bodam* ‘bottom, ground’ (New High German *Boden*). Pokorny 1959:174 **bhudh-m(e)n* ‘bottom’, also **bhudh-mo-*, **bhudh-no-* (> **bhundho-*); Walde 1927—1932.II:190 **bhudh-men-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:247 **bhudhnó-* ‘bottom’ > ‘ground, depth, foot, root’; Watkins 1985:10 **bhudh-* and 2000:13 **bhudh-* (also **budh-*) ‘bottom, base’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:488—489 **b[ʰ]ud[ʰ]-*, **b[ʰ]ud[ʰ]-n-*, II:490 **b[ʰ]ud[ʰ]-n-*, II:528 **b[ʰ]ud[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:408 **bʰudʰ-*, **bʰudʰ-n-* ‘bottom, soil’, I:410 **bʰudʰ-n-* ‘Lower World’, I:447 **bʰudʰ-* ‘Lower World’; Mann 1984—1987:118—119 **bhudhmn-* (**bhudno-*) ‘base, bottom, stock, stump, root, stone’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:438 **bʰudʰ-nó-*; Turner 1966—1969.I:

525; Frisk 1970—1973.II:620—621 **bhudh-*; Boisacq 1950:825—826 **bheudh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:952 **bhudh-*; Hofmann 1966:289—290 **bhudh-no-*, **bhudh-mo-*, **bhundh-(n)o-*; Beekes 2010.II:1255 **bʰudʰ-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:261—262 **bhudh-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:564—565 **bhundhos*; **bhudh-no-*, **bhudh-mo-*; De Vaan 2008:250 **bʰudʰ-n-ó-*; Orël 2003:61 Proto-Germanic **ƀuđmaz* ~ **ƀutmaz*; Kroonen 2013:82 **budman-* ~ **buttman-* 'bottom'; De Vries 1977:51; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:85; Onions 1966:109 **bhudhm(e)n-*, **bhudh-* (also **bhundh-*); Klein 1971:90; Skeat 1898:72; Barnhart 1995:80; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:88; Kluge—Seebold 1989:95 **bhudh-men-*.

E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **putɜ* 'rectum, large intestines' > (?) Lapp / Saami (Southern) *pụʜtʹɛɕɛ̨* 'rectum'; (?) Ostyak / Xanty (Northern) *pŭtə* 'large intestines, rectum (of animals, possibly also of humans)', (Kazym) *pŭtĭ* 'large intestines, rectum (of reindeer)'; (?) Vogul / Mansi (Northern) *puti* 'large intestines'. Rédei 1986—1988:410 **putɜ*. Assuming semantic development from 'lowest part or region (of the body)' > 'bottom, rear end, backside, rump, behind, buttock, anus' (as in Sindhi and Lahnda cited above) > 'rectum, large intestines'.

Buck 1949:4.47 womb; 12.34 bottom; 12.36 side. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 270, **bu[w]ṭV* 'lower part of the body'. Note: The Afrasian material cited by Dolgopolsky does not belong here.

59. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bud-a* 'stick':

A. Proto-Afrasian **bud-* 'stick': Proto-Semitic **badd-* 'pole, stick, beam' > Hebrew **baḏ* [בַּד] 'pole, bar, rod; branch (of a tree)'; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *baddā* 'pole, stick'; Arabic *badd-* 'beam'. Klein 1987:63; D. Cohen 1970— :44—45. Berber **budid-* 'pole of a hut' > Kabyle *a-budid* 'wooden post'. East Chadic **bVdVH-* 'stick' > Kera *bəɗ-uwa* 'stick'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:80, no. 325, **bud-* 'stick'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *uṭu* 'oar, boatman's pole'; Toda *puṭ* 'stirring stick'; Kannaḍa *puṭṭu* 'wooden ladle or spoon, paddle', *huṭṭu*, *uṭṭu* 'paddle'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:377, no. 4265.

60. Proto-Nostratic root **bug-* (~ **bog-*):
(vb.) **bug-* 'to blister, to swell';
(n.) **bug-a* 'boil, blister, pustule'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *pokuṭṭu* 'bubble', *pokku* (*pokki-*) 'to be blistered', *pokkuḷam* 'boil, bubble, blister', *pokkuḷi* 'to rise in blisters'; Malayalam *pokkuḷa*, *pokkiḷa* 'blister, vesicle, bubble', *pokkuḷikka* 'to bubble'; Kota *pogl* 'blister'; Toda *pïg* 'bubble'; Kannaḍa *puguḷ*, *bokke*, *bobbe* 'blister', *hokku* 'boil', *hoppaḷa* 'blister occasioned by a burn', *hoppaḷisu* 'to blister';

Koḍagu *pokkaḷa* ‘a blister’; Tuḷu *pokkè* ‘a blister, pustule; a sore, ulcer’, *bokki*, *bokkè* ‘an itch, pustule, pimple’; Telugu *pokku* ‘(vb.) to blister; (n.) blister’, *bugga* ‘bubble’; Pengo *poka* ‘blister’; Maṇḍa *puka* ‘boil’; Kuwi *bugga*, *būga* ‘bubble’; Kuṛux *pokkhnā* (*pokkhyā*) ‘to get blistered, to swell’; Malto *poka* ‘blister, blain’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:394, no. 4455.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **bug-* ‘pimple, pustule’: Old Georgian *bug-r-i* ‘rash, pimple’; Svan *bugw-ir* ‘pockmarks, smallpox’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:65—66 **bug-*; Fähnrich 1994:226 and 2007:80—81 **bug-*.

61. Proto-Nostratic root **bug-* (~ **bog-*):
Extended form:
(vb.) **bug-V-r-* ‘to make a sound, to make a noise’;
(n.) **bug-r-a* ‘sound, noise’

Note: Only the extended form is attested in the daughter languages.

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *bgʒw* ‘moan, cry, weeping, lamentation, sighing, groaning’. Hannig 1995:264; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:482.

B. Dravidian: Iruḷa *bugari*, *bugiriya* ‘large bamboo flute’; Alu Kuṟumba *buguri* ‘bamboo flute’; Pālu Kuṟumba *bugiri* ‘bamboo flute’; Kota *bugi·r* ‘flute’; Toda *puxury* ‘Toda flute’; Kannaḍa (Badaga) *buguri* ‘Toda flute’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:375, no. 4239.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **bger-* ‘to make a sound’: Old Georgian *bger-* ‘to make a sound’, *bger-a* ‘loud sound, groan(ing), noise’; Mingrelian *ngar-*, *gar-* ‘to weep, to cry’; Laz *bgar-*, *mgar-* ‘to weep, to cry’. Klimov 1964:49 **bger-* and 1998:9 **bger-* ‘to utter; sound, ring’; Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:55 **bger-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:48 **bger-*.

Buck 1949:16.37 cry, weep. Bomhard 1996a:225.

62. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **buk'-a* (~ **bok'-a*) ‘male of small, hoofed animals: he-goat, buck’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **bok'-* ‘goat’: Central Chadic **ɓwak-* (< **bwak'-*) ‘goat’ > Mafa *ɓokw* ‘goat’. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *bōk* ‘goat’. Reinisch 1895:46. Orël—Stolbova 1995:76, no. 309, **boḳ-* ‘goat’. Proto-Afrasian **bok'-ar-* ‘cattle’: Proto-Semitic **bak'-ar-* ‘cattle’ > Akkadian *buḳāru* ‘cattle’ (West Semitic word); Hebrew *bāḳār* [בָּקָר] ‘cattle, herd, oxen’; Phoenician *bḳr* ‘cattle’; Syriac *baḳrā* ‘herd of cattle’; Arabic *baḳar* ‘cattle’; Sabaean *bḳr* ‘cattle’; Ḥarsūsi *beḳerét* ‘cow’; Mehri *bəḳərēt* ‘cow’. Murtonen 1989:118; Klein 1987:81; D. Cohen 1970— :79—80; Zammit 2002:98—99. Berber **bukVr-* ‘one year old camel’ > Tawlemmet *əbuɣer* ‘one year old camel’. Central Chadic **bwakVr-* ‘goat’ > Tera *bokəra* ‘goat’; Bachama *bogər-ey*

'goat'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:76, no. 310, **boḳar-* 'cattle' (derived from **boḳ-* 'goat').

B. Proto-Indo-European **bʰuk'-* 'buck, he-goat': Avestan *būza-* 'buck'; Farsi *buz* 'goat'; Armenian *buc* 'lamb'; Old Irish *bocc* 'buck'; Welsh *bwch* 'buck'; Cornish *boch* 'buck'; Breton *bouc'h* 'buck'; Old Icelandic *bokkr*, *bukkr* 'buck, he-goat', *bokki* 'buck, fellow'; Old English *bucc* 'buck, male dear', *bucca* 'he-goat'; Old Saxon *buck* 'he-goat'; Middle High German *boc* 'he-goat' (New High German *Bock*); Latin *bucca* 'he-goat' (loan). Pokorny 1959:174 **bhŭĝo-s* 'buck'; Walde 1927—1932.II:189—190 **bhŭĝo-*; Mann 1984—1987:120 **bhuĝos*, *-i̯os*, *-ō(n)* 'small, animal'; Watkins 1985:10 **bhugo-* and 2000:13 **bhugo-* 'male animal of various kinds: stag, ram, he-goat'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:586 **b[ʰ]uk̂'o-* and 1995.I:501 **bʰuk̂'o-* 'goat'; Mallory—Adams 1997:229 **bhuĝos* 'buck, he-goat'; Orël 2003:61—62 Proto-Germanic **ƀukkaz*, 62 **ƀukkōn*; Kroonen 2013:82 **bukka(n)-* 'billy-goat'; De Vries 1977:64; Onions 1966:122—123; Klein 1971:98; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:87; Kluge—Seebold 1989:94—95.

Buck 1949:3.36 goat; 3.37 he-goat; 3.38 kid; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 185, **bukE[̲]V* 'billy goat, ram'.

63. Proto-Nostratic root **bul-* (~ **bol-*):
(vb.) **bul-* 'to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate';
(n.) **bul-a* 'large quantity or amount; expansion, spread, inflation; puff, blow'
Derivatives:
(n.) **bul-a* (~ **bol-a*) 'penis, testicle(s)'
(vb.) **bul-V-γ-* 'to ripen, to blossom, to bloom, to sprout, to mature';
(n.) **bul-γ-a* 'increase, growth, ripening, maturity, prosperity, blossoming'
Reduplicated:
(vb.) **bul-bul-* 'to swell, to bubble up';
(n.) **bul-bul-a* 'puff, bubble, swelling'

A. Proto-Afrasian **bul-* 'to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow': Central Chadic **HV-bwal-* 'rain' > Bachama *ɓole* 'rain'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:77, no. 312, **bol-* 'to flow, to be wet'. Proto-Afrasian (reduplicated) **bul-bul-* 'to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow': Berber: Kabyle (reduplicated) *bbəlbəl* 'to be fat, pudgy, chubby', *abəlbul* 'fat, pudgy, chubby'. West Chadic (reduplicated) **bul-bul-* 'to pour out' > Hausa *bulbulaa* 'to pour liquid in or out of a vessel with gurgling sound'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:81, no. 331, **bul-bul-* 'to pour, to flow'. Proto-Afrasian **bul-ul-* 'to flow, to be wet': Berber: Ahaggar *bəlulu* 'to be liquid'; Tuareg *bələl* 'to have everything in abundance', *səbbələl* 'to give abundantly, to lack nothing', *ənəbbələl* 'a person who has everything in abundance'.

Lowland East Cushitic **bulul-* ‘to flow’ > Galla / Oromo *bulula* ‘to flow’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:82, no. 334, **bulul-* ‘to flow, to be wet’.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *pu-li-[in-ri]* ‘one who sprinkles with water, one who washes’ (?).

C. Kartvelian: Georgian **blom-* ‘multitude’ in (adv.) *blomad* ‘in a crowd, mass, mob, multitude’.

D. Proto-Indo-European **$b^{h}$l-eE-/*$b^{h}$l-oE-* > **$b^{h}$lē-/*$b^{h}$lō-* ‘to puff up, to inflate, to blow up’: Latin *flō* ‘to blow’; Old Icelandic *blása* ‘to blow’; Old English *blāwan* ‘to blow’, *blǣd* ‘blowing, breath’; Old Frisian **blā* ‘to blow’; Old High German *blāsen* ‘to blow’ (New High German *blasen*), *blājan* ‘to inflate, to swell out, to bulge’ (New High German *blähen*). Pokorny 1959:120—122 **bhel-*, **bhlē-* ‘to blow up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:177—180 **bhel-*; Mann 1984—1987:81 **bhlāi̯ō* ‘to blow, to blossom’, 82 **bhlēi̯ō* ‘to blow, to inflate’; Watkins 1985:9 **bhlē-* (also **bhlā-*) and 2000:12 **bhlē-* (contracted from earlier **bhleə$_{1}$-*, or possibly lengthened-grade **bhlēə$_{1}$-*) ‘to blow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:71 **bhel-* ‘to blow, to blow up, to swell’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:240—241; De Vaan 2008:226—227; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:517; Orël 2003:48—49 Proto-Germanic **ƀlēanan*, 49 **ƀlēsanan*; De Vries 1977:42—43; Onions 1966:101—102; Klein 1971:86; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:81; Kluge—Seebold 1989:88—89 and 89. Proto-Indo-European **$b^{h}$el-$g^{h}$-/*$b^{h}$ol-$g^{h}$-/*$b^{h}$l̥-$g^{h}$-* ‘to swell’: Irish *bolg* ‘belly, bag’; Gothic *balgs* ‘skin’; Old Icelandic *belgr* ‘the skin; skin bag, skin case; bellows’, *blástrbelgr* ‘bellows’; Swedish *bälg*, *blåsbälg* ‘bellows’; Old English *bielg*, *bylig* ‘leather bag’; Old Saxon *balg* ‘leather bag’; Old High German *balg* ‘(sg.) skin, leather bag; (pl.) bellows’ (New High German *Balg*). Rix 1998a:59 **$b^{h}$elĝ$^{h}$-* ‘to swell’; Pokorny 1959:125—126 **bhelĝh-* ‘to swell’; Walde 1927—1932.II:182 **bhelĝh-*; Watkins 1985:7 **bhelgh-* and 2000:10 **bhelgh-* ‘to swell’; Feist 1939:78 **bhelĝh-*; Lehmann 1986:59—60; Orël 2003:33—34 Proto-Germanic **ƀalɣiz*, 34 **ƀalɣjanan*; Kroonen 2013:49 **balgi-* ‘skin bag’, 49 **balgian-* ‘to make swell, to make angry’, and 58 **belgan-* ‘to swell’; De Fries 1977:32; Onions 1966:87—88; Klein 1971:77 **bhelĝh-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:46 **bhelgh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:56 Proto-Germanic (v.) **belg-a-* ‘to swell’, (n.) **balgi-m*. Proto-Indo-European **$b^{h}$l-ek’$^{w}$-/*$b^{h}$l̥-k’$^{w}$-* ‘to swell, to expand’: Greek φλέψ ‘vein’; Old High German *bolca*, *bulchunna* ‘a round swelling’. Pokorny 1959:155 **bhleg$^{u}$-* ‘to become bloated’; Walde 1927—1932.II:215 **bhleg$^{u}$-*; Boisacq 1950:1030 **bhleg$^{u}$-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1025; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1211—1212 **bhleg$^{w}$-*; Hofmann 1966:400 **bhleg$^{u}$-*; Beekes 2010.II:1578 (pre-Greek loanword). Some of these words may belong with Proto-Nostratic **bal-* (~ **bəl-*) ‘to well up, to surge, to overflow, to pour over’ instead.

E. Uralic: Proto-Ugric **p[u]lɜ-* ‘to flow forth, to overflow’ > Ostyak / Xanty (Obdorsk) *păli-* ‘to gush forth (water)’; Vogul / Mansi *pol'ćiit-*, *polśiit-*, *pol'śt-*, *pol'śət-* ‘to splash’; Hungarian *foly-* ‘to flow’, *folyam*, *folyó* ‘river,

stream’. Rédei 1986—1988:881 **pɤlɜ-*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *pulgulət-* ‘to pour into’. Nikolaeva 2006:369.

F. Proto-Altaic **bi̯ŭlo-* ‘to soak, to gush forth’: Proto-Tungus **b[ü]lkü-* ‘to soak, to wet, to splash, to swash’ > Manchu *bulχū-* ‘to bubble up, to swell up’; Evenki *bilki-* ‘to soak, to wet’, *bulkiw-* ‘to splash, to swash’; Nanay / Gold *bi̯lχo-* ‘to soak, to wet’, *bolqo-*, *bolχo-* ‘to splash, to swash’; Udihe *beäku-* ‘to soak, to wet’. Proto-Mongolian **bul(ka)-*, **bilka-* ‘to soak, to wet; to flow forth from the ground (water); to overflow’ > Written Mongolian *bulqa-* ‘to dip in water, to rinse’, *bulara-* ‘to flow forth from the ground (water)’, *bilqa-* ‘to overflow, to pour over the edge or brim’; Khalkha *bulχa-* ‘to soak, to wet’, *b'alχa-* ‘to overflow’; Buriat *bulχa-* ‘to gargle’, *bilχa-* ‘to overflow’; Kalmyk *bulχə-* ‘to soak, to wet’, *bilχə-* ‘to overflow’. Proto-Turkic **bulak* ‘spring, well’ > Old Turkic *bulaq* ‘spring, well’; Karakhanide Turkic *bulaq* ‘spring, well’; Turkish *bulak* ‘spring, well’; Azerbaijani *bulaɢ* ‘spring, well’; Turkmenian *bulaq* ‘spring, well’; Uzbek *bulɔq* ‘spring, well’; Uighur (dial.) *bulaq* ‘spring, well’; Tatar *bolaq* ‘spring, well’; Kazakh *bulaq* ‘spring, well’; Noghay *bulaq* ‘spring, well’; Tuva *bïlaq* ‘spring, well’. Note also Kazakh *bula-* ‘to flow, to gush forth’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:362 **bi̯ŭlo* ‘to soak, to gush forth’.

Sumerian *bul* ‘to blow, to breathe, to puff’.

Buck 1949:4.46 belly, stomach; 10.32 flow (vb.); 10.38 blow (vb. intr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:205—206, no. 10; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:193—194, no. 29, **bʌHʌ* ‘to blow, to inflate’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 199, **bVLV?a* ‘to blow, to inflate’.

64. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bul-a* (~ **bol-a*) ‘penis, testicle(s)’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **bul-* ‘to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate’;
(n.) **bul-a* ‘large quantity or amount; expansion, spread, inflation; puff, blow’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **bolokke* (?) ‘testicles’ (assimilation from **bulokke* ?) > Burji *bolókk-o*, *bulúkk-o* ‘testicle’; Gedeo / Darasa *omborakke* ‘testicles’. Hudson 1989:150; Sasse 1982:38.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *bulla*, *bulli* ‘penis’; Telugu *bulla*, *bulli* ‘penis (used with reference to a child)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:380, no. 4309.

C. Proto-Indo-European **bʰl̥-* (secondary full-grade forms: **bʰel-*/**bʰol-*) ‘penis, testicle’: Latin *follis* ‘a leather bag; a pair of bellows; puffed out cheeks; scrotum’, *folliculus* ‘a little sack or bag; an inflated ball; scrotum’; Greek φαλλός ‘penis’; Phrygian βαλλιόν ‘penis’; Old Icelandic *böllr* ‘ball, testicle’; Old English (pl.) *beallucas* ‘testicles’. Pokorny 1959:120—122 **bhel-*, **bhlē-* ‘to blow up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:177—180 **bhel-*;

Mallory—Adams 1997:71 **bhel-* ‘to blow, to blow up, to swell’; Watkins 1985:6—7 **bhel-* and 2000:9 **bhel-* ‘to blow, to swell’; Boisacq 1950:1013 **bhel(e)-*, **bhel(ē)-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:987—988 **bhel-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1175 **bhel-*; Hofmann 1966:390—391 **bhel-*; Beekes 2010.II:1550 (pre-Greek loanword); Ernout—Meillet 1979:244; De Vaan 2008:230; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:524—535 **bhel-*; Orël 2003:34 Proto-Germanic **ƀalluz*; Kroonen 2013:50 **ballan-* ‘ball’; De Vries 1977:70 **bhel-*; Onions 1966:70 and 71; Klein 1971:68 **bhel-*.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *puléetka* ‘penis’. Nikolaeva 2006:369.

Buck 1949:4.49 testicle. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 211, **bôĺX[a]* ‘tail, penis’; Takács 1997:374—375 (Proto-Afrasian **bul-(ḥ)-* ‘penis’).

65. Proto-Nostratic root **bul-* (~ **bol-*):
Extended form:
(vb.) **bul-V-γ-* ‘to ripen, to blossom, to bloom, to sprout, to mature’;
(n.) **bul-γ-a* ‘increase, growth, ripening, maturity, prosperity, blossoming’
Derivative of:
(vb.) **bul-* ‘to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate’;
(n.) **bul-a* ‘large quantity or amount; expansion, spread, inflation; puff, blow’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bul-Vγ-* ‘to grow, to mature’: Proto-Semitic **bal-aγ-* ‘to ripen, to mature, to attain puberty’ > Arabic *balaġa* ‘to reach, to arrive, to come, to attain puberty, to ripen, to mature’; Ḥarsūsi *belōġ* ‘to arrive’, *bēleġ* ‘to reach puberty, to be fully grown’; Mehri *bēləġ* ‘to reach maturity, puberty’, *bōleġ* ‘grown up, adult’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *béləġ* ‘to reach puberty’. D. Cohen 1970— :69; Zammit 2002:100—101.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *poli* ‘to flourish, to prosper, to abound, to increase, to live long and prosperously’, *polivu* ‘prosperity, abundance’, *pular* ‘to mature (as grain)’; Malayalam *poliyuka* ‘to be accumulated’, *polikka* ‘to measure corn-heaps, paying the reapers in kind’, *poli*, *policcal*, *polippu* ‘increase’, *polivu* ‘accumulation, contribution’, *polima* ‘increase, excellence’; Kannaḍa *hulisu* ‘to increase in bulk, to thrive, to grow rich’, *hulusu* ‘increase, richness’; Koḍagu *poli* (*poliv-*, *poliñj-*) ‘to increase’; Tuḷu *poli* ‘interest in kind, increase, abundance’, *pollusu*, *polsu* ‘interest, gain, luck’, *pollelu̯* ‘abundance, increase’; Telugu *poli* ‘gain’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:402, no. 4550.

C. Proto-Indo-European **bʰulʕḫ-*/**bʰolʕḫ-*, **bʰloʕḫ-* > **bʰlō-* (later also **bʰlē-*) ‘to blossom, to sprout’: Greek φύλλον ‘leaf’; Latin *folium* ‘leaf’, *flōs* ‘a flower, blossom’; Old Irish *bláth* ‘flower’; Gothic *blōma* ‘flower’; Old Icelandic *blóm* ‘bloom, blossom, flower’, *blað* ‘leaf of a plant’; Old English *blōwan* ‘to bloom, to flower’, *blēd* ‘shoot, branch, fruit, flower’, *blæd* ‘leaf, blade’, *blōstma* ‘blossom, flower’; Old West Frisian *blām*

‘flower, bloom’; Old Saxon *blōmo* ‘flower, bloom’, *blōian* ‘to bloom’, *blad* ‘leaf, blade’; Dutch *bloeien* ‘to bloom’; Old High German *bluoen*, *bluojan* ‘to bloom’ (New High German *blühen*), *bluomo* ‘flower, blossom’ (New High German *Blume*), *bluot* ‘flower, blossom, bloom’ (New High German *Blüte*), *blat* ‘leaf, blade’ (New High German *Blatt*); Tocharian A *pält*, B *pilta* ‘leaf’. Rix 1998a:72 **b$^{h}$leh$_{1}$-* ‘to bloom, to blossom’; Pokorny 1959:122 **bhel-*, **bhlē-*, **bhlō-*, **bhlə-* ‘leaf, bloom’; Walde 1927—1932.II:176—177 **bhel-*, **bhlē-*, **bhlō-*; Mann 1984—1987:85 **bhlōs-* (**bhlōi̯-*) ‘flower, bloom’, 122 **bhŭlos*, *-ō(n)*, *-i̯om* ‘leaf, layer, film, tissue’; Watkins 1985:7 **bhel-* and 2000:9—10 **bhel-* ‘to thrive, to bloom’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:468 **b[$^{h}$]el-/*b[$^{h}$]loH-/*b[$^{h}$]lH̥-* and 1995.I:389 **b$^{h}$el-/*b$^{h}$loH-/*b$^{h}$lH̥-* ‘to blow, to inflate’; Mallory—Adams 1997:207 (?) **bhloh$_{x}$dhos* ‘flower’, **bhel-* ‘to blossom, to bloom’; Boisacq 1950:1041 **bhel(e)-*, **bh(e)lē-*. **bh(e)lō-*; Hofmann 1966:406 **bhel-*, **bhlō-*; **bhlō-t-*, **bhlē-t-*, **bhlə-t-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1050—1051; Beekes 2010.II:1596—1597 **b$^{h}$el-*, **b$^{h}$lh$_{3}$-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1232—1233 **bhel-*; Sihler 1995:42 **bholyom*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:518—519 **bhlō-* (: **bhlē-*, **bhlə-*) and I:423—524 **bhel-* (**bhlē-*, **bhlō-*); Ernout—Meillet 1979:241 **bhlō-* and 244 **bhel-*, **bhol-*; De Vaan 2008:230 **d$^{h}$olH-io-* ‘leaf’; Orël 2003:50 Proto-Germanic **ƀlōmōjanan*, **ƀlōmōn*; Kroonen 2013:70 **blōman-* ‘flower’; Lehmann 1986:76 **bhel-*, **bhlō-* ‘to flower’; Feist 1939:100 **bhlē-*; De Vries 1977:41 **bhlō-* and 45 **bhlō-*; Klein 1971:84 **bhlō-*, **bhlē-*, **bhlā-* and 86; Onions 1966:98, 101, and 102; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:82, 86, and 87; Kluge—Seebold 1989:90 **bhel-*, 93, and 94; Adams 1999:388; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:358.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *polžičə* ‘leaf’. Nikolaeva 2006:356—357.

E. Proto-Altaic **bōlo-* ‘to be, to become’: Proto-Mongolian **bol-* ‘to be, to become’ > Classical Mongolian *bol-* ‘to be, to become, to exist, to be possible’; Ordos *bol-* ‘to be, to become’; Khalkha *bol-* ‘to be, to become’; Buriat *bolo-* ‘to be, to become’; Shira-Yughur *bol-* ‘to be, to become’; Kalmyk *bol-* ‘to be, to become’; Monguor *boli-*, *ōli-* ‘to be, to become’; Dagur *bol-*, *bole-*, *bolo-* ‘to be, to become’. Proto-Turkic **bōl-* ‘to become’ > Old Turkic *bol-* (Orkhon, Old Uighur) ‘to become’; Karakhanide Turkic *bol-* ‘to become’; Turkish *ol* ‘to be, to become’; Gagauz *ol-* ‘to be, to become’; Azerbaijani *ol-* ‘to be, to become’; Turkmenian *bol-* ‘to become’; Uzbek *bu̯l-* ‘to become’; Karaim *bol-* ‘to become’; Tatar *bul-* ‘to become’; Bashkir *bul-* ‘to become’; Kirghiz *bol-* ‘to become’; Kazakh *bol-* ‘to become’; Noghay *bol-* ‘to become’; Tuva *bol-* ‘to become’; Chuvash *pol-* ‘to become’; Yakut *buol-* ‘to become’. Poppe 1960:99 and 1955:29, 30, 59, 99; Street 1974:9 **bōl-* ‘to become’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:372—373 **bōlo* ‘to be’.

F. Eskimo-Aleut: Aleut *hula-* ‘to dawn, to begin (month or day), to be new (moon), to happen in the morning’, Atkan also ‘to bloom’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:268.

Sumerian *bulug̃*$_3$ ‘to grow, to make grow’.

Buck 1949:8.56 leaf; 8.57 flower; 12.53 grow (= increase in size). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:206—207, no. 11; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:181—182, no. 16, **bolʔi* ‘to grow (of plants)’.

66. Proto-Nostratic root (reduplicated) **bul-bul-* (~ **bol-bol-*) (> **bum-bul-* [~ **bom-bol-*]):
(vb.) **bul-bul-* (> **bum-bul-*) ‘to swell, to bubble up’;
(n.) **bul-bul-a* (> **bum-bul-a*) ‘puff, bubble, swelling’
Derivative of:
(vb.) **bul-* ‘to swell, to expand, to spread out, to overflow; to puff up, to inflate’;
(n.) **bul-a* ‘large quantity or amount; expansion, spread, inflation; puff, blow’

A. Dravidian: Gondi *bomoli* ‘foam’, *bommul* ‘foam, bubble’, *bomoolee* ‘saliva, foam, froth’; Pengo *pumel* ‘foam’; Maṇḍa *pumbel* ‘foam’; Kui *pumbeli* ‘foam, froth’; Kuwi *pomboli* ‘foam’, *pumbulli* ‘froth’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:378, no. 4280.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **bumbul-* ‘down-feathers’: Georgian *bumbul-* ‘down-feathers’; Mingrelian *bumbul-* ‘feather-bed’; Laz *bumbul-* ‘feather-bed’. Klimov 1964:55.
C. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$umb$^{h}$ul-*, **b$^{h}$omb$^{h}$ol-* ‘puff, bubble, swelling’: Ossetic *būmbūl* ‘down-feathers’, (Digorian) *bomboli* ‘down-feathers’; Armenian *bmbul* ‘furry animal, ball of fluff, eiderdown’; Greek πομφόλυξ ‘a bubble’; Old Czech *búbel* ‘bladder, bubble, cyst’; Lithuanian *bum̃bulis* ‘knot, knob, clump’. Probably also: English *bubble*; New High German (dial.) *bobbel*, *bubbel* ‘bubble’; Dutch *bobbel* ‘bubble’; Swedish *bubla* ‘bubble’; Danish *boble* ‘bubble’. Walde 1927—1932.II:108; Mann 1984—1987:123 **bhumbhulis*, *-os*, *-ā* ‘swelling, bulge, knob, puff’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:880; Boisacq 1950:803; Hofmann 1966:279; Frisk 1970—1973.II:503; Beekes 2010.II:1171; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:64; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:66; Onions 1966:122; Klein 1971:97.
D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *(pibil-)pubuški* (< **pumpuski:* < **pumpul-*) ‘pimple’. Nikolaeva 2006:372.
E. Altaic: Manchu *bumbulča-* ‘to swell, to distend’.

Sumerian *bu-bu-ul* ‘boil, abscess’.

67. Proto-Nostratic root **bul-* (~ **bol-*):
(vb.) **bul-* ‘to mix, to mix up, to confuse’;
(n.) **bul-a* ‘mixture, confusion, turbidity, blur’
Derivative:
(n.) **bul-a* ‘that which is dark, dark colored; that which has mixed colors, that which is spotted’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bul-* ‘to mix, to mix up, to confuse’: Proto-Semitic **bal-al-* ‘to mix, to mix up, to confuse’ > Akkadian *balālu* ‘to mix, to mix up, to confuse, to mingle’; Hebrew *bālal* [בָּלַל] ‘to mingle, to mix, to confuse’; Syriac *bəlīl* ‘mixed, confused’; Mandaic *blila* ‘confused, idle, useless’; Geez / Ethiopic *balla* [በለ] ‘to spoil, to ruin, to destroy, to mix, to confuse’. D. Cohen 1970— :67; Klein 1987:75; Leslau 1987:96. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **bal-bal-* ‘to confuse, to mix’ > Arabic *balbala* ‘to disquiet, to make uneasy or restive, to stir up, to rouse, to disturb, to trouble, to confuse’; Geez / Ethiopic *bābbala* [ባበለ] ‘to be mixed up, messed up, confused, scattered’, *ʾabābbala* [አባበለ] ‘to mix, to confuse’; Tigre *ʿabälbäla* ‘to be confused’; Amharic *boläbbolä* ‘to combine *nug*-seeds with flax seeds’. D. Cohen 1970— :65; Klein 1987:74; Leslau 1987:85 and 96. Proto-Semitic **bal-aʕ-* ‘to destroy, to confuse’ > Hebrew *billaʿ* [בִּלַּע] ‘to destroy, to confuse’; Soqoṭri *balaʿ* ‘to be changed, ruined’. D. Cohen 1970— :.68. East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo (reduplicated) *bulbul-adda* ‘to mix’; Sidamo (reduplicated) *bulbul-* ‘to melt, to add water and shake, to mix’. Hudson 1989:100 and 355.

B. Proto-Indo-European **$b^hl$-en-$d^h$-/*$b^hl$-on-$d^h$-/*$b^hl$-n̥-$d^h$-* ‘to mix, to blend, to stir, to confuse’: Gothic *blandan* ‘to mix, to mingle’; Old Icelandic *blanda* ‘to blend, to mix’, *blendingr* ‘blending, mixture’; Old English *blandan* ‘to mix’; Middle English *blundren* ‘to stir up, to confuse’; Old Saxon *blandan* ‘to mix’; Old High German *blantan* ‘to mix’; Lithuanian *blandùs* ‘troubled, turbid, thick’, *blę́stis* ‘become dark’. Rix 1998a:73—74 **$b^hlend^h$-* ‘to become blurred, murky, confused’; Pokorny 1959:157—158 **bhlendh-* ‘dim, reddish’; Walde 1927—1932.II:216 **bhlendh-*; Mann 1984—1987:82 **bhlendhō* ‘to mix, to confuse, to dazzle’, 84 **bhln̥dh-* ‘to confuse, to deceive, to err; confusion, error’, 84 **bhlondh-* ‘to confuse, to stir, to mix, to blur, to deceive’; Mallory—Adams 1997:147 **bhlendh-* ‘to be/make cloudy’; Orël 2003:47 Proto-Germanic **ƀlanđanan*; Kroonen 2013:66—67 **blandan-* ‘to mix, to mingle’; Feist 1939:98—99 **bhlendh-*; Lehmann 1986:74—75 **bhlendh-* ‘to be or make cloudy, to shimmer, to err’; De Vries 1977:42 and 43; Onions 1966:99 and 102; Klein 1971:85 and 86; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:47—48; Smoczyński 2007.1:63—64.

C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *pul'aγa-* ‘to rush about, to dash; to toss’. Nikolaeva 2006:369.

D. Proto-Altaic **buli-* ‘to stir, to shake’: Proto-Mongolian **büli-* ‘to stir’ > Middle Mongolian *bule-* ‘to stir’; Khalkha *büle-* ‘to stir’; Buriat *büli-* ‘to

stir’; Kalmyk *bülə-*, *büĺ-* ‘to stir’; Ordos *büli-* ‘to stir’. Proto-Turkic **bulga-* ‘to stir, to stir up’ > Old Turkic *bulγa-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Turkish *bula-* ‘to smear, to bedaub, to soil, to mix’; Turkmenian *bula-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Uzbek *bula-*, *bulγa-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Uighur *bulγu-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Kirghiz *bulγa-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Kazakh *bïlγa-*, *bulγa-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Noghay *bilγa-*, *bulγa-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Chuvash *pъlχan* ‘to become turbid’; Yakut *bulā-*, *bulkuy-*, *bïlā-* ‘to stir, to stir up’; Dolgan *bulkuy-* ‘to stir, to stir up’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:381—382 **buli* ‘to stir, to shake, to smear’.

Buck 1949:5.17 mix. Möller 1911:27—28; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:207—208, no. 12; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:185—186, no. 20, **bulʌ* ‘precipitation, mud’.

68. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bul-a* ‘that which is dark, dark-colored; that which has mixed colors, that which is spotted’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **bul-* ‘to mix, to mix up, to confuse’;
(n.) **bul-a* ‘mixture, confusion, turbidity, blur’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bul-* ‘dark colored; having mixed colors, spotted’: Semitic: Amharic *bulla* ‘yellow, brown’; Tigrinya *bulla* ‘light brown, white reddish’; Gurage *bula* ‘white horse’, *balbula* ‘reddish brown, brown (horse)’. (According to Leslau [1979:139], the Ethiopian Semitic forms are loans from Cushitic.) East Cushitic: Burji *bull-ánc-i* ‘gray; all mixed colors; spotted’; Hadiyya *bula* ‘(horse) spotted: black and white’; Konso *pull-a* ‘gray’. Sasse 1982:43.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *pul* ‘tawny color’, *pullai* ‘dull, yellowish color’; Malayalam *pulla* ‘a yellowish color of cattle’; Kota *bul* ‘liver-colored’; Telugu *pula* ‘yellowish’, *pulla* ‘brown, tawny’; Gadba (Salur) *pula* ‘light brown color’ (loan from Telugu). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:381, no. 4310.
C. Proto-Indo-European **bʰl-en-dʰ-*/**bʰl-on-dʰ-*/**bʰl-n̥-dʰ-* ‘mixed or dark colored’: Proto-Germanic **blundaz* ‘mixed colored, gray’ > Old English *blonden-feax*, *blandan-feax* ‘having mixed colored or gray hair’. Germanic loans in: Medieval Latin *blundus*, *blondos* ‘yellow’; French *blond(e)* ‘fair-haired, blond’; Italian *biondo* ‘fair-haired, blond’; Spanish *blondo* ‘blond’; Old Provençal *blon* ‘blond’. Pokorny 1959:157—158 **bhlendh-* ‘dim, reddish’; Orël 2003:47 Proto-Germanic **þlanđanan*.

Buck 1949:15.63 dark (in color).

69. Proto-Nostratic root **bul-* (~ **bol-*):
(vb.) **bul-* ‘to crush, to grind, to weaken, to wear down; to become worn out, weak, tired, old’;

(n.) **bul-a* ‘that which is worn out, weak, tired: weakness, decline, decay, wear, etc.; (adj.) worn out, weak, tired, old’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bul-* ‘(vb.) to crush, to grind, to weaken, to wear down; to become worn out, weak, tired, old; (adj.) worn out, weak, tired’: Proto-Semitic **bal-ay-* ‘(vb.) to become worn out, weak, tired, old; (adj.) worn out, weak, tired’ > Akkadian *balū* ‘to come to an end, to become extinguished’; Hebrew *bālāh* [בָּלָה] ‘to become old and worn out’, *beleh* [בֶּלֶה] ‘worn out, old’, *bəlī* [בְּלִי] ‘destruction, defeat, failure’; Aramaic *bəlē* ‘to become worn out’; Ugaritic *bly-m* ‘worn out’; Arabic *baliya* ‘to be or become old, worn, shabby; to dwindle away, to vanish; to deteriorate, to decline, to become decrepit; to disintegrate (corpse), to decay, to rot; to wear out’, *bilan* ‘decline, deterioration; decay, putrefication, decomposition; worn condition; wear; shabbiness’, *balīy* ‘worn, decrepit, old, shabby’, *balīya* ‘trial, tribulation, affliction, distress, misfortune, calamity’; Mehri *bəlō* ‘to trouble, to tire out; to nag, to interrupt’; Ḥarsūsi *belō* ‘to trouble; to nag’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *bélé* ‘to tire out, to nag’; Geez / Ethiopic *balya* [በልየ] ‘to be old, worn out, decrepit, obsolete’, *bəluy* [ብሉይ] ‘old, ancient, antiquated, decrepit, obsolete, worn out’; Tigrinya *bäläyä* ‘to be old, worn out’; Tigre *bäla* ‘to be old, worn out’; Amharic *bəluy* ‘old’ (loan from Geez). D. Cohen 1970— :66; Klein 1987:74; Leslau 1987:98; Murtonen 1989:113; Zammit 2002:101. East Cushitic: Afar *bulul-* ‘to become pulverized’; Galla / Oromo *bull-aw-* ‘to become pulverized’; Konso *pull-a* ‘flour made from dried ensete’. Sasse 1982:43. Highland East Cushitic **bulle* ‘flour’ > Burji *bull-a* ‘a type of flour’; Gedeo / Darasa *bulle* ‘flour’, *bull-eess-* ‘to grind’, *bullo?-* ‘to be fine (for example, powder)’; Hadiyya *bullo* ‘flour, porridge’; Sidamo *bullee* ‘flour’, *bulleess-am-* ‘to be fine (for example, powder)’. Hudson 1989:65 and 74.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *pu-lu-un-ri* ‘one who destroys’. Dravidian: Tamil *pulampu* (*pulampi-*) ‘to fade’, *pular-* ‘to fade, to wither, to faint, to become weak, to decrease’; Malayalam *poliyuka* ‘to be extinguished’, *polikka* ‘to extinguish’, *polivu* ‘extinction’, *policcal*, *polippu* ‘destruction’; Telugu *poliyu* ‘to die, to be destroyed or spoiled’, *poliyincu* ‘to kill’, *poliyika* ‘death, destruction’; Kuṛux *polnā* ‘to be unable, to fail’; Malto *pole* ‘to be unable, to be helpless, to be vanquished’, *poltre* ‘to vanquish, to tire out’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:404, no. 4571.

C. Proto-Indo-European **$b^h$ol-/*$b^h$l-* ‘(adj.) worn out, weak; (n.) misfortune, calamity’: Greek φλαῦρος ‘bad, useless, mean, shabby’; Gothic *balwjan* ‘to torment, to plague’, **balweins* ‘punishment, torture’, *blauþjan* ‘to abolish, to make void’; Old Icelandic *böl* ‘bale, misfortune’, *blauþr* ‘soft, weak’; Swedish *blöd* ‘weak, timid’, *blödig* ‘sentimental’; Old English *bealo* ‘evil, calamity, injury’, *blēat* ‘miserable’; Old Frisian *balu* ‘evil’; Old Saxon *balu* ‘evil’, *blōđian* ‘to make weak, timorous’, *blōđi* ‘timorous’; Old High German *balo* ‘destruction’, *blōdi* ‘weak, timorous’ (New High

German *blöde* ‘bashful, timid, shy’), *blōz* ‘bare, naked’ (New High German *bloß*); Old Church Slavic *bolěti* ‘to be sick’; Lithuanian *bliùkšti* ‘to become weak’. Pokorny 1959:125 **bheleu-* ‘to hit, to weaken’, 159 **bhlēu-*, **bhlәu-*, **bhlū-* ‘weak, miserable’; Walde 1927—1932.II:189 **bhol-*, II:208—209 **bhlau-*; Mann 1984—1987:81 **bhlauros*, **bhlausros* (?), 81 **bhlautos*, *-i̯os* ‘limp, timid’; Watkins 1985:7 **bhelu-* and 2000:10 **bhel-u-* ‘to harm’; Boisacq 1950:1028; Beekes 2010.II:1575 (no clear etymology); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1207; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1021—1022; Hofmann 1966:399; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:50; Kroonen 2013:50 Proto-Germanic **balwa-* ‘evil’; Orël 2003:34 Proto-Germanic **þalwan*, 34—35 **þalwa-wīsaz*; Feist 1939:79 and 87; Lehmann 1986:60 and 75; Klein 1971:68; Onions 1966:70; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:31; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:86; Kluge—Seebold 1989:93.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *pul'gəžej-* ‘to break away’, *pul'd'əgədej-* ‘to drop, to let go’, *pul'd'əgə-* ‘to be loose (of the binding of a ski); to break loose (of a dog); to become unhinged (of a door)’, (Northern / Tundra) *pulgej-* ‘to go out, to grow out’, *puld'i-* ‘to break frequently’. Nikolaeva 2006:368—369.

E. Altaic: Mongolian *bular-* ‘friable, crumbly, soft (of soil)’.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 4.84 sick, sickness; 4.91 tired, weary; 14.15 old; 16.72 bad. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:209—210, no. 14; Möller 1911:28—29.

70. Proto-Nostratic root **bun-* (~ **bon-*):
(vb.) **bun-* ‘to puff up, to inflate, to expand, to swell’;
(n.) **bun-a* ‘rounded protuberance, swelling, lump, hump, growth’
Extended form:
(vb.) **bun-V-g-* ‘to swell, to increase, to expand’;
(n.) **bun-g-a* ‘swelling’; (adj.) ‘swollen, fat, thick’
Derivative:
(vb.) **bun-* ‘to flow, to overflow’;
(n.) **bun-a* ‘flow, flood’

A. Proto-Afrasian **b[u]n-* ‘to puff up, to inflate, to expand, to swell, to grow, to abound’: Semitic: Akkadian *banū* ‘to grow; to be pleasant, friendly (said of the face)’, *bunnū* ‘to make grow’, *bunnannū* ‘general region of the face (especially the eyes and nose); outer appearance, figure, likeness, features’, *bunnu* ‘favor’, *bunnū* ‘beautiful’. D. Cohen 1970— :71. Semantic development probably as follows: ‘(friendly) face’ < ‘puffed up (said of cheeks, from smiling)’. Egyptian *bnn* ‘bead, pellet’, *bnnt* ‘pellet’ *bng* ‘to have plenty, to abound in (food)’. Hannig 1995:254 and 255; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:460 and 1:464; Faulkner 1962:83.

B. Proto-Dravidian **poṅk-* ‘to increase, to swell, to expand’: Tamil *poṅku* (*poṅki-*) ‘to boil up; to bubble up by heat, to foam and rage (as the sea); to

increase; to swell; to shoot up; to be elated; to burst with anger; to be swollen; to rise; to grow high; to abound, to flourish; to be fruitful; to cook', *poṅkam* 'increase, abundance, joy, splendor'; Malayalam *poṅṅuka* 'to boil over, to bubble up, to spread'; Kota *poŋg-* (*poŋgy-*) 'to increase magically in number'; Kannaḍa *poṅgu* 'to boil over, to burst open, to expand, to open, to blossom, to swell, to be elated, to exult, to be overjoyed'; Koḍagu *poŋŋ-* (*poŋŋi-*) 'to swell'; Tuḷu *boṅguni* 'to be distended', *boṅkṵ*, *boṅku* 'protuberance'; Telugu *poṅgu* 'to bubble up, to boil, to effervesce, to rejoice, to be elated, to be puffed up, to be proud'; Kolami *poŋg-* (*poŋkt-*) 'to boil over'; Naikṛi *poŋg-* 'to expand'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:395—396, no. 4469.

C. Proto-Indo-European **b$^{h}$ong$^{h}$-*/**b$^{h}$n̥g$^{h}$-* (secondary full-grade form: **b$^{h}$eng$^{h}$-*) 'to swell, to fatten, to grow, to increase', **b$^{h}$n̥g$^{h}$u-* 'swollen, fat, thick': Sanskrit *baṁhate* 'to grow, to increase', *bahú-ḥ* 'much, abundant, great, large'; Greek παχύς 'thick, stout, fat, massive'; Old Icelandic *bingr* 'bed, bolster', *bunga* 'elevation', *bunki* 'heap, pile'; Old High German *bungo* 'clod, lump'; Latvian *bìezs* 'thick'; (?) Hittite *pa-an-ku-uš* 'all, whole' (for an alternative etymology, cf. Polomé 1968:98—101). Pokorny 1959:127—128 **bhengĥ-*, **bhn̥gĥ-* (adj. **bhn̥gĥú-s*) 'thick, dense'; Rix 1998a:61 **b$^{h}$engĥ$^{h}$-* 'to make thick, solid, firm, dense'; Walde 1927—1932.II:151 **bhengĥ-*, **bhn̥gĥ-* (adj. **bhn̥gĥú-s*); Mann 1984—1987:87 **bhn̥gh-* 'big, mass, lump', 124 **bhunghos*, *-ā* 'hump, bulge, growth'; Watkins 1985:7 **bhengh-* (zero-grade form **bhn̥ghu-*) and 2000:10 **bhengh-* 'thick, fat'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:174 and II:782 **b[$^{h}$]engĥ[$^{h}$]-*, **b[$^{h}$]n̥gĥ[$^{h}$]-* and 1995.I:140 and I:684 **b$^{h}$engĥ$^{h}$-*, **b$^{h}$n̥gĥ$^{h}$-* 'thick, solid'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:400 and II:424—425; Mallory—Adams 1997:3 **bhénĝhus* 'thick, abundant'; Boisacq 1950:753 **bhn̥ĝhú-s*; Hofmann 1966:256 **bhn̥ĝhús*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:866 **bhn̥ĝh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:484—485 **bhn̥ĝh-*; Beekes 2010.II:1159—1160 **b$^{h}$n̥ǵ$^{h}$-u-*; Orël 2003:62 Proto-Germanic **ƀunɣōn*, 62 **ƀunkōn*; De Vries 1977:37 and 65; Kloekhorst 2008b:624—625; Sturtevant 1951:40, §62d, Indo-Hittite **b'ʁng'éws*; Puhvel 1984— .8:84—93 **bhn̥ĝhú-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:13—15 **b$^{h}$engĥ$^{h}$-*.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **puŋka* (**poŋka*) 'rounded protuberance, lump' > Estonian *pung* 'rounded protuberance (bud, knob, etc.)'; Lapp / Saami *bug'ge* 'bump, lump; hump; swollen or expanded object'; Mordvin *pokol'* 'lump, protuberance'; Zyrian / Komi *bugyl'* 'hump, ball, globe'; Vogul / Mansi *puuŋhläp* 'having a knob (or knobs)'; Ostyak / Xanty (Tremyugan) *puŋkəł*, (Southern) *poŋgəl* 'knob, knoll, protuberance; gnarl on a tree; clod of snow', (Tremyugan) *puŋkət*, (North Kazym) *poŋət*, (Southern) *poŋgət* 'abscess, boil, gnarl on a tree'; Hungarian *bog* 'knob; thickening on a plant stalk; gnarl on a tree'. Collinder 1955:109 and 1977:123—124; Rédei 1986—1988:404 **puŋka* (**poŋka*). Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *punkə* 'hill', *pungəgə-* 'to burst (intr.); to thunder, to

clatter, to make a noise', *pungunə-* 'swollen', (Northern / Tundra) *punke* 'hummock', *puŋed'ile* 'pimple', *puŋed'ilere-* 'to get covered in pimples'. Nikolaeva 2006:371. The unextended form may be preserved in Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *pönŋigej-* 'to become big'. Nikolaeva 2006:360.

E. Altaic: Manchu *boŋgo* 'point, apex; first' (cf. *boŋgo de gene-* 'to go first' [*gene-* = 'to go']); Orok *boŋgo* 'fellow, chap, lad'; Solon *boŋõ* 'thick, big'. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:182—183, no. 17.

F. Proto-Eskimo **pəŋuʁ* 'mound or hillock': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *pəŋuq* 'hill'; Central Alaskan Yupik *pəŋuq* 'hill'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *pəŋuXqaq* 'hill'; Central Siberian Yupik *pəŋuq* 'hillock', *pəŋuʁ-* 'to swell, to rise in a lump'; Sirenik *pəŋuɣnəX* 'hillock', *pəŋkuɬtaX* 'hill'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *piŋu(q)* 'dune, mound'; North Alaskan Inuit *piŋu* '(n.) mound, pimple; (vb.) to develop a pimple, to swell (wave)', *piŋuktaaq* 'small round hill isolated in a flat area'; West Canadian Inuit *piŋuq* 'hill'; East Canadian Inuit *piŋuq* 'pimple'; Greenlandic Inuit *piŋu* 'hillock, hummock'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:255. Proto-Inuit **pəŋuy(y)ak* or **pəŋuy(y)aq* 'swelling on skin' > North Alaskan Inuit *pəŋuyaq* 'ringworm, pimple'; West Canadian Inuit *piŋuyaq* 'wart'; Greenlandic Inuit *piŋuyak* 'blister'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994: 255.

Sumerian *bun* 'breath', *bún* '(vb.) to blow, to inflate; (n.) breath', *bún* 'nose'.

Buck 1949:4.204 face; 12.63 thick (in dimension); 12.83 sphere; 13.13 whole; 13.15 much, many. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:223—224; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:182—183, no. 17, **bongä* '(adj.) fat; (vb.) to swell'; Dolgopolsky to 2008, no. 217, **buŋgä* '(adj.) thick; (vb.) to swell'; Hakola 2000:148, no. 651; Takács 2004a:198, no. 126; Fortescue 1998:157.

71. Proto-Nostratic root **bun-* (~ **bon-*):
(vb.) **bun-* 'to flow, to overflow';
(n.) **bun-a* 'flow, flood'
Derivative of:
(vb.) **bun-* 'to puff up, to inflate, to expand, to swell';
(n.) **bun-a* 'rounded protuberance, swelling, lump, hump, growth'

A. Proto-Afrasian **b[u]n-* 'to flow, to overflow': Egyptian *bnn* 'to overflow', *bnbn* 'to flow, to run'. Hannig 1995:254; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:459 and 1:460; Faulkner 1962:82—83. Proto-Chadic **bəna* 'to wash oneself, to bathe' > Bole *binaa* 'to wash oneself, to bathe'; Hausa *wànkàà* 'to wash something, to wash off or away'; Tera *vənə* 'to wash oneself, to bathe'; Paduko *para* 'to wash oneself, to bathe'. Newman 1977: 33; Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:174 and II:338—339.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *puṉal*, *puṉai* ‘water, flood, river’; Malayalam *punal*, *puṇal* ‘water, river’; Kannaḍa *ponal* ‘stream, river’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:383, no. 4338. Gondi *pōngānā* ‘to flow; to be washed away, to drown; (of a river) to overflow its banks’, *poṅgānā* ‘to flow’, *pongānā* ‘to float away’, *pongsahtānā* ‘to cause to flow (water, blood, etc.)’, *poŋ-* ‘to flow (saliva); to flow, to drop (tears)’, *pōṅ-* ‘(pus or blood) to come out of a wound’; Konḍa *poŋ-* ‘to be spilled’, *pok-* ‘to spill; to pour (water)’; Pengo *boŋ-* ‘to be spilled’, *bok-* ‘to spill’; Kui *ponga* (*pongi-*) ‘to be spilt, scattered’, *popka* (< **pok-p-*; *pokt-*) ‘to spill, to scatter’; Kuwi *bōkhali* ‘to spill’, *bokh’nai* ‘to shed, to spill’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:396, no. 4470.

Buck 1949:9.36 wash.

72. Proto-Nostratic root **bur-* (~ **bor-*):
(vb.) **bur-* ‘to twist, to turn’;
(n.) **bur-a* ‘twist, turn’
Derivatives:
(vb.) **bur-* ‘to fight, to wrangle (over), to quarrel, to wrestle’;
(n.) **bur-a* ‘fight, dispute, quarrel, battle, struggle’
(vb.) **bur-* ‘to bore, to pierce’;
(n.) **bur-a* ‘gimlet, borer, auger’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **bar-am-* ‘to twist, to twine’ > Arabic *barama* ‘to twist, to twine (a rope)’, *barīm* ‘rope; string, cord, twine’. D. Cohen 1970— :85. Proto-Semitic **bar-aw/y-* ‘to tie, to bind’ > Akkadian *birītu*, *barītu*, *berittu*, *birtu*, *bertu* ‘link, clasp, fetter’; Hebrew *bərīθ* [בְּרִית] ‘covenant, pact’. Murtonen 1989:120.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **br-un-* ‘to spin, to rotate’: Georgian *br-un-va* ‘to spin, to rotate’, *bor-b-ali* ‘wheel, potter’s wheel’, *bru* ‘dizziness’, *tav-bru* ‘dizziness in the head’; Mingrelian *bur-in-* ‘to throw something with spinning; to whirl’. Klimov 1998:19 **brun-* ‘to spin, to whirl’; Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:72 **bor-*, 75—76 **br-*; Schmidt 1962:98; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:59 **bor-*, 60 **br-*. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated; dissimilated from earlier **bor-bora-*) **borbala-* ‘spider’: Georgian *borbala-* ‘spider’; Mingrelian *bo(r)bolia-* ‘spider’; Laz *bombula-* ‘spider’. Klimov 1964:53 **borbala-* and 1998:17 **borbal-* ‘spider’. Assuming semantic development from ‘to spin, to twist’ as in Old English *spīþra* ‘spider’ < **spinþron* < *spinnan* ‘to spin, to twist’.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **purkɜ* ‘to twist, to turn’ > Mordvin (Erza) *puvŕa-*, (Moksha) *puvŕa-*, *puvoŕa-* ‘to turn (tr.), to wind, to turn around; to put out of joint, to dislocate’; Votyak / Udmurt *porjal-* ‘to turn around (intr.), to whirl around’; Hungarian *forog-* ~ *forg-* ‘to turn (intr.), to revolve; to whirl, to rotate; to circulate; to move (intr.)’, *fordul-* ‘to turn, to turn around (intr.)’, *fordit-* ‘to turn (tr.)’; Vogul / Mansi *poger-* ‘to roll

(intr.), to trundle'. Collinder 1955:78 and 1977:95; Rédei 1986—1988:414 **pɤrkɜ-* (**pɤrγɜ-*); Décsy 1990:106 **purka*/**pirkä* 'to twist, to turn'. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *porqo:-* 'crooked', *porqušej-* 'to bend', *porqəjə* 'curved bank', *porqušu:-* 'to bend', *porqəjəń-* 'steep'. Nikolaeva 2006:362.

D. Altaic: Proto-Turkic **bur(a)-* 'to twist, to wind around' > Turkish *bur-* 'to twist, to wring; to castrate', *burma* 'act of twisting; castration; screw; convolution; griping of the stomach; screwed, twisted, castrated', *buruk* 'twisted, sprained'; Gagauz *bur-* 'to twist, to wind around'; Azerbaijani *bur-* 'to twist, to wind around'; Turkmenian *bur-* 'to twist, to wind around'; Uzbek *bur-*, *bura-* 'to twist, to wind around'; Uighur *bur-* 'to twist, to wind around'; Karaim *bur-* 'to twist, to wind around'; Tatar *bor-* 'to twist, to wind around'; Bashkir *bor-* 'to twist, to wind around'; Kirghiz *bur-*, *bura-* 'to twist, to wind around'; Kazakh *bur-*, *bura-* 'to twist, to wind around'; Noghay *bur-*, *bura-* 'to twist, to wind around'; Chuvash *pъʷr-* 'to twist, to wind around'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:955—956) include the above forms under Proto-Altaic **mura* 'round; to turn, to return'.

Buck 1949:10.12 turn (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:202, no. 7; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 221, **bUrV* 'to turn round, to rotate'.

73. Proto-Nostratic root **bur-* (~ **bor-*):
(vb.) **bur-* 'to fight, to wrangle (over), to quarrel, to wrestle';
(n.) **bur-a* 'fight, dispute, quarrel, battle, struggle'
Derivative of:
(vb.) **bur-* 'to twist, to turn';
(n.) **bur-a* 'twist, turn'

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *barā* 'to vie, to compete, to contend, to be rivals; to meet in contest, to try each other's strength'; Sabaean *brw* 'to slaughter; to contend with, to attack'. D. Cohen 1970— :82.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *poru* 'to fight, to engage in battle, to compete, to dash against (as waves)', *pōr* 'battle, fight, war, rivalry'; Malayalam *porutuka* 'to fight, to vie, to emulate'; Kannaḍa *pōr* 'to fight, to wrestle, to strive', *pōr* 'quarrel, fight, battle, wrestling'; Tuḷu *pōriyuni* 'to wrestle, to quarrel', *pordu* 'battle, combat'; Telugu *pōru* 'to fight, to contend, to struggle, to rival, to compete', *pōru* 'fight, battle, war, quarrel, rivalry, teasing'; Kui *prohpa-* (*proht-*) 'to rebuke, to upbraid, to reprove, to fight, to wage war', *pōru* 'quarrel, contention'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:401, no. 4540; Krishnamurti 2003:8 **pōr* 'fight, battle' and 9 **pōr*/**por-u-* 'to fight'.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **bǫg-* 'to wrestle': Georgian *brʒ-* 'to wrestle, to fight', *brʒ-ola* 'struggle, fight'; Mingrelian *burǯ-* 'to wrestle, to grapple (roughly), to turn, to toss', *burǯ-ap-i* 'dispute, quarrel, fight, wrestling

match’; Svan *libərgjēl* ‘to wrestle’. Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:79—80 **brʒ$_1$-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:64—65 **brʒ$_1$-*; Klimov 1964:53 **b̥rg-* and 1998:18 **brg-* ‘to wrestle’; Schmidt 1962:73 (fn. 3) and 99. Proto-Kartvelian **burs-* ‘to fight, to wrangle’: Georgian *burs-* ‘to fight unfairly, to wrangle’; Mingrelian *burs-* ‘to barge into, to brawl, to be rowdy’, *mi-ša-burs-u-a* ‘to twist, to turn’. Fähnrich 2007:84 **burs-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:67—68 **burs-*.

Buck 1949:20.11 fight (vb.); 20.12 battle. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:197—198, no. 3.

74. Proto-Nostratic root **bur-* (~ **bor-*):
(vb.) **bur-* ‘to bore, to pierce’;
(n.) **bur-a* ‘gimlet, borer, auger’
Derivative of:
(vb.) **bur-* ‘to twist, to turn’;
(n.) **bur-a* ‘twist, turn’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bur-* ‘to bore, to pierce’: Proto-Semitic **bar-aʒ-* ‘to bore, to pierce’ > Aramaic *bəraz* ‘to bore, to pierce’; Arabic *barzaḫ* ‘interval, gap, break’; Ḥaḍramawt *barzat-* ‘hole’. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **bar-bar-* ‘to bore, to pierce, to hollow out’ > Amharic *boräbborä* ‘to hollow out, to cut a groove’; Tigre *bärabära* ‘to pierce’. Proto-Semitic **bar-ar-* ‘to pierce, to penetrate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *barra* [በረረ], *barara* [በረረረ] ‘to pierce, to penetrate, to go through’; Amharic *bärrärä* ‘to pierce, to make a hole in a water jug’, *bärr* ‘door, gate’; Tigrinya *bärri* ‘passage, entrance’. D. Cohen 1970— :81, 83, and 87; Leslau 1987:107. Berber: Nefusa *bərsi* ‘clump of earth’; Tamazight *brəc* ‘to crush, to grind, to be crushed, to bruise’, *abrac* ‘crushing, grinding; Riff *abərsəssi* ‘clump of earth’; Kabyle *əbrəc* ‘to crush, to grind’, *abrarac* ‘grain, lump’. Cushitic: Somali *burur* ‘broken piece’; Saho *burūr* ‘broken piece’.

B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *burma*, *burmu* ‘a gimlet’, *perepini* ‘to bore, to perforate’, *perevuni* ‘to be bored, perforated’, *berpuri* ‘a borer’; Tamil *purai* ‘tubular hollow, tube, pipe, windpipe’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:380, no. 4297.

C. Proto-Indo-European **b$^h$or-*/**b$^h$r̥-* ‘to bore, to pierce’: Greek φαρόω, φαράω ‘to plow’, φάρος ‘plow’; Armenian *brem* ‘to dig out, to drill (out)’; Albanian *brimë* ‘hole’; Latin *forō* ‘to bore, to pierce’; Old Icelandic *bora* ‘to bore, to bore holes in’, *borr* ‘borer, auger, gimlet’; Old English *borian* ‘to bore, to pierce’, *bor* ‘auger, gimlet’; Middle Dutch *boren* ‘to bore’; Old High German *borōn* ‘to bore’ (New High German *bohren*), *boro* ‘auger’ (New High German *Bohrer*); Russian *bort′* [борть] ‘(beehive in) hollow tree trunk, hollowed-out tree’. Rix 1998a:64—65 **b$^h$erH-* ‘to work with a sharp tool’; Pokorny 1959:133—135 **bher-* ‘to work with a sharp tool’; Walde 1927—1932.II:159—161 **bher-*; Mann 1984—1987:110—111

*bhr̥āi̯ō* (**bhur-*) ‘to bore, to pierce’, 126 **bhurō*, **bhurāi̯ō* ‘to incise, to bore’; Watkins 1985:7 **bher-* and 2000:10 **bher-* (also **bherə-*) ‘to cut, to pierce, to bore’; Mallory—Adams 1997:549 **bher-* (pres. **bhórie/o-*) ‘to strike (through), to split’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:707 **b[ʰ]er-* and 1995.I:612 **bʰer-* ‘to work (for example, wood, land) with a sharp tool’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:392; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1179 **bher-*; Boisacq 1950:1016—1017 **bher(e)-*; Beekes 2010:1554—1555 **bʰerH-*; Hofmann 1966:392 **bher-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:248—249 **bhorō*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:481—482; De Vaan 2008:235—236 **bʰorH-ie/o-* ‘to pierce, to strike’ (?); Orël 2003:62 Proto-Germanic **þuraz*, 64 **þurōjanan*, 64 **þurōn*; De Vries 1977:49—50 and 51; Kroonen 2013:85 Proto-Germanic **burōjan-* ‘to bore’; Onions 1966:108; Klein 1971:89 **bher-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:89; Kluge—Seebold 1989:96 **bher-*.

D. Proto-Uralic **pura* ‘borer, auger’: Finnish *pura* ‘borer, auger, (big) awl’; Vogul / Mansi *pore*, *porä* ‘awl’; Ostyak / Xanty *põr* ‘borer, auger’; Hungarian *fúr-* ‘to bore, to drill’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *parõ* ‘borer, auger’; Selkup Samoyed *pur* ‘borer, auger’; Kamassian *pårå̄ŋ* ‘borer, auger’. Collinder 1955:52 and 1977:70; Décsy 1990:106 **pura* ‘to drill, to push; to squeeze (out)’; Rédei 1986—1988:405 **pura*; Sammallahti 1988:539 Proto-Uralic **purå* ‘drill’, Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pura*, Proto-Ugric **pŭra*; Janhunen 1977b:114.

E. Altaic: Mongolian *buryui-* ‘a piece of wire used to clean a smoking pipe’. Turkish *bur-* ‘to bore a hole’, *burgu* ‘auger, gimlet, corkscrew’; Tatar *borau* ‘borer, auger’.

Sumerian *bùr* ‘to bore through, to pierce’.

Buck 1949:9.46 bore. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:196—197, no. 2; Brunner 1969:27, no. 73; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:186—187, no. 21, **bura* ‘to bore’; Möller 1911:33—34; Hakola 2000:149, no. 656; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 251, **bôŕ[a]* ‘to pierce, to bore’.

75. Proto-Nostratic root **bur-* (~ **bor-*):
(vb.) **bur-* ‘to blow, to blow about, to whirl, to rage’;
(n.) **bur-a* ‘storm, whirl, rage’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bur-* ‘to blow’: Proto-Southern Cushitic **bur-* ‘to blow (of wind)’ > Alagwa *bur-* ‘to fan’; K’wadza *bul-* ‘to blow’; Dahalo *ɓúri* ‘to fart’. Ehret 1980:140. Proto-Southern Cushitic **buru-* ‘dust, blowing dust’ (derivative of **bur-* ‘to blow’) > K’wadza *bulatiko* ‘high stratus overcast’; Asa *buʔurita* ‘cloud’; Ma’a *maburú* ‘dung (of sheep or goat)’; Dahalo *ɓúrune* ‘dust’. Ehret 1980:141. Proto-Chadic **bVr-* ‘to blow’ > Kwang *bō꞉ré* ‘to blow’; Kera *bò꞉rè* ‘to blow’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1995.I:15 **b-r* ‘to blow’ and II:32—33.

B. Dravidian: Kui *buru*, *burku* ‘fine rain’; Kuwi *būri būri rīnai*, *būri pīyu rīnai* ‘to mizzle, to drizzle’, *būri pīyu*, *buri buri pīyu* ‘drizzle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:379, no. 4288.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$b^hur$-/*$b^hr̥$- ‘to move rapidly, to rage, to quiver, to palpitate’: Sanskrit *bhuráti* ‘to move rapidly, to stir, to palpitate, to quiver, to struggle (in swimming)’, *bhurváṇi-ḥ* ‘restless, excited’; Greek φῠ́ρω ‘to mix’; Latin *furō* ‘to rage’; Old Icelandic *byrr* ‘fair wind’; Old English *byre* ‘strong wind, storm’; East Frisian *bur* ‘wind’; Middle High German *burren* ‘to rush, to roar, to whirr’; Armenian *buṙn* ‘violence’; Old Church Slavic *burja* ‘storm’. Pokorny 1959:132—133 **bher-* ‘to well up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:157—159 **bher-*; Mann 1984—1987:126 **bhŭrn-* ‘wild, dashing; dash, passion’, 126 **bhŭrō*, *-i̯ō* (expressive variant **bhurr-*) ‘to rush, to roar, to rage’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:508—509 and 509—510; Beekes 2010.II:1598—1599 (pre-Greek loanword); Frisk 1970—1973.II:1054—1055; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1235—1236; Hofmann 1966:406—407 **bh$_u$r-i̯ō*; Boisacq 1950:1042; De Vaan 2008:252; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:570—572; Ernout—Meillet 1979:263; De Vries 1977:68.

D. Proto-Uralic **purkɜ* ‘snowstorm, drifting of snow’: Finnish *purku*, *pyrky* ‘snowstorm, whirling, drifting of snow, snowdrift’; Lapp / Saami *bor'gâ* ‘cloud, spray of snow’; Cheremis / Mari *purge-* ‘to fall, to whirl (of snow or dust)’, *purgõž* ‘snowstorm, drifting of snow’; Vogul / Mansi *paark*, *poarka* ‘snowstorm, drifting of snow, a place drifted over with snow’; Ostyak / Xanty *pŏrki* ‘drifting of snow’. Collinder 1955:52 and 1977:70; Rédei 1986—1988:406-407 **purkɜ*; Sammallahti 1988:547 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **purki* ‘snow flurry’.

E. Proto-Altaic **bŏru* ‘dust, smoke; whirlwind’: Proto-Tungus **bure-ki* ‘dust, new-fallen snow’ > Evenki *burki* ‘new-fallen snow’; Lamut / Even *bu̯rku̯* ‘new-fallen snow’; Manchu *buraki* ‘dust’; Jurchen *bureŋ-ki* ‘dust’; Ulch *bureχi* ‘dust’; Nanay / Gold *bureχĩ* ‘dust’; Oroch *bureχi* ‘dust’. Proto-Mongolian **bur-gi-*, **bür-gi-* ‘to rise (of dust, smoke)’ > Written Mongolian *burgi-(ra-)*, *bürgi-ni-* ‘to rise in clouds; to whirl (as dust, water, or smoke)’; Middle Mongolian *burqaliχ* ‘whirlwind’; Khalkha *borgi-* ‘to rise (of dust, smoke)’; Buriat (Tsongol) *burya-*, *buryol-* ‘to rise (of dust, smoke)’; Kalmyk *bürgn-*, *bürgəń-* ‘to rise (of dust, smoke)’; Ordos *burgila-*, *burgi-* ‘to rise (of dust, smoke)’. Proto-Turkic **bur-uk-* ‘(n.) dust, smoke, soot; (vb.) to blow (of a snowstorm); to curl (of smoke); to choke (in smoke); to produce smoke puffs’ > Turkmenian *buruɢ-sa-* ‘to curl (of smoke)’; Uzbek *buruq-sa-* ‘to curl (of smoke)’; Uighur *buruχ-t-un bolmaq* ‘to choke (in smoke)’; Kirghiz *buruq-su-* ‘to curl (of smoke)’; Yakut *buruo* ‘smoke’; Dolgan *buruo* ‘smoke’. Poppe 1960:21, 79, and 102; Street 1974:9 **bur-* ‘to rotate rapidly’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 375—376 **boru* ‘dust; smoke, whirlwind’.

F. Proto-Eskimo **piʁtuʁ* ‘snowstorm’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *piXtuq* ‘snowstorm’; Central Alaskan Yupik *piXtuk*, *piXta* ‘snowstorm’; Naukan

Siberian Yupik *piXtuq* ‘snowstorm’; Central Siberian Yupik *piXtuq* ‘drifting snow’; Seward Peninsula Inuit (Imaq) *piqtuq* ‘snowstorm’; West Canadian Inuit *piqtuq* ‘drift snow’; East Canadian Inuit *piiqtuq* ‘snow flurry’; Greenlandic Inuit *piʁtuq* ‘snowstorm’. Fortescue—Jacobsen—Kaplan 1994:264. Proto-Eskimo **piʁciʁ-* ‘to be a snowstorm’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *piXciq-* ‘to be a snowstorm’; Central Alaskan Yupik *piXciʁ-* ‘to be a blizzard’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *piXsiʁ-* ‘to be a blizzard’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *piqsiq-* ‘to be a snowstorm’; North Alaskan Inuit *piqsiq-* ‘to be a wet snowstorm’; Western Canadian Inuit *piqsiq-* ‘to drift (snow)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *piʁsi(q)-* ‘to drift (snow)’; Greenlandic Inuit *piʁsiʁ-* ‘to be a snowstorm’. Fortescue—Jacobsen—Kaplan 1994:264.

Buck 1949:10.26 shake (vb. tr.); 10.38 blow (vb. intr.); 16.43 rage, fury. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:188—190, no. 23, **burʌ* ‘(sand) storm, snowstorm’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:225—226, no. 31; Hakola 2000:141—142, no. 619; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 252, **buŕu(-ĶU)* (or **buŕü(-ĶU)*) ‘to spurt, to gush forth, to boil, to seethe’.

76. Proto-Nostratic root **bur-* (~ **bor-*):
(vb.) **bur-* ‘to bite, to eat’;
(n.) **bur-a* ‘food’

A. Proto-Afrasian **bor-* ‘to bite, to eat’: Proto-Semitic **bar-ay-* ‘to eat’ > Hebrew *bārāh* [בָּרָה] ‘to eat (bread)’, *bārūθ* [בָּרוּת], *bārōθ* [בָּרוֹת] ‘food, nourishment’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). Klein 1987:83 and 84. Egyptian *br* ‘food, nourishment’, *brbr* ‘food, drink’, *brbs* ‘a kind of drink’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:465 and 1:466; Hannig 1995:256 and 257. East Chadic **HV-bwar-* ‘to eat’ > Tumak *ɓor* ‘to eat’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:77, no. 315, **bor-* ‘to eat’.

B. Indo-European: Sanskrit *bhárvati* ‘to chew, to devour’; Avestan *baoirya-* ‘to chew’, *baourvō* ‘food’. Walde 1927—1932.II:164—165 **bher-* ‘to devour, to eat’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:481—482.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pure-* ‘to bite, to eat’ > Finnish *pure-* ‘to bite’; Estonian *pure-* ‘to bite’; Lapp / Saami *borrâ-*/*borâ-* ‘to eat, to bite (of dog, etc.)’; Mordvin *pore-* ‘to chew, to gnaw, to corrode’; Cheremis / Mari *põra-*, *pura-* ‘to bite, to chew’; Votyak / Udmurt *pury-* ‘to bite, to bite to pieces (of dogs)’; Zyrian / Komi *pur-* ‘to bite (of animals)’; Vogul / Mansi *pur-* ‘to bite’; Ostyak / Xanty *pŏr-* ‘to bite’. Collinder 1955:109—110 and 1977:124; Décsy 1990:106 **pura* ‘to bite’; Rédei 1986—1988:405—406 **pure-* ‘to bite’; Sammallahti 1988:539 Proto-Uralic **porɨ-* ‘to bite’. See also Janhunen 1977b:127—128 Proto-Samoyed **por-* ‘to eat’.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 5.11 eat. Hakola 2000:150, no. 660.

77. Proto-Nostratic root **bur-* (~ **bor-*):
(vb.) **bur-* ‘to cover, to wrap up’;
(n.) **bur-a* ‘cover, covering’

A. Afrasian: Berber: Kabyle *sburr* ‘to cover, to wrap up’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *pōr* ‘to wear, to wrap oneself in, to cover, to envelope, to surround’, *pōrvai* ‘covering, wrapping, upper garment, cloak, rug’; Malayalam *pōrkkuka* ‘to wrap, to cloak’; Telugu *pōruva* ‘cloth’; Koḍagu *poraḍ-* (*poraḍuv-*, *poraṭ-*) ‘to dress (well)’; Kolami *porkip-* ‘to cover, to close’; Naikṛi *porkip-* ‘to cover, to close’; Gadba *porege* ‘loincloth’; Gondi *poriyā* ‘loincloth’; Konḍa *porpa-* ‘to cover the body with a garment, to put on an upper garment’; Pengo *por-* ‘to put on an upper garment, to wear round the shoulders’; Manḍa *pur-* ‘to put on an upper garment’; Kui *porpa* (*port-*) ‘to wrap around the body, to put on an upper cloth’; Kuwi *por-* ‘to wrap around myself, to wear (cloak)’, *poṛbi ki-* ‘to cover another’, *porvu* ‘a cover’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:406, no. 4590.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **bur-* ‘to muffle up, to wrap up, to darken’: Georgian *bur-* in *da-bur-va* ‘to muffle up, to darken’; Mingrelian *bur-* in *burua-* ‘to patch, to mend’; Laz *bur-* in *o-bur-u* ‘to patch, to mend’; Svan *bur-* ‘to darken’, *buri* ‘dark’ in *rəhijburi* (idiomatic) ‘life’ (that is, ‘light and dark’: *rəhi* ‘clear [light]’), *bi-bwr-e* ‘to darken something, to get dark’, *libwrāl* ‘to become dark’, *mubwir* ‘dark; darkness’ (semantics as in Latin *obscūrus* ‘dark’, originally ‘covered’). Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:67 **bur-*; Klimov 1964:55 **bur-* and 1998:20 **bur-* ‘to muffle up, to wrap up, to darken’; Fähnrich 1994:230 and 2007:82 **bur-*.
D. Proto-Altaic **būri-* (~ *-i̯ū-*, *-e*) ‘(vb.) to cover; (n.) shade’: Proto-Tungus **bū-* ‘to shade (light)’ > Evenki *bū-* ‘to shade (light)’. Perhaps also Evenki *boro* ‘dusk’; Manchu *boro* ‘hat (made of straw)’. Proto-Mongolian **bürü-* ‘(vb.) to cover; (n.) dusk, darkening’ > Written Mongolian *bürüy*, *bürüg* ‘dark, darkness’; Khalkha *büre-* ‘to cover’, *bürül*, *büriy* ‘dusk, darkening’; Buriat *büri-* ‘to cover’, *bürūl*, *bürūr* ‘dusk, darkening’; Kalmyk *bür-* ‘to cover’, *bürū* ‘dusk, darkening’; Ordos *büri-* ‘to cover’; Dagur *burī*, *burgiēn* ‘dusk, darkening’; Monguor *burə-*, *buri-* ‘to cover’. Poppe 1955:50—51. Proto-Turkic **bürü-*, **bür-ke-* ‘to cover up’ > Karakhanide Turkic *bürün-* ‘to be covered’, *bürkek* ‘cloudy’, *bürkür-* ‘to become cloudy’; Turkish *bürü-* ‘to wrap, to enfold, to cover up’, *bürülü* ‘wrapped up, enfolded’, *bürüm* ‘a wrapping up, folding; fold’; Gagauz *bürü-* ‘to cover up’; Azerbaijani *bürü-* ‘to cover up’; Turkmenian *büre-* ‘to cover up’; Uzbek *burka-* ‘to cover up’; Uighur *pü(r)kä-* ‘to cover up’; Tatar *börkɛ-* ‘to cover up’; Bashkir *börkä-n-* ‘to be covered’; Kirghiz *bürkö-* ‘to cover up’; Kazakh *bürke-* ‘to cover up’; Noghay *bürke-* ‘to cover up’; Tuva *bürge-* ‘to cover up (also of clouds)’; Chuvash *pəʷrke-* ‘to cover up’;

Yakut *bürüy-*, *bürküy-* ‘to become cloudy’; Dolgan *bürüy-* ‘to become cloudy’, *bürkük* ‘cloudy’. Poppe 1960:111 and 135; Street 1974:10 **bür-* ‘to cover, to enclose’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:374 **bōrk‘i* ‘to cover; cover’ and 385—386 **būri* (~ *-i̯ū-*, *-e*) ‘to cover; shade’.

Sumerian *bur* ‘to spread (out), to cover over (with a garment)’.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 12.25 shut, close (vb.); 12.26 cover (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:191—192, no. 26, **büri* ‘to cover’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 239, **büryi* ‘to cover’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:225, no. 30.

78. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bur-a* ‘(fine, soft) feathers, fur, wool, (body) hair’:

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *br* in *br n sd* ‘tuft of hair on [the end of] the tail’ (*sd* = ‘tail’). Hannig 1995:256.
B. Dravidian: Malayalam *pūṭa* ‘down of birds, wool, fine hair’; Kota *kam bu·* (*kam-* < *kaṇ* ‘eye’) ‘eyebrow’; Tuḷu *puḷḷe* ‘plume, feather’; Kolami *bu·r* ‘eyelash, eyebrow’, *būr* ‘fur’; Naiki *būr* ‘down, fine feathers’; Parji (pl.) *būḍul* ‘hair, fine feathers, down’; Gadba (pl.) *burgul* ‘eyebrows’; Gondi *būrā*, *bura* ‘down’, *burā* ‘feather’, *būiyā* ‘down’, *buiyā* ‘hair, feathers’; Konḍa *bulus* ‘pubic hair, feathers, hair (on legs and chest)’, *buṛus* ‘feathers, down’; Pengo *būra* ‘small feathers, down, wool, pubic hair’; Manḍa *būriŋ* ‘pubic hair’; Kui *būri*, *būru* ‘hair, fur, feather, wool’, *pṛuma* ‘feather’; Kuwi *kanu būru* ‘eyebrow’, (pl.) *būrka* ‘down’; Malto *purgu* ‘hair on the body’; Brahui *puṭ* ‘hair’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:385, no. 4358. Dolgopolsky (2008, no. 231) has identified three distinct Proto-Dravidian roots that have been lumped together by Burrow—Emeneau in this etymology: (1) **pūṭ-* ‘down, fine hair’; (2) **pūr-* ‘hair, fur, feathers’; and (3) **puṛ/rV-* ‘eyelash, eyebrow’. In accordance with Dolgopolsky’s views, the forms for ‘eyelash, eyebrow’ are to be removed from this etymology and compared instead with Proto-Indo-European **b*$^{h}$*r-uH-* ‘eyelash, eyebrow’ (see below).
C. Kartvelian: Proto-Georgian-Zan **burdɣa-* ‘down, plumage’ > Georgian *burdγa-* ‘down, plumage’; Mingrelian *burdγa-* ‘down; shaggy’; Laz *bundγa-* ‘down, plumage’. Klimov 1964:55 **burdγa-* and 1998:20—21 **burdɣa-* ‘down, plumage’; Fähnrich 2007:84 **burdγ-*. Proto-Georgian-Zan **burt’q’l̥-* ‘down and plumage’ > Georgian *burt’q’l-* ‘down and plumage’; Mingrelian *but’q’u-* ‘soft’. Svan *bint’q’-il-* ‘down’ appears to be a loan. Klimov 1964:55 **burṭq̇l̥-* and 1998:21 **burṭq̇l-* ‘down and plumage’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:68 **burṭq̇l-*; Fähnrich 2007:85 **burṭq̇l-*.

Buck 1949:4.14 hair; 4.393 feather; 6.22 wool; 6.28 fur. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 231, **bü|ur[ʔ]V* ‘lock of hair, down’.

79. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **bur-a* ‘eyelash, eyebrow’:

A. Dravidian: Kota *kam bu·* (*kam-* < *kaṇ* ‘eye’) ‘eyebrow’; Kolami *bu·r* ‘eyelash, eyebrow’; Gadba (pl.) *burgul* ‘eyebrows’; Kuwi *kanu būru* ‘eyebrow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:385, no. 4358 (see above for the complete entry from Burrow—Emeneau).

B. Proto-Indo-European **bʰr-uH-* (> **bʰrū-*) ‘eyelash, eyebrow’: Sanskrit *bhrū́-ḥ* ‘an eyebrow, the brow’; Pāḷi *bhamu-*, *bhamuka-*, *bhamukha-* (< **bhramu-* < **bhrūmu-* [cf. Gray 1902:29, §57) ‘eyebrow’; Khowār *brū* ‘eyebrow’; Avestan (f. dual) *brvat-* ‘eyebrows’; Greek ὀ-φρῦς ‘the brow, eyebrow’; Middle Irish (gen. dual) *brúad* ‘eyebrow’; Old Icelandic *brún* (< **bʰruwōn-*) (pl. *brynn*) ‘eyebrow’; Faroese *brún* ‘eyebrow’; Norwegian *brūn* ‘eyebrow’; Swedish (properly a plural form) *bryn* ‘eyebrow’; Danish (properly a plural form) *bryn* ‘eyebrow’; Old English *brū* ‘eyebrow; eyelid, eyelash’ (Modern English *brow*); Lithuanian *bruvìs* ‘eyebrow’; Old Church Slavic *brъvь* ‘eyebrow’; Serbo-Croatian *ȍbrva* ‘eyebrow’; Polish *brwi* ‘eyebrow’; Russian *brov′* [бровь] ‘eyebrow’; Tocharian A *pärwān-*, B (dual) *pärwāne* ‘eyebrows’. Pokorny 1959:172—173 **bhrū-* ‘eyebrow’; Walde 1927—1932.II:206—207 **bhrū-* ‘eyebrow’; Mann 1984—1987:108 **bhrūn-* (**bhreun-*, **bhrun-*) ‘edge, top, crest, brow’ and 108—109 **bhrūs* ‘brow’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:786, fn. 1, **b[ʰ]ruH-*, II:812 **b[ʰ]ruH-* and 1995.I:688, fn. 11, **bʰruH-* ‘eyebrow(s)’, I:712 **bʰruH-*; Watkins 1985:9 **bhrū-* (contracted from **bhruə̯-*) and 2000:13 **bhrū-* (contracted from **bhruə̯-*) ‘eyebrow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:188 **bhrúhₓs* ‘eyebrow’ and 2006:41, 175 **bhrúhₓs* ‘eyebrow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:534—536; Boisacq 1950:733—734 **obhrū-* (**obhrēu-*) : **bhrū-*, **bhrēu̯ā* in Old Icelandic *brá* ‘eyelash’ (see below); Frisk 1970—1973.II:454—455 *bhrū́-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:842—843; Hofmann 1966:246 **bhr-ēus*, **bhrū-es* (**bhruu̯és*); Beekes 2010.II:1135—1136; Orël 2003:60 Proto-Germanic **ƀrūwō*; De Vries 1977:60; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.1:80; Barnhart 1995:88; Onions 1966:121 **bhrūs*; Klein 1971:97; Adams 1999:374 **bʰruhₓ-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:366—367 **bhruu̯(ā)-* < **bhrū-*, **bhruu̯-*; Derksen 2008:66 **h₃bhruH-s*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:41—45 **bʰruH-*; Winter 1965b:192 **bhrwX-*; Brugmann 1904:150 **bhrū-s* (for **bhrēu-s*) ‘eyebrows’. The following Germanic forms may belong here as well: Old Icelandic *brá* ‘eyelash’; Faroese *brá* ‘eyelash’; Norwegian (dial.) *braa* ‘eyelash’; Old Swedish *brā* ‘eyelash’; Old Danish *brå* ‘eyelash’; Old English *brǣw*, *brēaw* ‘eyelid’ (Middle English *brēu* ‘eyelid, eyebrow; bank, river-side’, Modern English [dial.] *brae* ‘steep bank’); Old Frisian *brē* ‘eyebrow’; Old Saxon *brāha*, *brāwa* ‘eyebrow’, *slegi-brāwa* ‘eyelid’; Dutch *brauw* in *wenkbrauw* ‘eyebrow’; Old High German *brāwa* ‘eyebrow’ (New High German *Braue*), *wint-prāwa* ‘eyelash’. Orël 2003:57 Proto-Germanic **ƀrēxwō* ~ **ƀraxwan*; Kroonen 2013:76 Proto-Germanic **brēwō-*

‘eyebrow’; De Vries 1977:51—52; Onions 1966:113; Klein 1971:92; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:59; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:96; Kluge—Seebold 1989:103. Opinions differ on the origin of the above forms. Some scholars consider them to be derived from the full-grade variant of the Proto-Indo-European stem underlying *$b^hr$-*uH*- ‘eyelash, eyebrow’ through laryngeal metathesis, *$b^hr$-*ewH*- > *$b^hr$-*eHw*- (cf. Lehmann 1952:47—48, §5.3a, *bhreXw*-; Polomé 1965:39, fn. 171, Old English *brǣw* < *bhreHw*-, Tocharian *pärwā*- < *bhrwH*-), while others compare them with Gothic *brahv* (< *brah+wa*- [cf. Orël 2003:57; Feist 1939:103; Lehmann 1986:78]) ‘glance’, found only in the phrase *in brahva augins* ‘in the twinkling of an eye’ (translates Greek ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ), and derive the lot from Proto-Indo-European *$b^hr$-*eE*-$k^h$- ‘to shine, to gleam, to glitter’ (cf. Pokorny 1959:141—142 *bherə$\hat{k}$*-, *bhrē$\hat{k}$*- ‘to shine, to gleam, to glitter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:169 *bhere$\hat{k}$*-; Feist 1939:103—104 Proto-Germanic base forms *brēhwō, *brēɣwō, *brēhwī, root *brĕ$\hat{h}$- ‘to light up, to sparkle’; Lehmann 1986:78—79 *bhrēk*- ‘to gleam’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:96 *bhere$\hat{k}$*- ‘to shine, to gleam, to glitter’ [but not Kluge—Seebold 1989:103]). According to De Vries (1977:51—52), however, two different stems are involved here: (1) Old Icelandic *brá* ‘eyelash’, related to Sanskrit *bhrū́-ḥ* ‘an eyebrow, the brow’, Old Icelandic *brún* ‘eyebrow’, Old English *brū* ‘eyebrow; eyelid, eyelash’, etc. (see above), and (2) Old Icelandic *brá* ‘beam (of light)’, as in, for example, *brá-máni* ‘moonbeam’, *brá-sól* ‘sunbeam’, related to Gothic *brahv*, both of which are, in turn, derived from the same stem found in Old Icelandic *brjá* ‘to sparkle, to glitter, to gleam’, Middle High German *brehen* ‘to light up, to sparkle’, etc. (< Proto-Germanic *breχan* [cf. Orël 2003:55; De Vries 1977:57]).

Buck 1949:4.206 eyebrow. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 237, *bûrûHV ‘eyebrow, eyelash’.

80. Proto-Nostratic root *buw- (~ *bow-):
(vb.) *buw- ‘to go, to come, to proceed, to spend time’;
(n.) *buw-a ‘going, coming, staying; abode, dwelling, residence’

A. Proto-Afrasian *buw- ‘to come, to go (in), to enter’: Proto-Semitic *baw-aʔ- ‘to enter, to go in, to abide, to dwell’ > Hebrew *bōʾ* [בּוֹא] ‘to come in, to come, to go in, to enter’; Arabic *bāʾa* ‘to come again, to return, to come back; to take a place, to settle down, to live or stay at a place, to reside’, *mabāʾa* ‘abode, dwelling, habitation’; Old Akkadian *buāʾum* ‘to come’; Amorite *bwʾ* ‘to come’; Ugaritic *bả* ‘to come, to enter’; Sabaean *bwʾ* ‘to enter’; Geez / Ethiopic *bōʾa* [ዐኦ] ‘to enter, to penetrate, to proceed, to penetrate, to be involved, to intermingle, to have intercourse’; Tigrinya *bōʾa* ‘to enter’; Tigre *bōʾa* ‘to enter’; Harari *bōʾa* ‘to enter, to go in’. D. Cohen 1970— :50; Murtonen 1989:107—108; Klein 1987:65; Leslau

1987:114—115; Militarëv 2010:60; Zammit 2002:103. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *biʔ-* ‘to return home, to rest’. Reinisch 1895:38. North Bauchi Chadic **buw-* ‘to come’ > Jimbinanci *boo-* ‘to come’; Warjanci *buw-* ‘to come’; Miyanci *bəə-*/*bu-* ‘to come’; Mburkanci *buu-* ‘to come’; Kāriyanci *bə-*/*buu-* ‘to come’. Skinner 1977:16. Different etymology in Orël—Stolbova 1995:39—40, no. 157, **baʔ-*/**baw-*/**bay-* ‘to walk, to go’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *pō* (*pōv-*/*pōkuv-*/*pōtuv-*, *pōṉ-*/*pōyin-*; neg. *pōk-*) ‘to go, to proceed, to go away, to reach a destination, to be admissible, to become long, to extend, to spread, to exceed, to be tall, to become expert in, to undergo, to cease, to abandon, to go by, to lapse, to disappear, to be lost, to die’, *pōkai* ‘departure’, *pōvi* ‘to cause to go, to lead’, *pōkku* (*pōkki-*) ‘to cause to go, to send, to complete, to perform, to pass or spend (as time), to ruin, to kill’; Malayalam *pōka* ‘to go, to go away, to go towards, to be lost, to be able’, *pōkkuka* ‘to make to go, to remove’; Kota *po·k-* (*po·ky-*) ‘to spend (time)’; Kannaḍa *pō*, *pōgu*, *pōguha* ‘going, departing, proceeding’, *pōgu*, *hōgu*, *ōgu* ‘to go, to go away, to pass away, to be spent’; Tuḷu *pōpini* ‘to go, to go away, to be lost, to disappear, to depart, to start, to pass (of time)’; Telugu *pōvu* (stems *pō-*, *pōy-*) ‘to go, to proceed, to pass, to be over, to be lost, to disappear, to be ruined, to die, to begin’, *pōka* ‘going, movement, departure, conduct, behavior’; Koṇḍa *pōk-* ‘to spend’; Pengo *pōk-* ‘to spend’. Krishnamurti 2003:103 **pō-* ‘to go’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:404—405, no. 4572.

C. Proto-Indo-European **bʰewH-*/**bʰowH-*/**bʰuH-* (> **bʰū-*) ‘to spend (time), to abide, to dwell’: Sanskrit *bhávati* ‘to become, to be, to exist, to live, to stay, to abide’; Albanian *buj* ‘to spend the night’; Gothic *bauan* ‘to dwell, to inhabit’; Old Icelandic *búa* ‘to prepare, to make ready; to dress, to attire, to adorn; to fix one’s abode in a place; to deal with, to treat; to live, to dwell; to have a household; to be; to behave, to conduct oneself’, *bú* ‘household, farming’, *ból* ‘lair’; Swedish *bo* ‘to dwell’; Danish *bo* ‘to dwell’; Norwegian *bua*, *bu* ‘to dwell’; Old English *būan* ‘to dwell, to inhabit, to occupy (house)’, *bū* ‘dwelling’, *būnes* ‘dwelling’, *būr* ‘bower, apartment, chamber; storehouse, cottage, dwelling’, *bōgian* ‘to dwell, to take up one’s abode’; Old Frisian *bowa*, *būwa* ‘to dwell’, *bōgia* ‘to dwell’; Old Saxon *būan* ‘to dwell’; Dutch *bouwen* ‘to dwell’; Old High German *būan*, *būwan*, *būen*, *būwen* ‘to dwell’ (New High German *bauen*). Pokorny 1959:146—150 **bheu-*, **bheu̯ə-* (**bhu̯ā-*, **bhu̯ē-*): **bhŏu-*: **bhū-* ‘to grow, to prosper’; Walde 1927—1932.II:140—144 **bheu-*; Mann 1984—1987:97 **bhou̯ən-* ‘dwelling’; Watkins 1985:8 **bheuə-* (also **bheu-*) and 2000:11—12 **bheuə-* (also **bheu-*) ‘to be, to exist, to grow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:485—487; Orël 1998:39 and 2003:52—53 Proto-Germanic **þōw(w)anan*, 53 **þōwwiz*, 53 **þōwwjanan*, 65 **þūwan*, 65 **þūwiz*, 65 **þūwōn*; Kroonen 2013:84 Proto-Germanic **būra-* ‘cabin, hut’ and 86 Proto-Germanic **buwwēn-* ‘to dwell; to form, to build’; Feist 1939:83—84 **bhō(u̯)-*, **bhū-*; Lehmann 1986:63—64; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.1:65

**bheuə-*; De Vries 1977:63 **bheu-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:66; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:57 **bhū-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:64—65 **bhewə-*.

D. Altaic: Manchu *boo* (< Khitan **buaŋ*) 'house, room; family'.

Sumerian *BU* 'to reach or arrive at a destination; to come upon, to meet, to encounter'.

Buck 1949:7.11 dwell. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:202—203, no. 8; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 163, **boʔV* 'to go'; Möller 1911:37.

81. Proto-Nostratic root **buw-* (~ **bow-*):
(vb.) **buw-* 'to become, to arise, to come into being, to grow';
(n.) **buw-a* 'growth, fullness, prosperity; blossom, bloom'

A. Proto-Afrasian **buw-* 'to become large, to grow, to arise': Egyptian *bwꜣ* 'to be high'. Hannig 1995:251; Erman—Grapow 1921:48 and 1926—1963.1:454. Cushitic: Proto-Sam **buuħ-* 'to be full' > Rendille *buħ* 'to be full'; Somali *buħ*, *buuħ-so* 'to be full'. Proto-Sam **buuħ-i*, **buuħ-ica* 'to fill' > Rendille *buħi* 'to fill'; Somali *buuħi* 'to fill'; Boni *buuhi*, *buhhia* 'to fill'. Proto-Sam **buur* 'big (of things)' > Rendille *buur* 'big (of things)'; Somali *buur-an* 'stout'. Heine 1978:54 and 55.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite (reduplicated) *pu-pu-ma* (?) 'the act of filling', *pu-pu-man-ra* 'one who (continuously) fills', *pu-* 'to be full'. Dravidian: Tamil *pū* 'to blossom, to flower, to bloom, to flourish, to menstruate, to produce (as flower), to create, to give birth to'; Malayalam *pū*, *pūvu* 'flower, blossom, comb of cock, menses', *pūkka* 'to blossom, to bud, to expand, to menstruate'; Kannaḍa *pū* (*pūt-*) 'to flower, to blossom, to bloom', *pūvu* 'flower'; Telugu *pū* 'flower, blossom', *pūvu*, *puvvu* 'flower, blossom', *pūcu* 'to flower, to blossom, to bloom'; Kolami *puv* 'flower'; Gadba (Ollari) *pūp-* (*pūt-*) 'to flower, to blossom'; Koṇḍa *puyu* 'flower, blossom; cataract of eye', *pū-* 'to flower, to blossom'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:384, no. 4345; Krishnamurti 2003:277 **pū* 'flower'.

C. Proto-Indo-European **bʰewH-*/**bʰowH-*/**bʰuH-* (> **bʰū-*) 'to become, to arise, to come into being, to grow': Sanskrit *bhávati* 'to become, to be, to arise, to come into being, to exist', *bhūtá-ḥ* 'become, been, gone, past', *bhū́ti-ḥ*, *bhūtí-ḥ* 'well-being, prosperity, wealth, fortune'; Greek φύω 'to bring forth, to produce, to put forth; to grow, to increase, to spring up, to arise'; Latin (perfect) *fuī* 'to be, to exist', *fīō* 'to be made, to come into existence'; Old Irish *buith* 'being'; Old English *bēon* 'to be, to exist, to become, to happen'; Old Frisian (1st sg. pres.) *bim* '(I) am'; Old Saxon (1st sg. pres.) *bium*, *biom* '(I) am'; Old High German (1st sg. pres.) *bim* '(I) am' (New High German *bin*); Lithuanian *bū́ti* 'to be, to exist', *bū̃vis* 'existence'; Old Church Slavic *byti* 'to be'. Rix 1998a:83—85 **bʰu̯eh₁-* 'to grow, to prosper'; Pokorny 1959:146—150 **bheu̯-*, **bheu̯ə-* (**bhu̯ā-*,

*bhu̯ē-): *bhŏu-: *bhū- ‘to grow, to prosper’; Walde 1927—1932.II:140—144 *bheu-; Mann 1984—1987:76 *bheu̯ō ‘to be’, 116 *bhū- (*bhuu̯-) ‘to be’; Watkins 1985:8 *bheuə- (also *bheu-) and 2000:11—12 *bheuə- (also *bheu-) ‘to be, to exist, to grow’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:178 *b[ʰ]eu̯- ‘to be’, I:198 *b[ʰ]eu̯H-, I:206 *b[ʰ]eu̯H-/*b[ʰ]uH- > *b[ʰ]ū- and 1995.I:177 *bʰeuH-/*bʰuH- > *bʰū- ‘to be, to originate’; Mallory—Adams 1997:53 *bheu(hₓ)- ‘to come into being, to be; to grow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:485—487; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1233—1235 *bhū-, *bhew-ə-/*bhw-eu̯-/*bhu-u̯-; Boisacq 1950:1043—1044 *bheu̯ā-, *bheu̯ē-, *bhŭ-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1052—1054; Beekes 2010.II:1597—1598 *bʰeh₂u-; Hofmann 1966:407—408 *bheu̯ā-, *bheu̯ē-, *bhŭ-; De Vaan 2008:246—247; Ernout—Meillet 1979:257—258; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:557—559 *bhĕu- (*bheu̯ā-, *bheu̯ē-); Orël 2003:44 Proto-Germanic *þewwanan; Onions 1966:81; Klein 1971:74; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:32; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:68; Smoczyński 2007.1:83; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:46—58 *bʰu̯eh₂-.

D. (?) Proto-Uralic *puwe ‘tree, wood’: Finnish puu ‘tree, wood, firewood’; Estonian puu ‘tree, wood, firewood’; Cheremis / Mari pu ‘wood, firewood’; Votyak / Udmurt -pu ‘tree, wood’; Zyrian / Komi pu ‘tree, wood’; Vogul / Mansi -på ‘tree’; Hungarian fa ‘tree, wood’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets pææ, peæ, (accusative plural) pii ‘wood, stick, cane, forest’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan faa ‘tree’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets fɛɛ, pɛɛ, pää ‘tree’; Selkup Samoyed puu, poo ‘tree, wood, firewood, stick’; Kamassian på ‘tree, wood, firewood, forest’; Koibal pa ‘tree’, pä ‘forest’; Motor ha, häh ‘tree’; Taigi hä ‘forest’; Karagas hy ‘tree’. Collinder 1955:53 and 1977:71; Rédei 1986—1988:410—411 *puwe; Décsy 1990:106 *punga ‘tree, wood’; Sammallahti 1988:539 Proto-Uralic *pu/o/äxi/i ‘tree’, Proto-Finno-Ugrian *puxi; Janhunen 1977b:117. (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) pibil (< *piw-) ‘coniferous needles’, pibil-pubuški ‘larch tree bud’. Nikolaeva 2006:353.

E. Proto-Altaic *biyu- ‘to be, to sit’: Proto-Tungus *bi- ‘to be’ > Evenki bi- ‘to be’; Lamut / Even bi- ‘to be’; Negidal bī- ‘to be’; Manchu bi- ‘to be, to exist’; Ulch bi- ‘to be’; Orok bi- ‘to be’; Nanay / Gold bi- ‘to be’; Oroch bī- ‘to be’; Udihe bi- ‘to be’; Solon bi- ‘to be’. Proto-Mongolian *büyi- ‘to be’ > Classical Mongolian bü- (bö-) ‘to be’; Khalkha biy- ‘to be’; Buriat bī- ‘to be’; Kalmyk bī- ‘to be’; Ordos bī- ‘to be’; Moghol be-, bi- ‘to be’; Dagur bie- ‘to be’. Poppe 1960:99, 111, 112, and 125; Street 1974:10 *bü- ‘to be’; Starostin 1991:280, no. 129, *bui-; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:342 *biju ‘to be, to sit’.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 1.42 tree; 9.91 be; 9.92 become; 12.31 high. Hakola 2000:151, no. 666; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:184—185, no. 19, *buHi ‘to grow up, to arise’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:203—205, no. 9; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 181, *buHi ‘to grow, 2008, to become’.

## 22.3. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *pʰ (> PROTO-AFRASIAN *p)

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| pʰ- | p- | p- | p- | pʰ- | p- | pʰ- | p- |
| -pʰ- | -p- | -pp-/-v- | -p- | -pʰ- | -p- | -pʰ- | -p(p)- |

82. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^hač^h$- (~ *$p^həč^h$-):
(vb.) *$p^hač^h$- ‘to split or break open, to split or break apart’;
(n.) *$p^hač^h$-*a* ‘crack, split, opening, break’

A. Proto-Afrasian **pac*- ‘to destroy, to break’: Proto-Semitic **pac-ac*- ‘to destroy, to break’ > Akkadian *pasāsu* ‘to wipe out, to destroy’; Hebrew *pāsas* [פָּסַס] ‘to end, to cease, to disappear, to vanish’; Aramaic *pəsas* ‘to dissolve, to pluck apart’. Klein 1987:517; Murtonen 1989:342. Proto-Semitic **pac-ak’*- ‘to part, to open wide’ > Hebrew *pāsaḳ* [פָּסַק] ‘to divide, to split’, *peseḳ* [פֶּסֶק] ‘detached piece, remainder’; Aramaic *pəsaḳ* ‘to cut, to split, to sever’; Akkadian *pasāḳu* ‘to cut’ (?). Klein 1987:517; Murtonen 1989:343; Jastrow 1971:1199—1201. East Chadic **pac*- ‘to break’ > Tumak *paǯ*- ‘to break’. (?) Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **pas*- or **pats*- ‘daybreak, dawn’ > Burunge *pisaru* ‘daylight’; Alagwa *pisema* ‘dawn’; K’wadza *pasiko* ‘sky’. Ehret 1980:339. Assuming semantic development from ‘to come out, to break forth’ as in Lithuanian *rýtas* ‘morning’, from the same root found in Latvian *rietu* ‘to break forth’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:412, no. 1416, **pac*- ‘to break, to destroy’.

B. Kartvelian: Mingrelian *pač*- (< **peč*-) ‘to open’. Illič-Svityč 1965:360 Proto-Kartvelian *$pec_1$-.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **päče*- ‘to split or break open, to split or break apart’ > Lapp / Saami (Southern) *piätseke*- ‘to go apart (of the boards of a boat)’; Ostyak / Xanty *pĕčäγəl*- ‘to tear or rip off, to come off (button)’; Vogul / Mansi *pišt*-, *peešt*-, *peešat*- ‘to let loose’; Hungarian *fesl*- ‘to open (of a bud), to rip up (of a seam)’. Collinder 1955:106; Sammallahti 1988:546 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pecä*- ‘to rip up’; Rédei 1986—1988: 358—359 **päče*-.

D. Proto-Altaic *$p^hač^hV$- ‘to open, to split up’: Proto-Tungus **pač*- ‘crack, split, interval’ > Evenki *hačiq* ‘crack, split, interval’. Proto-Mongolian **(h)ača* ‘bifurcation’ > Middle Mongolian *āčiba* ‘bifurcation’; Written Mongolian *ačan* ‘bifurcation’; Khalkha *ac* ‘bifurcation’; Buriat *asa* ‘bifurcation’; Kalmyk *acə* ‘bifurcation’; Ordos *ača* ‘bifurcation’. Proto-Turkic **ač*- ‘to open’ > Old Turkic *ač*- ‘to open’; Turkish *aç*- ‘to open, to begin, to reveal’; Azerbaijani *ač*- ‘to open’; Turkmenian *ač*- ‘to open’; Karaim *ač*- ‘to open’; Uzbek *ɔč*- ‘to open’; Tatar *ač*- ‘to open’; Bashkir *as*-

‘to open’; Kirghiz *ač*- ‘to open’; Kazakh *aš*- ‘to open’; Noghay *aš*- ‘to open’; Chuvash *uś*- ‘to open’; Yakut *as*- ‘to open’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1116 **p‘ač‘V* ‘to open, to split up’; Poppe 1960:63 and 94; Street 1974:7 **ača*- ‘to fork; to open out, to come together’.

Buck 1949:12.24 open (vb.); 14.43 dawn; 14.44 morning. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:256, no. 65; Illič-Svityč 1965:360 **päče*- ‘to open’ (?) (‘расширять[ся]’ ?); Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1663, **ṗaĉV* ‘to open’.

83. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰač’*- (~ **pʰəč’*-):
(vb.) **pʰač’*- ‘to cover up’;
(n.) **pʰač’-a* ‘skin, hide, covering’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian *paṣānu* ‘to cover up, to veil’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *paccai* ‘skin, hide; covering (as of the body of a *yāṟ*)’; Tuḷu *pāca* ‘skin of the leg’; Brahui *pacx* ‘natural outer sheath or covering, bark’, *pacīrok*, *pacīronk* ‘outer layer or crust’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:343, no. 3833.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **peč’w*- ‘skin, hide, covering’: Georgian *bec’v-i* (dissimilated from **pec’w*-) ‘skin, hide, fur, hair, fiber’; Mingrelian *pač’v-/pič’u*- ‘skin, hide, hair, fiber’, *do-pač’v-a* ‘to bat an eyelash’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:357 **peç$_1$w*-; Fähnrich 2007:64 **beç$_1$w*-.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin, hide.

84. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰaħ*- (~ **pʰəħ*-):
(vb.) **pʰaħ*- ‘to eat;
(n.) **pʰaħ-a* ‘food, nourishment’

A. Proto-Afrasian **paħ*- ‘to take into the mouth, to eat’: Semitic: Arabic *faḥasa* ‘to take out of the hand with the tongue or lips’. Egyptian (Demotic) *pḥs* ‘to bite’ (also *pzḥ* ‘to bite’); Coptic *pōhs* [**ⲡⲱϩⲥ**] ‘to bite’. Vycichl 1983:167; Černý 1976:132. Proto-Southern Cushitic **paħ*- or **peħ*- ‘to eat’ > K’wadza *pis*- ‘to serve up portions of food’; Ma’a *-pá* ‘to eat’. Ehret 1980:144. Ehret 1995:92, no. 42, **paħ*- or **peħ*- ‘to take into the mouth’.
B. Proto-Indo-European **pʰeḫ̲ḫ̲*- [**pʰaḫ̲ḫ̲*-]/**pʰoḫ̲ḫ̲*- > **pʰā*-/**pʰō*- ‘to feed’: Latin *pāscō* ‘to feed’, *pābulum* ‘food, nourishment’, *pānis* ‘bread’; Gothic *fōdjan* ‘to feed, to nourish’, **fōdeins* ‘food, nourishment’; Old Icelandic *fœða* ‘to feed’, *fóðr* ‘fodder’; Old English *fēdan* ‘to feed’, *fōda* ‘food’, *fōdor*, *fōdder* ‘food, fodder, food for cattle’; Old Frisian *fēda* ‘to feed’; Old Saxon *fōdian* ‘to feed’; Old High German *fuottan* ‘to feed’, *fuoter* ‘food, nourishment’ (New High German *Futter*). Rix 1998a:415 **peh$_2$*- ‘to take care of, to watch over, to feed’; Pokorny 1959:787 **pā*-, **pə*- ‘to feed’;

Walde 1927—1932.II:72—73 **pā-*; Mann 1984—1987:897 **pă̄-* ‘to feed, to guard’, 900 **pă̄i̯ō* ‘to feed, to guard’, 906 **păsk̂ō* ‘to feed, to tend, to protect’, 907 **păt-* (**pət-*) ‘to protect, to foster, to feed’; Watkins 1985:46 **pā-* (contracted from **paə̯-*) and 2000:61 **pā-* ‘to protect, to feed’ (oldest form **peə̯₂-*, colored to **paə̯₂-*, contracted to **pā-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:198 **peh₂-* ‘to guard, to protect, to cause to graze’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:486; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:260; De Vaan 2008:448—449; Kroonen 2013:150 Proto-Germanic **fōdjan-* ‘to feed, to rear’ and 150 **fōdra-* ‘fodder’; Orël 2003:109 Proto-Germanic **fōđjanan*, 109 **fōđōn*; Feist 1939:157 **pă̄-*; Lehmann 1986:119—120; De Vries 1977:136 and 149; Onions 1966:349 and 368; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:227; Kluge—Seebold 1989:238.

Buck 1949:5.11 eat; 5.12 food. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:246—247, no. 52.

85. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **pʰakʰ-a* ‘scab, dried mucus’:

    A. Dravidian: Tamil *pakku* ‘scab of a sore, dried mucus of the nose’; Kannaḍa *hakku* ‘crusted or dried mucus or rheum, scab’, *hakkaḷe* ‘an incrustation’; Telugu *pakku* ‘scab’; Gadba (Salur) *pakku* ‘dried portion of any bodily secretion, scab’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:341, no. 3811.
    B. Proto-Kartvelian **pakl-* ‘scab, pockmark’: Georgian *pakl-i* ‘scab’; Laz *pukur-i*, *pukir-i*, *purk-i*, *purk’-i* ‘pockmark’; Svan *pakär* ‘abscess, boil, pus’. Fähnrich 2007:429 **pakl-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:351—352 **pakl-*.

86. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **pʰal-a* (metathesized variant **lapʰ-a* in Uralic, Altaic, and part of Afrasian) ‘spleen’:

    A. Proto-Afrasian **pal-* ~ **lap-* (metathesis from **pal-*) ‘spleen’: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **hifella* ‘spleen’ (prefix **hi-*, secondary **-e-*) > Hadiyya *hilleffa* ‘spleen’; Kambata *efeella* ‘spleen’; Sidamo *efelekk’o* ‘spleen’. Hudson 1989:140. East Cushitic: Afar *aleefu* ‘spleen’ (prefix **ʔa-*, secondary **-e-*). West Chadic **lap-* ‘spleen’ > Sura *llap* ‘spleen’; Angas *lap* ‘spleen’; Kulere *ma-laf* ‘liver’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:358, no. 1651, **lap-* ‘spleen’.
    B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *pallè* ‘spleen’; Telugu *balla* ‘enlargement of the spleen’; Parji *bella* ‘spleen’; Kuwi *balla*, *bella*, *bela* ‘spleen’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3995.
    C. Proto-Indo-European **(s)pʰel-*, **(s)pʰl̥-* ‘spleen’ (plus various extensions: **(s)pʰel-gʰ-*, **(s)pʰel-gʰ-en-*, **(s)pʰel-gʰ-eA*, **(s)pʰl-eH-gʰ-*, **(s)pʰl̥-n-gʰ-*, etc.): Sanskrit *plīhán-* ‘spleen’; Bengali *pilihā*, *pilā* ‘spleen’; Hindi *pīlha*, *pilaī* ‘spleen’; Punjabi *lipph* ‘enlarged spleen’; Avestan *spərəzan-* ‘spleen’; Armenian *pʰaycaln* ‘spleen’; Greek σπλήν ‘spleen’, (pl.) σπλάγχνα ‘the

inward parts'; Latin *liēn* 'spleen'; Old Irish *selg* 'spleen'; Breton *felc'h* 'spleen'; Old Church Slavic *slězena* 'spleen'; Russian *selezenka* [селезёнка] 'spleen'. Pokorny 1959:987 **sp(h)elĝh(en*, *-ā*), **splengh-*, **splĕĝh-* 'spleen'; Walde 1927—1932.II:680 **sp(h)elĝh(en*, *-ā*), **splengh-*, **splĕĝh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1253 **spelēĝhnos*, *-ā* (**speləĝhnos*, *-ā*; **splĭĝhēn-*) 'spleen'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:815 **sp[ʰ]elĝ[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:715 **spʰelĝʰ-* 'spleen'; Mallory—Adams 1997:538 **spelĝh-* 'spleen'; Watkins 1985:63 **spelgh-* and 2000:82 **spelgh-* 'spleen, milt'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:385—386 **sphl-ǵh-*, **sphl-i-ǵh-*, **sphl-i-ə-ǵh-*, **sphl-n̥-ǵh-*; Burrow 1973:134, fn. 1; Boisacq 1950:899; Frisk 1970—1973.II:769—770; Hofmann 1966:329—330 **sp(h)elĝh(en)*, **splengh-*, **splĕĝh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1039—1040; Beekes 2010.II:1384—1385 **spl(ē)gʰ-n-*; De Vaan 2008:340; Ernout—Meillet 1979:357—358; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:799.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **läppɜ* 'spleen, milt' (assuming metathesis from **pälɜ* as in Punjabi *lipph* 'enlarged spleen' and Hadiyya *hilleffa* 'spleen', cited above) > Hungarian *lép* 'spleen, milt'; Cheremis / Mari *lepə*, *lep* 'spleen'; Votyak / Udmurt *lup* 'spleen'; Zyrian / Komi *lop* 'spleen'. Collinder 1955:95, 1960:412 **leppɜ* (or **δeppɜ*), and 1977:111; Rédei 1986—1988:242 **läppɜ* (**δäppɜ*) or **leppɜ* (**δeppɜ*); Sammallahti 1988:543 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **däpd/ppä* 'milt', Proto-Finno-Permian **däpdä*, Proto-Ugric **däppä*.

E. Proto-Altaic **l̥iapʰV* 'spleen' (assuming metathesis from **pʰi̯alV*): Proto-Mongolian **niγalta* 'spleen (of animals)' > Written Mongolian *naγalta*, *niγalta* 'spleen'; Khalkha *nālt* 'spleen'; Buriat *ńālta* 'spleen'; Ordos *nālta* 'spleen'. Tungus: Orok *lipče* 'spleen'. Turkic: Tuva *čavana* (< **yapal*) 'spleen'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:875 **l̥iap'V* 'spleen'.

Bomhard 1996a:232—233, no. 651; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1311, **l[æ]ṗA* 'spleen' and, no. 1727, **ṗAĺ[V]gæ* ¬ **paĺ[V]gæ* 'spleen'; Hakola 2000:132, no. 574.

87. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰal-* (~ **pʰəl-*):
(vb.) **pʰal-* 'to split, to cleave';
(n.) **pʰal-a* 'split, crack'
Derivative:
(n.) **pʰal-a* 'stone'

A. Proto-Afrasian **pal-* 'to split, to cleave': [Proto-Semitic **pal-ag-* 'to split, to cleave, to divide' > Hebrew *pālaγ* [פָּלַג] 'to split, to cleave, to divide', *peleγ* [פֶּלֶג] 'canal, channel'; Arabic *falağa* 'to split, to cleave'; Phoenician *plg* 'to divide'; Ugaritic *plg* 'canal, stream'; Akkadian *palgu* 'canal'; Ḥarsūsi *felēg* 'water-course'; Mehri *fəlēg* 'stream, water-course'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *fɔ́lɔ́g* 'to split open, to make a hole in (tin, barrel, rock)', *félég*

‘oasis’ (Eastern dialect = ‘stream’); Geez / Ethiopic *falaga* [ፈለገ] ‘to flow, to cause to flow in torrents, to dig out, to hollow out, to divide, to split, to hew, to prepare, to arrange’, *falag* [ፈለግ] ‘river, brook, valley’, *fəlug* [ፍሉግ] ‘hollow, hollowed, dug out, divided, prepared, ready, arranged’; Tigre *fäläg* ‘ravine’; Tigrinya *fäläg* ‘riverbed’; Amharic *fäläg* ‘stream’ (Geez loan). Klein 1987:508; Leslau 1987:159; Murtonen 1989:340. Proto-Semitic **pal-ay-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Arabic *faliya* ‘to be cut off’; Aramaic *pəlā* ‘to split, to cut open’; Geez / Ethiopic *falaya* [ፈለየ] ‘to separate, to divide, to distinguish’; Tigrinya *fäläyä* ‘to separate’; Tigre *fäla* ‘to separate’. Leslau 1987:161. Proto-Semitic **pal-aħ-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Hebrew *pālaḥ* [פָּלַח] ‘to cleave’; Arabic *falaḥa* ‘to split, to cleave, to plow, to till’. Klein 1987:509; Murtonen 1989:340. Proto-Semitic **pal-am-* ‘to split, to divide’ > Arabic (Daṯina) *falam* ‘to notch, to indent’; Geez / Ethiopic *falama* [ፈለመ] ‘to split, to divide, to strike the first blow (in combat), to be the first to do something’; Tigre *fälma* ‘to break to pieces’; Tigrinya *fällämä* ‘to begin’; Amharic *fällämä* ‘to strike the first blow, to initiate an action’. Leslau 1987:159. Proto-Semitic **pal-ak’-* ‘to split, to cleave, to break forth’ > Akkadian *palāḳu* ‘to kill’; Arabic *falaḳa* ‘to split, to cleave; to burst, to break (dawn)’; Sabaean *flḳ* ‘system of irrigation by dispersion of water by means of inflow cuts’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *fɔ̄lɔ́ḳ* ‘to split, to crack’; Tigrinya *fälḳäḳä* ‘to split up, to crack up’; Tigre *fələḳ* ‘division’; Harari *fäläḳa* ‘to hit the head with a stone or stick so that blood comes out or the head swells’; Amharic *fäläḳḳäḳä* ‘to split, to break loose’; Gurage (Wolane) *fəläḳäḳä* ‘to card wool by splitting’. Leslau 1963:62 and 1979:232. Proto-Semitic **pal-at’-* ‘to separate’ > Hebrew *pālaṭ* [פָּלַט] ‘to escape’; Phoenician *plṭ* ‘to escape’; Geez / Ethiopic *falaṭa* [ፈለጠ] ‘to separate’; Harari *fäläṭa* ‘to split wood with an ax’; Argobba *fälläṭa* ‘to split’; Amharic *fälläṭä* ‘to split’; Gurage *fäläṭä* ‘to split wood with an ax’. Klein 1987:509; Leslau 1963:63, 1979:232, and 1987:161; Murtonen 1989:340—341. Proto-Semitic **pal-as$^{y}$-* ‘to break open or through’ > Hebrew *pālaš* [פָּלַשׁ] ‘to break open or through’; Akkadian *palāšu* ‘to dig a hole’. Klein 1987:512. Proto-Semitic **pal-al-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Arabic *falla* ‘to dent, to notch, to blunt; to break; to flee, to run away’; Hebrew *pālal* [פָּלַל] ‘to arbitrate, to judge’; Akkadian *palālu* ‘to have rights, to secure someone’s rights’; Sabaean *fll* ‘to cut channels’; Mehri *fəl* ‘to make off, to get away’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *fell* ‘to make off, to get away, to run away’; Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *falfala* [ፈልፈለ] ‘to break out, to burst, to gush’; Tigre *fäläla* ‘to sprout forth, to break through’; Tigrinya *fälfälä* ‘to break, to make a hole’; Amharic *fäläffälä* ‘to shell (peas, beans), to gush out’; Harari *filäfäla* ‘to detach a piece from the main bunch (bananas, corn), to shell, to pick up grains one by one from the stock’; Gurage *fəläfälä* ‘to shell, to hatch out, to make a hole by scratching’. Klein 1987:511; Leslau 1987:158—159. Proto-Semitic **pal-aʕ-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Arabic *falaʿa* ‘to split, to cleave, to rend, to tear asunder’, *falʿ*,

*fil*ˤ ‘crack, split, crevice, fissure, cleft, rift’.] Berber: Tuareg *əfli*, *əfləh* ‘to be split; to split, to crack’, *səfli*, *zəfləh* ‘to cause to split’; Siwa *əfli* ‘to be split’; Mzab *fəl* ‘to pierce; to be pierced’; Kabyle *flu* ‘to pierce’. Proto-East Cushitic **falɗ$_1$-* ‘(vb.) to split (wood); (n.) log’ > Yaaku *pilc’-* ‘small sticks of firewood’; Galla / Oromo *falat’-a* ‘log’, *falat’-* ‘to cut wood’; Somali *falliiḍ* ‘a chip of wood, splinter’; Saho *-fliḍ-* ‘to split’. Sasse 1979:26 and 31. West Chadic **pal-* ‘to cut off’ > Hausa *fallè* ‘to hit someone hard’. Central Chadic **pal-* ‘to cut’ > Zime *fal-* ‘to cut’. Central Chadic **pal-* ‘to break (stone)’ > Mafa *pal-* ‘to break (stone)’. East Chadic **pal-* ‘to carve, to cut, to peel’ > Tumak *pāl-* ‘to carve, to cut, to peel’; Sokoro *fal-* ‘to carve, to cut, to peel’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:416, no. 1937, **pal-* ‘to break’, and no. 1938, **pal-* ‘to cut, to divide’. Note: The Semitic forms are phonologically ambiguous — they may belong with Proto-Afrasian **fil-* ‘to split, to cleave’ instead (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:191, no. 845, **fVl-* ‘to divide, to pierce’).

B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *palknā* ‘to cut lengthwise, to split, to crack (the earth, a wall), to chap (the hands, etc.)’; Malto *palke* ‘to cut up (as fruit or vegetables)’; Parji *palva* ‘to split a piece of wood’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3991. Tamil *pāl* ‘part, portion, share, dividing’; Malayalam *pāl* ‘part’; Kota *pa·lm* ‘portion, division’; Toda *po·lm* ‘share’; Kannaḍa *pāl* ‘division, part, portion, share’; Koḍagu *pa·lï ma·ḍ-* ‘to divide, to distribute’; Tuḷu *pālụ* ‘share, portion, part, division’; Telugu *pālu* ‘share, portion, part, share, lot, fraction’; Parji *pēla* ‘portion’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:364, no. 4097.

C. [Proto-Kartvelian **plet-*/**plit-* ‘to pull, tear, or rip apart’: Georgian *plet-*, *plit-* ‘to pull, tear, or rip apart’; Laz *plat-* ‘to get worn out; to tear to pieces’; Svan *pet-*, *pt-* ‘to pluck (wool)’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:358 **plet-*/**plit-*; Fähnrich 2007:437 **plet-*/**plit-*; Klimov 1998:202 **plet-* : **plit-* : **plt-* ‘to wear out’.] Note: The Kartvelian material may belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic **p$^h$il$^y$-* (~ **p$^h$el$^y$-*) ‘(vb.) to split, to cleave; (n.) split, crack’.

D. [Proto-Indo-European **(s)p$^h$el-*/**(s)p$^h$ol-*/**(s)p$^h$l̥-*, **(s)p$^h$l-* (plus various extensions) ‘to split, to cleave’: Sanskrit *phálati* ‘to split, to cleave’, *spháṭati* (< **sphalt-*) ‘to burst, to expand’; Kashmiri *phalun* ‘to be split’, *phālawun* ‘to split, to cleave’; Marathi *phāḷṇẽ* ‘to tear’; Old Icelandic *flá* ‘to flay’, *flaska* ‘to split’, *flakna* ‘to flake off, to split’; Old English *flēan* ‘to flay’; Dutch *vlaen* ‘to flay’; Old High German *spaltan* ‘to split, to cleave’ (New High German *spalten*); Lithuanian *plýšti* ‘to split, to break, to burst’. Rix 1998a:525 **(s)pelH-* ‘to split (off), to cleave’, 525 **(s)pelt-* ‘to split’; Pokorny 1959:834 **plē-*, **plə-* ‘to split off’, 835 **plēk̂-*, **pləḱ-*, **plēiḱ-*, **plīḱ-* ‘to tear off’, 985—987 **(s)p(h)el-* ‘to split off’, 937 **(s)p(h)elg-* ‘to split’; Walde 1927—1932.II:93 **plēi-*, **pləi-*, **plī-*, II:98—99 **plēk̂-*, **pləḱ-*, **plēiḱ-*, **plīḱ-*, II:677—679 **(s)p(h)el-*, II:680 **sp(h)elg-*; Mann 1984—1987:949 **pleiḱs-* (**pleisḱ-*), 1270 **sphălt-* ‘to

bang, to burst'; Mallory—Adams 1997:567 **pleĥ-* 'to break, to tear off'; Watkins 1985:52 **plēk-* (**pleik-*) 'to tear', 63 **spel-* 'to split, to tear off' and 2000:68 **plē-(i)k-* (also **pleik-*) 'to tear' (oldest form **pleə̯₁-(i)ĥ-*), 2000:82 **spel-* 'to split, to break off'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:393; Orël 2003:361; De Vries 1977:127, 128, and 129; Onions 1966:361; Klein 1971:285; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:718—719; Kluge—Seebold 1989:682; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:625.] Note: The Indo-European material may belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic **pʰilʸ-* (~ **pʰelʸ-*) '(vb.) to split, to cleave; (n.) split, crack'.

E. Proto-Uralic **pälä* 'side, half': (?) Finnish *pieli* in *suupieli* 'corner of the mouth' (*suu* = 'mouth'), *pieltä-* 'to tilt, to stand unevenly (for example, a pot), to stand unsteadily, to tip to the side, to give way', *pielos*, *pielus* 'edge, margin, border'; Lapp / Saami *bælle*/*bæle-* 'side, half (especially of a thing divided lengthwise); one of a pair, of two things which belong together, the fellow of something, one like something'; Mordvin *pelʹ* 'side', *pele* 'half'; Cheremis / Mari *pel* 'side', *pelə* 'half'; Votyak / Udmurt *pal* 'side; half'; Zyrian / Komi *põl* 'side; half'; Vogul / Mansi *pääl*, *poål* 'side; half'; Ostyak / Xanty *peləәk*, (Southern) *peləәk* (derivative) 'side; half'; Hungarian *fél-*/*fele-* 'half; one side (of two)'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *peele* 'half'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *fealea* 'half'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *feðe*, (Baiha) *ferie* 'half'; Selkup Samoyed *pɛle* 'half', *pɛlɛk(a)* 'half (longitudinal); side; part'; Kamassian *pjeel* 'half, side'. Collinder 1955:48—49 and 1977:67; Rédei 1986—1988:362—363 **pälä*; Décsy 1990:105 **pälä* 'half'; Sammallahti 1988:540 Proto-Uralic **pälä* 'half'; Janhunen 1977b:120.

F. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **pəl-* 'to scrape skin': Alyutor *pl-ineŋ* 'flint scraper for treating skins with'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *tpli-s* 'to scrape (tr.)', (Western) *pleskas* 'to scrape', *plez* 'to prepare skin'. Fortescue 2005:221. For the semantic development, cf. Old Icelandic *flá* 'to flay', Old English *flēan* 'to flay', and Dutch *vlaen* 'to flay' cited above.

Buck 1949:9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 13.24 half. Brunner 1969:22, no. 38; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:230—231, no. 35; Möller 1911:196—197; Hakola 2000:130—131, no. 568; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1703, **P̲älqA* 'half, part', no. 1717, **P̲ä[ļ]Vḳ̇V* 'to split lengthwise, to divide', no. 1718, **paļ̄[V]ṭV* 'to split; axe', and, no. 1720, **P̲VLhE[ž]V* and/or **P̲VLhE[ç|ć]V* 'to split, to separate'.

88. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **pʰal-a* 'stone':
Derivative of:
(vb.) **pʰal-* 'to split, to cleave' (in the sense 'to chip or break stone[s]');
(n.) **pʰal-a* 'split, crack'

A. Proto-Afrasian **pal-* ‘stone’: Semitic: Hebrew *pelaḥ* [פֶּלַח] ‘millstone’; Akkadian *pīlu*, *pūlu* ‘limestone cutting-block’. Klein 1987:509. Chadic: Lamang *palak* ‘stone’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **pʰels-*/**pʰols-*/**pʰl̥s-* ‘stone’: Greek πέλλα (< *πελσᾱ) ‘stone’; Sanskrit *pāṣāṇá-ḥ*, *pāṣyà̊* (< **parṣ-*) ‘stone’; Pāḷi *pāsāṇa-* ‘stone, rock’; Pashto *parṣa* ‘stone’; Old Irish *ail* ‘rock’; Old Icelandic *fjall* ‘mountain, fell’, *fell* ‘fell, hill, mountain’; Old Saxon *felis*, *fels* ‘stone’; Old High German *felis*, *felisa* ‘stone’ (New High German *Fels*). Pokorny 1959:807 **peli-s-*, **pel-s-* ‘rock’; Walde 1927—1932.II:66—67 **pel(e)s-*; Mann 1984—1987:1649 **pel-*, **pelis-*; Watkins 1985:49 **pelis-* (also **pels-*) and 2000:64 **pel(i)s-* ‘rock, cliff’; Mallory—Adams 1997:548 (?) **pel(i)s* ‘stone, rock’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:266; Boisacq 1950:763 **pels-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:499 **pels-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:877 **pels-*; Beekes 2010.II:1168 Proto-Greek *πελσᾱ; Kroonen 2013:134 Proto-Germanic **fel(e)sa-* ‘mountain’; Orël 2003:98 Proto-Germanic **felzan* ~ **fel(e)zaz*; De Vries 1977:123 **felza-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:192; Kluge—Seebold 1989:209.

C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **palaɣvən* ‘circle of hearth stones’ (?) > Chukchi *palakwən* ‘stones used for surrounding the dead body exposed in the open’; Kerek (Kamen) *palaɣvun*, (Paren) *palawkun* ‘flat stones by the hearth’. Fortescue 2005:208.

Buck 1949:1.44 stone; rock. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:232, no. 36; Brunner 1969:24, no. 52.

89. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰal-* (~ **pʰəl-*):
(vb.) **pʰal-* ‘to spread, to extend’;
(n.) **pʰal-a* ‘that which is wide, flat, level, broad, open: expanse, open space or surface’; (adj.) ‘wide, flat, level, broad, open’
Derivative:
(n.) **pʰal-a* ‘flat of the hand, palm’

A. Proto-Afrasian **pal-* ‘flat, level, broad’: Proto-Semitic **pal-*/**pil-* ‘flat, level, broad’ > Hebrew *pālas* [פָּלַס] ‘to be even, level’, *peles* [פֶּלֶס] ‘balance, scale’; Phoenician *pls* ‘level’; Arabic *falṭaḥa* ‘to make broad; to broaden, to flatten’, *filṭāḥ* ‘broad, flattened, flat’; Akkadian *palkū* ‘wide’, *napalkū*, *nepelkū* ‘(vb.) to become wide, wide open, extended, wide apart; (adj.) wide, spacious’. Klein 1987:511. Berber: Tamazight *fliy* ‘wide’. Chadic: Hausa *fàlale* ‘large flat rock’.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *hələu* ‘thinned’; Telugu *paluca* ‘thin, not thick (applied to a solid or a liquid), rare, not dense, not close, sparse; light, slight, contemptible’, *palucana* ‘thinness’; Koṇḍa *palsa* ‘thin (of liquid)’, *palsaŋ* ‘thinly, sparsely’; Kuṛux *pelpelē* ‘very thin, transparent’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3989.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$p^h$*el-*/*$p^h$*ol-*/*$p^h$*l̥-*; *$p^h$*elḫ̲ḫ-*, *$p^h$*leḫ̲ḫ-* [*$p^h$*laḫ̲ḫ-*] > *$p^h$*lā-*, *$p^h$*l̥ḫ̲ḫ-* ‘level, flat, wide, broad’: Hittite *pal-ḫi-iš* ‘broad’; Sanskrit *pṛthú-ḥ* ‘wide, broad’, *práthati* ‘to spread, to extend’; Greek πλατύς ‘wide, broad, flat, level’; Latin *plānus* ‘even, level, flat’; Lithuanian *plónas* ‘thin’, *plóstas* ‘expanse, space’; Welsh *llydan* ‘wide, broad’; Old Icelandic *flatr* ‘flat, level’, *flet* ‘the raised flooring along the side-walls of a hall’; Old English *flett* ‘floor; dwelling, house, hall’; Old High German *flaz* ‘flat, level’. Pokorny 1959:805—807 **pelə-*, **plā-* ‘broad, flat’; Walde 1927—1932.II:61—63 **pelā-*; Mann 1984—1987:946 **plānos*, *-is* ‘(adj.) flat; (n.) surface, plane’, 947 **platēi̯ō* ‘to smooth, to flatten, to level’, 947 **plātos*, *-is*, *-i̯os*, *-i̯ə* ‘flatness, flat object, extent, spread’, 947 **plātros*, *-ā*, *-is*, 948 **platus* ‘broad’, 966 **pl̥thənos*, *-is* ‘(adj.) broad; (n.) breadth, expanse’, 966 **pl̥thus* ‘(adj.) wide; (n.) breadth, the wide, expanse, earth’; Watkins 1985:48—49 **pelə-* ‘(adj.) flat; (vb.) to spread’, 51 **plāk-* (also **plak-*) ‘to be flat’, 51—52 **plat-* ‘to spread’ and 2000:64 **pelə-* ‘to spread’ (oldest form **pel̥$_2$-*, with variant [metathesized] form **ple̥$_2$-*, colored to **plḁ$_2$-*, contracted to **plā-*), 67 **plāk-* ‘to be flat’, 68 **plat-* (also **pletə-*) ‘to spread’; Burrow 1973:72 **pl-et-H-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:781 **p[$^h$](e)l-H-/-t[$^h$]-* and 1995.I:218 **$p^h$*l̥-*$t^h$*-H-eu-*, **$p^h$*l̥-*$t^h$*-H-u-* ‘wide’ and I:683—684 **$p^h$*el-H-/-*$t^h$*-* ‘wide, flat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:83 **pl̥$th_2$ú-* ‘broad, wide’, 205—206 **pelh$_a$k-* ‘to spread out flat’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:333 and 362—363; Boisacq 1950:792 **plet(h)-* : **plāt-* : **plēt-* : **plōt-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:553—554 **pletə-*, **pl̥tə-*; Hofmann 1966:274 **plāt-* (**plēt-*); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:912 **pletə̯$_2$-*, **pl̥tə̯$_2$-*; Beekes 2010.II:1205 **pleth$_2$-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:318; Ernout—Meillet 1979:512—513; De Vaan 2008:470; Orël 2003:105 Proto-Germanic **flataz*; Kroonen 2013:144—145 Proto-Germanic **flata-* ‘flat’ and 145 **flatja-* ‘floor’; De Vries 1977:129 and 130—131; Onions 1966: 360 Common Germanic **flataz*; Klein 1971:284; Kloekhorst 2008b:620—621; Puhvel 1984— .8:64—68 **pel-A$_1$-*, **pl-é-A$_1$*; Sturtevant 1951:42, §65; Smoczyński 2007.1:476; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:628—629; Derksen 2015:367 **pleh$_2$-no-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:562—564 **pleh$_2$-* and 564—566 **pleth$_2$-*.

D. Proto-Altaic **$p^h$*āla* ‘field, level ground’: Proto-Tungus **pāla-n* ‘meadow, open ground; floor’ > Evenki *hālinrъ* ‘meadow, open ground’; Manchu *fala(n)* ‘floor, threshing floor’; Negidal *palan* ‘floor’; Ulch *pala(n)* ‘floor’; Orok *pālla(n)* ‘floor’; Nanay / Gold *palã* ‘floor’. Proto-Turkic **ala-n*, **ala-ŋ* ‘level ground, plain’ > Karakhanide Turkic *alaŋ* ‘level ground, plain’; Turkmenian *alaŋ*, *āla* ‘level ground, plain’; Turkish *alan* ‘clearing (in a forest), open space, square (in a town)’; Karaim *alaŋ* ‘level ground, plain’; Tatar *alan* ‘level ground, plain’; Noghay *alaŋ* ‘level ground, plain’; Kazakh *alaŋ* ‘level ground, plain’; Tuva *alāq*, *alandï* ‘level ground, plain’; Chuvash *olъχ* ‘level ground, plain’; Yakut *alās*, *alī̄* ‘level ground, plain’;

Dolgan *alïn*, *alī̈* ‘level ground, plain’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1120—1121 **p‘āla* ‘field, level ground’.

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **pəlɣər(ra)-* ‘flat’: Chukchi *nə-pəlɣətrə-qən* ‘flat’, *pəlɣətra-t-* ‘to flatten, to bend down close to the ground’, *rə-pəlɣətra-w-* ‘to smooth out, to flatten’; Koryak *pəlʲʁəj-at-* ‘to flatten oneself, to huddle up in a ball’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *pslaŋs-laX-* ‘flat’. Fortescue 2005:222.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 12.61 wide, broad; 12.65 thin (in dimension); 12.71 flat. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:243—244, no. 48; Brunner 1969:23, no. 43; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1708, **[p]ôl̄χ|q|Γa* ‘broad and flat’.

90. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **pʰal-a* ‘flat of the hand, palm’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **pʰal-* ‘to spread, to extend’;
(n.) **pʰal-a* ‘that which is wide, flat, level, broad, open: expanse, open space or surface’; (adj.) ‘wide, flat, level, broad, open’

A. Proto-Indo-European **pʰl̥ḫ̲ḫ-meA* [**pʰl̥ḫ̲ḫ-maA*] ‘palm of the hand’: Greek παλάμη ‘the palm of the hand, the hand’; Latin *palma* ‘the palm of the hand’; Old Irish *lám* ‘hand, arm’; Old English *folm*, *folme* ‘palm of the hand, hand’; Old Saxon *folm* ‘palm’; Old High German *folma* ‘palm’. Pokorny 1959:806 (**pₑləmā* [**pl̥̄mā*]); Walde 1927—1932.II:62 (**pₑləmā* [**pl̥̄mā*]); Mann 1984—1987:965 **pl̥̄mā* ‘palm of the hand’; Watkins 1985:49 (**pl̥ə-mā*); Mallory—Adams 1997:255 **pólhₒm̥* ‘palm of the hand’; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:852; Beekes 2010.II:1145 **plh₂-(e)m-*; Hofmann 1966:250 **pₑləmā*; Boisacq 1950:741 **pl̥̄mā*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:466; De Vaan 2008:441; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:240—241 **pₑləmā*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:476—477; Kroonen 2013:159 Proto-Germanic **fulmō-* ‘palm of the hand’; Orël 2003:118 Proto-Germanic **fulmō*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:562 **pl̥h₂-mo/ah₂-*.

B. Proto-Altaic **pʰālʸŋa* (~ *-e*) (< **pʰāli-ŋa* ?) ‘palm (of the hand)’: Proto-Tungus **palŋa* ‘palm (of the hand)’ > Manchu *falaŋɢū* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Evenki *hanŋa* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Lamut / Even *hanŋъ* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Ulch *pańa* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Orok *χaŋŋa*, *χaŋa* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Nanay / Gold *payŋa* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Negidal *χańŋa* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Oroch *χaŋa*, *χaŋŋa* ‘palm (of the hand)’. Proto-Mongolian **haliga(n)* ‘palm (of the hand)’ > Middle Mongolian *χalaqan* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Written Mongolian *alaɣa(n)* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Khalkha *alga* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Buriat *aĺga(n)* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Ordos *alaga* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Dagur *χaləg* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Kalmyk *aĺχən* ‘palm (of the hand)’; Moghol *olaqɛi* ‘palm (of the hand)’. Poppe 1960:95; Street 1974:22 **pala* ‘palm of the hand’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1121—1122 **p‘āĺŋa* (~ *-e*) ‘palm (of hand)’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:244, no. 49; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:93—95, no. 369, **p‘aliHma* ‘palm’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1728, **ṗa[Í]Hiŋa* ‘palm of hand’.

91. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰal-* (~ **pʰəl-*):
(vb.) **pʰal-* ‘to fill’;
(n.) **pʰal-a* ‘fullness’; (adj.) ‘much, many’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *pala* ‘many, several, diverse’, *palar* ‘many or several persons, assembly, society’, *pal* ‘many’; Malayalam *pala* ‘many, several, various’; Kannaḍa *pala*, *palavu* ‘much, many, several, various’, *palar*, *palambar*, *palavar* ‘several persons’; Telugu *palu* ‘many, several, various, different’; Malto *palware* ‘to be multiplied, to be bred’, *palwatre* ‘to breed, to rear’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:355, no. 3987; Krishnamurti 2003:266 **pal-V-* ‘many’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **pʰelʔ-*/**pʰolʔ-*/**pʰl̥ʔ-*, **pʰleʔ-*/**pʰloʔ-* (> **pʰlē-*/**pʰlō-*) ‘to fill’: Sanskrit *pí-par-ti* ‘to fill, to nourish, to sate’, *pṛ-ṇā́-ti* ‘to fill’, *purú-ḥ* ‘much, many, abundant’, *pūrṇá-ḥ* ‘full, filled’, *prāṇa-ḥ* ‘filled, full’; Avestan *pouru-* ‘much, many’; Old Persian *paru-* ‘much, many’; Greek πίμπλημι ‘to fill full of’, πλέος ‘full’, πλήθω ‘to be or become full of’, πολύς ‘much, many’; Latin *plēnus* ‘full’, *plūs* ‘more’, *pleō* ‘to fill, to fulfill’; Old Irish *(h)il* ‘many’, *lín(a)id* ‘to fill’, *lán* ‘full’; Welsh *llawn* ‘full’; Cornish *luen*, *leun*, *len* ‘full’; Breton *leun* ‘full’; Gothic *filu* ‘great, very much’, *fulls* ‘full’, *fulljan* ‘to fill, to fulfill’, *fullō* ‘fullness’; Old Icelandic *fylla* ‘to fill’, *fullr* ‘full’; Old English *full* ‘filled, full’, *fulla* ‘fullness’, *fyllan* ‘to fill, to fill up; to replenish, to satisfy’, *fela*, *feolu* ‘much, many’; Old Frisian *fullia* ‘to fill’, *foll*, *full* ‘full’, *felo*, *fel(e)* ‘much, many’; Old Saxon *fullian* ‘to fill’, *ful* ‘full’, *filu*, *filo* ‘much, many’; Dutch *vullen* ‘to fill’, *vol* ‘full’, *veel* ‘much, many’; Old High German *fullen* ‘to fill’ (New High German *füllen*), *foll* ‘full’ (New High German *voll*), *filu*, *filo* ‘much, many’ (New High German *viel*); Lithuanian *pìlnas* ‘full’; Old Church Slavic *plъnъ* ‘full’; Armenian *li* ‘full’. Rix 1998a:434—435 **pleh₁-* ‘to fill, to be full’; Pokorny 1959:798—801 **pel-*, **pelə-*, **plē-* ‘to fill’; Walde 1927—1932.II:63—65 **pel-*, **pel(ē)-*, **peleu-*: **pélu*, **pₑlú-*; Mann 1984—1987:918 **pelu* ‘much, many’, 918 **pelu̯ō* ‘to fill’, 949 **plēdh-* (**plēdhō*; **plēdhu-*) ‘fullness, flood, swarm, glut; crowd; to fill, to swarm’, 949—950 **pleį̄-*, **plēį̄-* ‘full, fulsome; flow, flood’, 950 **plēį̄ō* ‘to overflow, to abound, to fill’, 950 **plēį̄os*, *-ə* ‘full, overflowing, spreading, rampant; fullness, flood’, 953 **plēnō* (**plē-nu-mi*) ‘to fill’, 953 **plēnos* ‘full’, 954 **plētos*, *-is* ‘spreading, spread, flooding, full’, 964 **pl̥-* ‘to fill’, 965 **pl̥nēį̄ō* (**pl̥neu-*) ‘to fill, to be full’, 965 **pl̄nos* ‘full’, 966 **pl̄tos* ‘filled, full’, 966 **pl̥us* (**pl̥u̯-*) ‘full’, 972—973 **pol-* ‘much, many; abundance’, 974 **polu̯os* (**polus*, **polu*) ‘full, big; much, many, abundant;

spate'; Watkins 1985:48 **pelə-* and 2000:64 **pelə-* 'to fill' (oldest form **pelə₂₁-*, with variant [metathesized] form **pleə₂₁-*, contracted to **plē-*; zero-grade form **pl̥ə₂-*; suffixed form **p(e)lə₂-u-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:234 **p[ʰ]elH-*, **p[ʰ]leH-* and 1995.I:204, I:209 **pʰel-H-*, **pʰl-eH-*, **pʰl̥-H-* 'full'; Mallory—Adams 1997:201 **pelh₁-* 'to fill' and 214 **pl̥h₁nós* 'full'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:282—284 **plē-*, **pel(ə)-*, **pl̥(ə)*, II:311, and II:324 **pl̥ə-nó-*; Boisacq 1950:783—784 **pelē-* and 802 **pl̥lu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:537—538 and II:577—578 **pl̥lú-*; Hofmann 1966:269—270 **pel(ē)-* and 279; Beekes 2010.II:1191—1192 **pleh₁-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:901—902 **pleə₂₁-* and II:927 **pl̥lu-*, **pelə₂₁-* /**plē-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:515—516 **plē-*, **plə-* and 517—518 **plə-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:322 **p(e)lē-*, II:322—323, and II:327—328; De Vaan 2008:472—473; Orël 2003:118 Proto-Germanic **fullaz*, 118 **fullīn*, 118 **fulljanan*, 118 **fullnōjanan*, 118 **fullōjanan*, 118 **fullōn*; Kroonen 2013:159 Proto-Germanic **fulla-* 'full'; Feist 1939:152—153 **pélu-* and 172; Lehmann 1986:116 and 131; De Vries 1977:146 and 148; Onions 1966:356 and 380; Klein 1971:281 and 298 **pelē-*, **plē-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:105, 132, and 133; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:223, 821, and 824—825 **pel-* : **plē-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:236, 765, and 768; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:591; Smoczyński 2007.1:459.

C. Proto-Uralic **palyɜ* 'much': Finnish *paljo* 'much'; Estonian *palju* 'much'; Cheremis / Mari *pülä* 'rather much, considerable amount'; (?) Vogul / Mansi *poål'* 'dense, tight'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *fod'e-me-* 'to thicken, to become thick'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *pal'ʔ*, *paju* 'dense, tight, thick', *pal'* 'disheveled (for example, the hair)', *paaji-* 'to swell up, to fester'. Rédei 1986—1988:350—351 **paljɜ*; Collinder 1955:46, 1960:408 **paljɜ*, 1965:31, and 1977:64; Décsy 1990:105 **palja* 'thick'. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *pel-* 'to overtake', *pelie-* 'to be enough', *peld'ii-* 'to bring to an end'. Nilolaeva 2006:346.

D. (?) Proto-Altaic **pʰŭle* (~ *-i*) '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus': Proto-Tungus **pule-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus' > Manchu *fulu* 'surplus, excess, left over, extra'; Evenki *hele-*, *hule-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus'; Lamut / Even *hul-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus'; Ulch *pule-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus'; Orok *pule-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus'; Nanay / Gold *pule-*'(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus'; Oroch *χule-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus'; Udihe *χule-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus'; Solon *ule-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus'. Proto-Mongolian **hüle-* '(vb.) to be left over, to remain; (n.) surplus' > Classical Mongolian *üle-* 'to be superfluous', *üle* 'enough, sufficiently'; Khalkha *üle-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus', *ilū* 'more than', *ülde-* 'to remain, to be left over'; Buriat *üle-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus', *ülū* 'more than', *ülde-* 'to remain, to be left over'; Kalmyk *ülü*, *ilū* 'more than', *ülde-* 'to remain, to be left over'; Ordos *üli-*, *üle-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus'; Dagur *χulu-* '(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus', *χulū* 'more than';

Monguor *fulē-* ‘(vb.) to be left over; (n.) surplus’, *fulū̃* ‘more than’. Poppe 1960:12, 111, and 126; Collinder 1955:145—146 and 1977:155; Street 1974:24 **püle-* ‘to be enough, to be in excess’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1181—1182 **p‘ŭle* (~ *-i*) ‘to be left; surplus’.

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan derivational affix **pəl-* ‘completely’ (?): Chukchi *p(ə)l-* (with comitative case) ‘reserve-’, (with negative *e-…-ke*) ‘(not) completely’; Alyutor *p(ə)lʲ-* ‘completely, intensely’; Koryak *p(ə)l-* ‘well, intensely’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *ᵒp-laX-* ‘big’, *pəlse-kas* ‘to swell, to increase’. Fortescue 2005:420.

Buck 1949:13.15 much, many; 13.16 more; 13.162 most; 13.21 full. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:247—248, no. 54; Hakola 2000:131, no. 571; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1710, **ṗalyû* ‘much, superfluous’.

92. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **pʰal-a* ‘settlement, settled place’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *paḷḷi* ‘hamlet, herdsman’s village, hermitage, temple (especially of Buddhists and Jains), palace, workshop, sleeping place, school room’; Malayalam *paḷḷi* ‘hut, small settlement of jungle tribes, public building, place of worship for Buddhists or foreigners, mosque, royal couch’; Kannaḍa *paḷḷi*, *haḷḷi* ‘settlement, abode, hamlet, village’, *paḷḷiru* ‘to rest, to inhabit’; Telugu *palli* ‘hut’, *palliya*, *palle* ‘small village’. Krishnamurti 2003:8 **paḷḷ-i* ‘hamlet’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:358, no. 4018.

B. Proto-Indo-European **pʰl̥H-* ‘fortified settlement’: Sanskrit *pū́r* (gen. sg. *puráḥ*) ‘rampart, wall, stronghold, fortress, castle, city, town’; Greek πόλις (Homeric πτόλις) ‘city, citadel’; Lithuanian *pilìs* ‘castle’; Latvian *pils* ‘castle’. Pokorny 1959:799 **pel-* ‘citadel, fortified high place’; Walde 1927—1932.II:51 (**pel-*), **pₑlə-*; Mann 1984—1987:1008 **pul-* (**pulos*, **puls*) ‘stronghold, gateway’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:744 **p[ʰ]el-* and 1995.I:648 **pʰel-* ‘fortress, fortified city’; Watkins 1985:49 **pelə-* and 2000:64 **pelə-* ‘citadel, fortified high place’; Mallory—Adams 1997:210 **pelhₓ-* ‘fort, fortified place’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:327; Boisacq 1950:802; Hofmann 1966:279; Beekes 2010.II:1219—1220 **pelH-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:926—927; Frisk 1970—1973.II:576—577; Prellwitz 1905:378—379; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:590—591; Smoczyński 2007.1:458.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **palγɜ* ‘village, dwelling place’ > (?) Finnish *palva-* in some place-names; (?) Karelian *palvi* ‘dwelling-place, habitation’; Hungarian *falu*/*falva-* ‘village, hamlet’; Ostyak / Xanty *pugəl* (< **-lγ-*), *pugət* ‘village’; Vogul / Mansi *põõwl* ‘village’. Collinder 1955:77 and 1977:94; Joki 1973:359—360; Rédei 1986—1988:351 **palγɜ*; Sammallahti 1988:548 **pålwå* ‘village; idol’.

D. (?) Proto-Altaic **pi̯ă̆lagV* ‘fortress, group of houses’: Proto-Tungus **palVga* ‘a group of houses’ > Manchu *falɢa* ‘clan, tribe; all the people living on one street, quarter of a town’. Proto-Mongolian **balaga-sun* ‘city, fortress’ > Written Mongolian *balγasu(n)* ‘city, town’; Khalkha *balgas* ‘city, town; ruins of the site of an ancient town’; Buriat *balgāha(n)*, *balgān* ‘hovel’; Kalmyk *balγəsn̥* ‘city, fortress’; Ordos *balɢasu*, *balɢus* ‘city, fortress’; Monguor *ba(r)ɢāsə*, *warɢāsə* ‘city fortress’; Dagur *balga*, *balag* ‘house, dwelling place’. Proto-Turkic **bialïk* ‘city, fortress’ > Old Turkic (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *balïq* ‘city, fortress’; Karakhanide Turkic *balïq* ‘city, fortress’; Sary-Uighur *balïq*, *paluq* ‘city, fortress’; Chuvash *püler* ‘city, fortress’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1092 **pi̯ă̆lagV* ‘fortress, group of houses’. At least some (possibly all) of these forms may be loanwords (from Uralic ?) (cf. Sinor 1981).

Buck 1949:19.15 city, town. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:89—93, no. 368, **pʻalgʌ* ‘fortified settlement’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:249, no. 55; Hakola 2000:131, no. 572; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1700, **palV[g]V* ‘settlement, home, wall’.

93. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **pʰal-a* ‘thumb, big toe’:

A. (?) Proto-Kartvelian **polo-* ‘hoof’: Georgian *polo-*, *pol-* ‘large hoof’ (Gurian *polo-* ‘big foot, ugly foot’ [this may be a loan from Laz]); Mingrelian *polo-* ‘hoof, foot’, *na-pol-e-* ‘hoof tracks’; Laz *(m)polo-*, *mpulo-* ‘calf of leg, lower part of leg’. Svan *pol* ‘hoof’ is a Georgian loan. Klimov 1998:203 **polo-* ‘hoof’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:358—359 **pol-*; Fähnrich 2007:438 **pol-*. According to Klimov, the Kartvelian forms may be loans from Proto-Indo-European **pōlo-* ‘big toe, thumb’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **pʰol-*, **pʰōl-* ‘thumb, big toe’: Latin *pollex* ‘thumb, big toe’; Late Church Slavic *palьcь* ‘thumb’; Polish (dial.) *palic* ‘finger’. Pokorny 1959:840—841 **polo-*, **pōlo-* ‘swollen, thick’; Walde 1927—1932.II:102 **pōlo-*; Watkins 1985:52 **pol-* ‘finger’; Mallory—Adams 1997:255 **pólik(o)s* ‘finger, thumb’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:519; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:332—333; De Vaan 2008:478 **por-likʰ-s*.

C. Proto-Uralic **pälkä* ‘thumb’: Lapp / Saami *bæl'ge* ‘thumb’; Mordvin (Erza) *pel'ka* ‘thumb’, (Moksha) *pɛl'kɛ* ‘thumb’; Votyak / Udmurt *põly* ‘thumb’; Zyrian / Komi *pel*, *pev*, *pej* ‘thumb; top, pinnacle, protruding, curved, arched part, end, point’; Vogul / Mansi *päääji* ‘thumb’, (Northern) *pal'e* ‘thumb’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *piiketea*, *piikicea* ‘thumb, finger’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *feaja* ‘thumb’; (?) Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *fiit'u* ‘thumb’, (Baiha) *fiid'u* ‘thumb’; (?) Kamassian *piidi* ‘thumb’. Collinder 1955:5 and 1977:27; Rédei 1986—1988:363 **pälkä* ‘thumb’; Décsy 1990:105 **pälkä*/**päkä* ‘thumb’;

Sammallahti 1988:353 Proto-Finno-Permian **pelkä* ‘thumb’; Janhunen 1977b:123.

Buck 1949:4.342 thumb. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1726, **p̓älʹχ|ɣV* ‘thumb, big toe; (?) finger’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:249—250, no. 56.

94. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰal-* (~ **pʰəl-*):
(vb.) **pʰal-* ‘to cover, to hide, to conceal’;
(n.) **pʰal-a* ‘covering’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **pal-* ‘to hide, to bury’: Georgian *sa-pl-av-i* ‘grave’, *pal-*, *pl-* ‘to bury, to stick in’ (in Old Georgian, ‘to hide, to bury’); Mingrelian *pul-* ‘to hide, to bury’; Laz *m-pul-* ‘to hide, to bury’. Klimov 1964:187 **pal-* and 1998:197 **pal-* ‘to hide, to bury’; Schmidt 1962:136; Fähnrich 1994:235 and 2007:423 **pal-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:347—348 **pal-*; Jahukyan 1967:74.

B. Proto-Indo-European **pʰel-*/**pʰol-*/**pʰl̥-* ‘to cover, to hide, to conceal’: Sanskrit *paṭa-ḥ* (**-lt-* > *-ṭ-*) ‘woven cloth, garment, blanket’, *paṭála-m* ‘cover, veil’; Latin *palla* ‘a long wide upper garment of Roman women, held together by brooches; robe, mantle’, *pallium* ‘a covering, cover’, *pallula* ‘little cloak or mantle’; Gothic *filhan* ‘to conceal, to bury’; Old Icelandic *fela* ‘to hide, to conceal’, *fylgsni* ‘hiding-place’; Old English *be-fēolan* ‘to put away (under the earth), to bury’; Old Frisian *bi-fella* ‘to conceal, to commit’; Old Saxon *bi-felhan* ‘to commit, to entrust, to bury’; Old High German *felahan*, *bi-fel(a)han* ‘to transmit, to entrust, to bury’ (New High German *befehlen*); Old Prussian *pelkis* ‘cloak’. Rix 1998a:424 **pelk-* ‘to wrap, to enclose, to hide, to conceal’; Pokorny 1959:803—804 **pel-*, **pelə-*, **plē-* ‘to hide’; Walde 1927—1932.II:58—59 **pel-* ‘skin, hide’; Mann 1984—1987:917—918 **pelt-* ‘wrap, cloak, cover, screen’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:189 and 190; Orël 2003:97 Proto-Germanic **felxanan*; Kroonen 2013:135 Proto-Germanic **felhan-* ‘to hide’; Feist 1939:151—152 **pel-ĕ̄-*; Lehmann 1986:115; De Vries 1977:116 **pel-* and 148; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:60 **pelk-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:68 **pel-*; De Vaan 2008:440 “no etymology”.

Sumerian *pála*, *pàla* ‘clothes, clothing (of a god or king)’.

Buck 1949:6.12 clothing, clothes; 12.26 cover (vb.); 12.27 hide, conceal. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:252, no. 59.

95. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰalʸ-* (~ **pʰəlʸ-*):
(vb.) **pʰalʸ-* ‘to burn, to be warm; to smart, to be painful’;
(n.) **pʰalʸ-a* ‘burn, burning sensation, pain’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **o-pl̥-* ‘sweat, perspiration’: Georgian *opli* ‘sweat’; Mingrelian *upu*, *up-i* ‘sweat’; Laz *upi* ‘sweat’; Svan *wop*, *wep* (< **wöp-* < **opi*) ‘sweat’. Klimov 1964:151 **opl̥-* and 1998:146 **opl-* ‘sweat’; Schmidt 1962:129; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:270 **opl-*; Fähnrich 1994:222 and 2007:326—327 **opl-*; Jahukyan 1967:74. Semantic development from ‘heat; hot’ to ‘sweat, perspiration’ as in Old Church Slavic *potъ* (< **poktъ*) ‘sweat, perspiration’, from the same root found in *pekъ* ‘heat’, *peštь* ‘oven’, **pekǫ*, **pešti* ‘to bake, to burn’, etc. (cf. Pokorny 1959:798; Derksen 2008:415 **pok$^{w}$-to-*).

B. Proto-Indo-European **p$^{h}$el-/*p$^{h}$ol-*, **p$^{h}$l-oH-* > **p$^{h}$l-ō-* ‘to burn, to be warm; to smart, to be painful’: Old Icelandic *flóna* ‘to become warm’, *flóa* ‘to heat, to warm’, *flór* ‘warm’, *flær* ‘warmth, heat’; Norwegian *flø* ‘tepid, lukewarm’; Old Church Slavic *poljǫ*, *polěti* ‘to burn’, *plamy* ‘flame’; Tocharian A *pälk-*, B *pälk-*, **pelk-* ‘to burn; to cause pain, to trouble, to distress’. Rix 1998a:422—423 (?) **pel-* ‘to blaze’; Pokorny 1959:805 (**pel-*), **pol-*, **plē-*, **plō-* ‘to burn, to be warm’; Walde 1927—1932.II:59—60 (**pel-*), **pol-*, **plē-*, **plō-*; Mann 1984—1987:903 **pal-*, **palḭō* (?); De Vries 1977:133 and 135; Adams 1999:378; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:357. Note: both Adams and Van Windekens derive the Tocharian forms from Proto-Indo-European *bhelĝ-* ‘to shine’. This seems far less likely than the derivation proposed here.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pal$^{y}$a-* ‘to burn; to be cold, to be freezing; to smart’ > Finnish *pala-* ‘to burn (intr.)’, *palele-* ‘to be cold, to be freezing, to feel chilly’, *peleltu-* ‘to freeze (intr.), to be frost-bitten, to be blighted by frost’, *poltta-* ‘to burn (tr.), to scorch, to singe, to scald’; Lapp / Saami *buolle-*/*buole-* ‘to burn (intr.), to smart (of skin)’, *buolaš*/*buollâšâ-* ‘frost; frosty, with rather sever frost’, *boal'de-* ‘to burn (tr.), to smart (e.g., wound)’, *ból'tu-* ‘to become swollen or red through being frozen (of face or hands)’, Lule (also) ‘to get frost-bitten (of a part of the body)’; Mordvin *palo-* ‘to burn (intr.); to be cold, to be freezing (of parts of the body)’, *pulta-* ‘to burn (tr.)’; Vogul / Mansi *pool'-* ‘to freeze’; Ostyak / Xanty *pŏj*, (Southern) *păj* ‘thick, ice-crust’, (Southern) *păjət-* ‘to get cold, to catch cold’; Hungarian *fagy* ‘frost, freezing; chill’, *fagy-* ‘to freeze, to become frozen, to coagulate’. Collinder 1955:106 and 1977:120; Rédei 1986—1988:352 **pal'a*.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 4.55 sweat (sb.); 15.85 hot, warm; 15.86 cold. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:254—255, no. 63; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1725, **paĺ|l̥H[ä]* ‘to burn (intr.); to be heated on fire’; Hakola 2000:131, no. 569.

96. Proto-Nostratic root **p$^{h}$aŋ-* (~ **p$^{h}$əŋ-*):
(vb.) **p$^{h}$aŋ-* ‘to take in hand, to take hold of, to handle’;
(n.) **p$^{h}$aŋ-a* ‘hand, handle’
Extended form (Indo-European and Uralic [but not Yukaghir]):

(vb.) *$p^haŋ$-*V*-$k^wh$- ‘to take in hand, to take hold of, to handle’;
(n.) *$p^haŋ$-$k^wh$-*a* ‘hand, handle’

A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *fanno* ‘handle’. Hudson 1989:239.
B. Dravidian: Kui *pāṇba* (*pāṭ*-), *pāṇpa* (*pāṇt*-) ‘(vb.) to obtain, to get, to receive, to find; (n.) obtaining, getting, finding, wealth’; Kuwi *paʾ*- (*paṯ*-; past participle *paṇbi*) ‘to find, to get’, *paʾ*- (*pāṭ*-; infinitive *pāḍeli*; negative *pṛā*-; imperative 2nd sg. *pṛāmu*) ‘to obtain’, *pāʾnai* ‘to get, to have’, *pānpu* ‘the receipt’, *pāṇ*-/*pṇaʾ*- ‘to receive, to get’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:362, no. 4072.
C. Proto-Indo-European *$p^henk^wh$*e* ‘five’: Sanskrit *páñca* ‘five’; Avestan *pančа* ‘five’; Armenian *hing* ‘five’; Greek πέντε ‘five’; Albanian *pesë* ‘five’; Latin *quīnque* ‘five’; Umbrian **pompe* ‘five’, *pump*- in *pumpeřias* ‘groups of five’; Oscan **pompe* ‘five’, *púmp*- in *púmperiaís* ‘*groups of five’ (name of a festival); Old Irish *cóic* ‘five’; Gaulish *pempe*- ‘five’; Old Welsh *pimp* ‘five’; Cornish *pymp* ‘five’; Breton *pemp* ‘five’; Gothic *fimf* ‘five’; Old Icelandic *fimm* ‘five’; Faroese *fimm* ‘five’; Danish *fem* ‘five’; Norwegian *fem* ‘five’; Swedish *fem* ‘five’; Old English *fīf* ‘five’; Old Frisian *fīf* ‘five’; Old Saxon *fīf* ‘five’; Dutch *vijf* ‘five’; Old High German *fimf*, *finf* ‘five’ (New High German *fünf*); Lithuanian *penkì* ‘five’; Old Church Slavic *pętь* ‘five’; Russian *pjatь* [пять] ‘five’; Tocharian A *päñ*, B *piś* (< **päñś*) ‘five’. Pokorny 1959:808 *$penk^u$*e* ‘five’; Walde 1927—1932.II:25—26 *$penq^u$*e*; Mann 1984—1987:919 *penqu̯e* ‘five’; Watkins 1985:49 *$penk^w$*e* (assimilated form **pempe* > Germanic **fimf*) and 2000:64—65 *$penk^w$*e* ‘five’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:845, II:847, II:849 *$p[^h]enk[^h]^o$*e* and 1995.I:743, I:745, I:746, I:747 *$p^henk^{h^o}$*e* ‘five; total of fingers’; Mallory—Adams 1997:401 *$pénk^w$*e* ‘five’ and 2006:308 *$pénk^w$*e* ‘five’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:187; Boisacq 1950:767—768 *$pénqq^u$*e*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:882 *$penk^w$*e*; Hofmann 1966:260 *$pénq^u$*e*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:506—507 *$pénq^u$*e*; Beekes 2010.II:1172—1173 *$penk^w$*e*; De Vaan 2008:509; Ernout—Meillet 1979:558; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:407—408 *$penq^u$*e*; Orël 1998:326 and 2003:98 Proto-Germanic **fenfe*; Kroonen 2013:140 Proto-Germanic **fimfe*- ‘five’; Lehmann 1986:117 *$pénk^w$*e*; Feist 1939:154 *$pénqk^u$*e*; De Vries 1977:120; Onions 1966:358 Common Germanic **fimfi*; Klein 1971:283 *$penq^w$*e*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:113 *$penk^w$*e*; Kluge-Mitzka 1967:224 Proto-Germanic **fëmf(e)*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:236 *$penq^u$*e*; Adams 1999:388 *$pénk^w$*e*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:360—361 *$penq^u$*e*; Blažek 1999b:219—233 *$pénk^w$*e*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:470; Smoczyński 2007.1:450; Derksen 2008:400 *$penk^w$*e*. Note: Horowitz (1992) derives the Proto-Indo-European word for the number ‘five’ from an unattested verb stem *$penk^w$*- ‘to take in hand, to handle’ — this proposal is endorsed by Blažek (1999b:228—229). Proto-Indo-European *$p^hn̥k^wh$-$st^hi$*- ‘fist’:

Proto-Germanic **fuŋχstiz* > West Germanic **fūχsti-* > **fūsti-* > Old English *fȳst* ‘fist’; Old Frisian *fest* ‘fist’; Middle Low German *fūst* ‘fist’; Middle Dutch *veest* ‘fist’ (Dutch *vuist*); Old High German *fūst* ‘fist’ (New High German *Faust*). Serbian Church Slavic *pęstъ* ‘fist’. Mann 1984—1987:968 **pn̥̂kstis* [**pn̥qu̯stis* ?] ‘fist’; Mallory—Adams 1997:255 **pn̥(kʷ)stí-* ‘fist’; Derksen 2008:399 **pn̥kʷ-s-ti*; Orël 2003:118—119 Proto-Germanic **funxwstiz*; Kroonen 2013:160 Proto-Germanic **funhsti-* ‘fist’; Klein 1971:283; Onions 1966:358 **fūsti-* < **fūχstiz* < **fuŋχstiz* ‘fist’; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:107; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:187; Kluge—Seebold 1989:205 **pn̥k-sti-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:566—568 **pn̥k(u̯)sti-*. Proto-Indo-European **pʰenkʷʰ-ró-* ‘finger’: Proto-Germanic **fiŋgraz* ‘finger’ > Gothic *figgrs* ‘finger’; Old Icelandic *fingr* ‘finger’; Faroese *fingur* ‘finger’; Swedish *finger* ‘finger’; Norwegian *finger* ‘finger’; Danish *finger* ‘finger’; Old English *finger* ‘finger’; Old Frisian *finger* ‘finger’; Old Saxon *fingar* ‘finger’; Dutch *vinger* ‘finger’; Old High German *fingar* ‘finger’ (New High German *Finger*). Orël 2003:99 Proto-Germanic **fenǥraz*; Kroonen 2013:141 Proto-Germanic **fingra-* ‘finger’; Feist 1939:150; Lehmann 1986:114; De Vries 1977:120 **penkᵘ-res*; Onions 1966:357 Common Germanic **fiŋǥraz*; Klein 1971: 282; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:114—115; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:198; Kluge—Seebold 1989:215 **fengra-*.

D. Proto-Uralic **paŋka* ‘handle, shaft, grip’: (?) Finnish *panka* ‘pail handle; distaff; halter for reindeer’ (the meaning ‘halter for reindeer’ is borrowed from Lapp / Saami), *panki*, *pankki* ‘pail, bucket’; (?) Estonian *pang* ‘pail, bucket’ (dial. ‘handle, grip’); (?) Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *bag'ge*, *-gg-* ‘halter for reindeer, horse, or cow’, (Lule) *paggee* ‘halter’; (?) Mordvin (Erza) *paŋgo* ‘female head-dress’, (Moksha) *paŋga* ‘head-dress worn by Mordvin women’; (?) Vogul / Mansi (Lower Konda) *põχkɔ̄ləj* ‘rein(s)’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *paŋk* ‘handle of an axe’; (?) Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hatanga) *foggo*, (Baiha) *poggo* ‘handle of a hatchet or a hammer’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *fónka* ‘handle of a hatchet or a hammer’; (?) Selkup Samoyed (Middle Tas) *paq* ‘handle’, (Upper Ket) *paaŋka* ‘handle of a knife’; (?) Kamassian *pâŋa*, *pâŋŋa*, *paŋa* ‘handle’. Rédei 1986—1988:354—355; Fortescue 1998:156 Proto-Uralic **paŋka*, Proto-Samoyed **pəŋkə* ‘shaft, handle’; Décsy 1990:105 **panga* ‘handle, grip’; Janhunen 1977b:113. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *pe:dice* (< **pentičə*) ‘finger’. Nikolaeva 2006:350.

E. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **(lə)pəŋrə-* ‘to give out, to hand out’ > Chukchi *pəŋrə-* ‘to give, to provide, to hand out’, *ɣa-lpəŋrə-lən* ‘provided with’; Kerek *pəŋəi-* ‘to give, to provide (guest)’; Koryak *pəŋjə-* ‘to provide, to hand out’; Ayutor *(l)pəŋrə-* ‘to give out’. Fortescue 2005:224. For the semantic development from ‘to take in hand, to take hold of, to handle’ to ‘to give out, to hand out’, cf. Buck 1949:11.21 give.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 11.16 get, obtain; 11.21 give. Fortescue 1998:156 **paŋkiɣ-* ‘to grasp’.

97. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **pʰaŋ-a* ‘front part, head, forehead, face’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **pan-*, **pin-* ‘front part, forehead, face’: Proto-Semitic **pan-* ‘front part, face’ > Akkadian *pānu* ‘front part; (pl.) face, countenance’, *pānū* ‘earlier, prior’, *pānātu* ‘front’; Hebrew **pāneh* [פָּנֶה], (pl.) *pānīm* [פָּנִים] ‘face, front part’; Phoenician (pl.) **pnm* ‘face, front part’, *lpn* ‘before’; Ugaritic (pl.) *pnm* ‘face’, *lpn* ‘before’; Mehri *fōnəh* ‘earlier, before’, *fənfənw-* ‘in front of, before’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *fɛ̄nɛ* ‘face, front part’, *fɛ̄nɛ́* ‘earlier, firstly, in front of’; Ḥarsūsi *fēn* ‘before, in front of; earlier, ago’. Klein 1987:513—514; Murtonen 1989:341—342. Cushitic: Proto-Agaw **fin-* ‘forehead, face’ > Awngi / Awiya *fen*, *feni* ‘forehead, face’. (?) Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **pand-* (*-d-* suffix ?) ‘prominence, protuberance, projecting surface or point’ > Iraqw *panda* ‘abnormal backward extension of skull’; Burunge *panda* ‘forehead, face; in front’; Alagwa *panda* ‘forehead, face; in front’; Asa *pandek* ‘knife’ (“[s]emantic derivation: via an intermediate specification of the root to apply to a particular kind of projection, the blade or point of a weapon”). Ehret 1980:339. East Chadic **pVn-* ‘temple’ > Kera *pən-ay* ‘temple’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:417, no. 1943, **pan-*/**pin-* ‘face’.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *paṇe*, *haṇe*, *aṇe*, *haṇi* ‘forehead’; Tuḷu *haṇè*, *aṇè* ‘forehead’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:348, no. 3896.

C. Proto-Uralic **päŋe* ‘head; point, tip; end; beginning’: Finnish *pää* ‘head; point, tip; end; beginning’; Estonian *pea*, *pää* ‘head; point, tip; end; beginning’; (?) Lapp / Saami *bagŋe*/*baaŋe-* ‘the thickest part of the reindeer antler, closest to the head’; Mordvin *pe*/*pej-* ‘the end’; Votyak / Udmurt *puŋ*, *pun*, *pum* ‘end, edge, point’; Zyrian / Komi *pon*, *pom* ‘end; beginning, point’; Vogul / Mansi *põŋ*, *päŋk* ‘head, beginning’; Hungarian *fő*, *fej* ‘head; source, origin, beginning’, *befejez-* ‘to conclude, to finish, to bring to an end’ (*be-* means ‘in’, *-z-* is a suffix); (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *ṕa-* ‘to begin’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *feaj* ‘end, extremity, tip’. Collinder 1955:47 and 1977:65—66; Rédei 1986—1988:365—366 **päŋe* ‘head’; Décsy 1990:105 **pängä* ‘head’; Sammallahti 1988:548 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **päŋi* ‘head’.

Buck 1949:4.20 head; 4.204 face; 4.205 forehead. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1750, **[ṗ]äŋV* ‘forehead’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘face, head’); Hakola 2000:127, no. 550; Fortescue 1998:156.

98. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰar-* (~ **pʰər-*):
(vb.) **pʰar-* ‘to be fond of, to care for, to feel affection for; to be pleased, happy, satisfied, or delighted with’;

(n.) *$p^h$ar-a* ‘love, affection; delight, joy’

A. Proto-Afrasian *p[a]r- ‘(vb.) to be fond of, to care for, to feel affection for; to be pleased, happy, satisfied, or delighted with; (n.) love, affection; delight, joy’: Proto-Semitic *par-aħ- ‘to be glad, happy, delighted; to rejoice’ > Arabic *fariḥa* ‘to be glad, happy, delighted; to rejoice; to be gay, merry, cheerful’, *faraḥ* ‘joy, gladness, glee, gaiety, hilarity, mirth, exhilaration, merriment, joy’, *farḥa* ‘joy’, *fariḥ*, *fāriḥ* ‘merry, gay, cheerful, joyful, glad, delighted, happy’; Mehri *fīrəḥ* ‘to be happy’, *fərḥāt* ‘happiness’, *fōrəḥ* ‘to make happy’; Ḥarsūsi *fēreḥ* ‘to rejoice, to be happy’, *ferḥet* ‘happiness’, *fēreḥ* ‘to make happy’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *férəḥ* ‘to be happy, pleased’, *effráḥ* ‘to make happy’, *farḥ*, *fərḥát* ‘happiness’. Zammit 2002:318. Berber: Tuareg *ifrar* ‘to be good, to be abundant, to be of good quality’, *səfrər* ‘to make good, to make abundant, to make of good quality’, *təfərə* ‘character of that which is good, good quality, abundance’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *pari* ‘to be affectionate’, *pari* ‘love, affection’, *parivu* ‘affection, love, devotion, piety, delight, pleasure’; Malayalam *parivu* ‘love’; Kannaḍa *paraḷiga* ‘paramour’; Telugu *perima* ‘love, affection’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:353, no. 3984.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$p^h$reyH-/*$p^h$royH-/*$p^h$riH- (> *$p^h$rī-) ‘to be fond of, to care for, to feel affection for; to be pleased, happy, satisfied, or delighted with’: Sanskrit *prīṇā́ti* ‘to please, to gladden, to delight, to gratify, to cheer, to comfort, to soothe, to propitiate; to be pleased or satisfied with, to delight in, to enjoy’, *prī́yate* ‘to be pleased’, *priyá-ḥ* ‘beloved, dear’, *premán-* ‘affection, kindness, fondness, love’, *préyas-* ‘dearer, more agreeable; a lover, a dear friend’, *prīti-ḥ* ‘pleasure, joy, gladness, satisfaction’; Avestan *frīnāiti* ‘to love, to praise’, *fryō* ‘dear’; Welsh *rhydd* ‘free’; Gothic *freis* ‘free’, *frijei*, *frei-hals* ‘freedom’, *frijōn* ‘love’, *freidjan* ‘to take care of’, *frijōnds* ‘friend’, *friaþwa* ‘showing love’; Old Icelandic *frjá* ‘to love’, *frjáls* ‘love’, *fríða* ‘to adorn’, *fríðr* ‘beautiful, handsome, fine’, *frændi* ‘kinsman’, *friða* ‘to pacify’, *friðr* ‘peace’, *friðill* ‘lover’; Old English *frēo* ‘free; noble; joyful’, *frēond* ‘friend; relative; lover’, *frēod* ‘affection, friendship, good-will, peace’, *frēogan*, *frīgan* ‘to free, to love’, *frēo* ‘lady, woman’, *frioðu* ‘peace’; Old Frisian *friūnd* ‘friend’, *frī* ‘free’; Old Saxon *friund* ‘friend’, *frī* ‘free’; Dutch *vriend* ‘friend’; Old High German *vrīten* ‘to cherish’, *frī* ‘free’ (New High German *frei*), *friunt* ‘friend’ (New High German *Freund*), *fridu* ‘peace’ (New High German *Friede*), *frīhals* ‘free man’; Old Church Slavic *prějǫ*, *prijati* ‘to be favorable’, *prijatelь* ‘friend’, *prijaznь* ‘love’; Latvian *priêks* ‘joy’. Rix 1998a:441 *preu̯H- ‘to delight in’; Pokorny 1959:844 *prāi-, *prəi-, *prī- (*pri-) ‘to like’; Walde 1927—1932:II:86—87 *prēi-, *prəi-, *prī- (*pri-); Mann 1984—1987:988 *priu̯a- (*priu̯ā -, *priu̯ə-) ‘dear’, 988—989 *priu̯āu̯ō ‘to like, to love, to favor’, 989 *prŭ̯ət- (*prŭ̯āt-, *prūt-) ‘beloved, dear’, 989 *prŭ̯os; Watkins 1985:53 *prī- (contracted from

*priᵩ-) and 2000:69 *prī- ‘to love’ (oldest form *priᵩ-, contracted to *prī- [before consonants] and *priy- [before vowels]); Mallory—Adams 1997:358 *prih$_x$eh$_a$- ‘love’, *prih$_x$-neh$_a$-, *prih$_x$ós ‘of one’s own’ > ‘dear’ and 642 *prih$_x$- ‘to be pleasing, to be one’s own’, *prih$_x$éh$_a$ ‘wife’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:378—380 and II:380; Orël 2003:113 Proto-Germanic *frijaƀwō, 114 *frijaz, 114 *frijōjanan, 114—115 *frijōndz; Kroonen 2013:155 Proto-Germanic *fri(j)a- ‘free’, 155 *fri(j)ōn- ‘to love’, 155 *fri(j)ōnd- ‘friend’, and 156 *friþu- ‘friendship, peace’; Lehmann 1986:127, 127—128, 128, and 128—129; Feist 1939:167, 167—168, and 168; De Vries 1977:142, 142—143, 143, and 145; Onions 1966:375—376 and 377; Klein 1971:295 and 296; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:130 and 131; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:216, 218, and 219; Kluge—Seebold 1989:230—231 and 232; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:568—573 *preḭH-.

Buck 1949:16.27 love (sb.; vb.); 16.71 good (adj.). Blažek 1992c:245, no. 2; Bomhard 1996a:217—218, no. 622; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1785, *paR[a]Xi (= *paŕ[a]Xi ?) ‘happy, dear’.

99. Proto-Nostratic root *pʰar- (~ *pʰər-):
(vb.) *pʰar- ‘to separate, to divide, to break (apart)’;
(n.) *pʰar-a ‘part, portion, share’

A. Proto-Afrasian *par- ‘to separate, to divide, to break (apart)’: Proto-Semitic *par-ad- ‘to separate, to divide’ > Hebrew *pāraḏ* [פָּרַד] ‘to separate, to divide’, *pēraḏ* [פֵּרַד] ‘to separate, to disintegrate, to loosen, to decompose’; Aramaic *pəraḏ* ‘to separate, to scatter’; Mandaic *prd* ‘to break through, to tear apart’; Arabic *farada* ‘to set aside, to separate, to segregate’; Sabaean *frd* ‘sole, unique’; Geez / Ethiopic *farada* [ፈረደ] ‘to separate, to judge’, *fərud* [ፍሩድ] ‘separated’, *fərd* [ፍርድ] ‘judgment’; Tigre *färda* ‘to judge’; Tigrinya *färädä* ‘to judge’; Amharic *färrädä* ‘to judge, to dispense justice, to render judgment, to pronounce sentence’, *fərd* ‘judgment, sentence, justice, trial, verdict’; Gurage *färädä* ‘to judge, to pass judgment’; Harari *färäda* ‘to judge’. Zammit 2002:318; Murtonen 1989:346; Klein 1987:523; Leslau 1963:63—64, 1979:241, and 1987:165. Proto-Semitic *par-ak’- ‘to separate, to divide’ > Hebrew *pāraḳ* [פָּרַק] ‘to break, to break in pieces; to break off; to deliver, to set free’, *pereḳ* [פֶּרֶק] ‘violence, murder’; Arabic *faraḳa* ‘to separate, to part, to split, to divide, to sever’; Ugaritic *prḳ* ‘to break, to open’; Akkadian *parāḳu* ‘to separate, to detach, to remove’; Mandaic *prḳ* ‘to sever, to detach, to free, to deliver, to save’; Sabaean *frḳ* ‘to leave, to escape’; Mehri *ferōḳ* ‘to distribute, to divide’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *fɔ̄trəḳ* ‘to become separated’; Ḥarsūsi *fátereḳ* ‘to be or become separated’; Geez / Ethiopic *faraḳa* [ፈረቀ] ‘to save, to redeem, to divide, to separate, to create’; Tigre *färḳa* ‘to pierce, to perforate’; Tigrinya *färräḳä* ‘to split, to divide’; Amharic *färräḳä* ‘to separate, to divide’;

Gurage *fəräḳä* ‘to split, to tear off a branch’. Zammit 2002:320; Murtonen 1989:349; Klein 1987:532; Leslau 1987:166. Proto-Semitic **par-at'-* ‘to divide into parts’ > Hebrew *pāraṭ* [פָּרַט] ‘to change (money); to give details, to itemize; to divide into parts’; Syriac *pəraṭ* ‘to rend, to tear away, to burst open’; Akkadian *parāṭu* ‘to separate, to remove, to break off’; Arabic *faraṭa* ‘to separate, to part’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *férɔ́ṭ* ‘(car, bus) to go off without one’; Ḥarsūsi *ferōṭ* ‘to depart without one (caravan, car)’; Mehri *fərōṭ* ‘to slip out of one’s hands; (car, bus, etc.) to go off without one’; [Tigrinya *färṭaʿ bälä*, (with metathesis) *fäṭraʿ bälä* ‘to be torn, to burst’; Harari *färäṭa* ‘to burst (a wound from which liquid or pus comes out)’; Amharic *färräṭä* ‘to burst, to smash’; Argobba *färräṭa* ‘to burst, to smash’; Gurage *färäṭä* ‘to burst, to burst and make the sound of bursting, to explode’]. Klein 1987:527; Leslau 1979:245; Murtonen 1989:347—348. Proto-Semitic **par-ax-* ‘to break out’ > Hebrew *pāraḥ* [פָּרַח] ‘to break out (of leprosy and like eruptions), to break open (a boil)’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *férəx* ‘(egg) to split open’; Mehri *fərōx* ‘(girl) to throw the legs wide apart in playing (which is punished by a slap)’. Murtonen 1989:347. Proto-Semitic **par-ar-* ‘to break; to destroy’ > Akkadian *parāru* ‘to break, to destroy, to annihilate’; Hebrew *pārar* [פָּרַר] ‘to break; to destroy; to put an end to, to frustrate’, *pārar* ‘to crush, to crumble, to break into crumbs’; Aramaic *pərar* ‘to crush, to crumble’; Geez / Ethiopic *farra* [ፈረ] ‘to shell, to husk’; Tigrinya *färrärä* ‘to dissolve’; Amharic *fär(r)* ‘furrow’. Klein 1987:533; Leslau 1987:166; Murtonen 1989:346. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **par-par-* ‘to crumble, to break’ > Arabic *farfara* ‘to cut, to break, to tear to pieces’; Aramaic *parper* ‘to break’; Geez / Ethiopic *farfara* [ፈርፈረ] ‘to crumble bread’, *fərfār* [ድርፋር] ‘crumbs’; Tigre *färfärä* ‘to be reduced to powder’; Tigrinya *färfärä* ‘to cut wood or a stone into small pieces, to break into small pieces’, *fərfar* ‘small pieces of wood’; Amharic *färäffärä* ‘to crumble’; Harari *firäfärä* ‘to crumble into small pieces’; Gurage *fəräfärä* ‘to crumble bread’, *fərfar* ‘bread crumbs’; Argobba *fərəffari* ‘crumbs’. Leslau 1963:64, 1979:241, and 1987:165. Proto-Semitic **par-ac'-* ‘to break through’ > Hebrew *pāraṣ* [פָּרַץ] ‘to break through, to break or burst out’, *pereṣ* [פֶּרֶץ] ‘breach (in a wall)’; Aramaic *pəraṣ* ‘to break through’; Mandaic *prṣ* ‘to break through’; Akkadian *parāṣu* ‘to break through’; Ugaritic *prṣ* ‘to open’; Arabic *faraṣa* ‘to cut’; Geez / Ethiopic *faraṣa* [ፈረጸ] ‘to break open, to cut open, to split’; [Tigrinya *färṭaʿ bälä*, (with metathesis) *fäṭraʿ bälä* ‘to be torn, to burst’; Harari *färäṭa* ‘to burst (a wound from which liquid or pus comes out)’; Amharic *färräṭä* ‘to burst, to smash’; Argobba *färräṭa* ‘to burst, to smash’; Gurage *färäṭä* ‘to burst, to burst and make the sound of bursting, to explode’]. Klein 1987:532; Leslau 1987:167; Murtonen 1989:349. Proto-Semitic **par-am-* ‘to cut, to split’ > Hebrew *pāram* [פָּרַם] ‘to tear, to rend’; Syriac *pəram* ‘to cut, to split, to chop’; Arabic *farama* ‘to cut into small pieces (meat, tobacco), to mince, to chop, to hash (meat)’. Klein 1987:529; Murtonen 1989:348.

Arabic *faraza* ‘to set apart, to separate, to detach, to isolate’. Proto-Semitic **par-at-* ‘to split’ > Aramaic *pəraθ* ‘to split up’; Mandaic *prt* ‘to split up’. Proto-Semitic **par-as-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Hebrew *pāras* [פָּרַס] ‘to break in two, to divide’; Aramaic *pəras* ‘to divide, to break up’; Akkadian *parāsu* ‘to separate, to divide’; Arabic *farasa* ‘to kill, to tear (prey)’; Geez / Ethiopic *farasa* [ፈረሰ] ‘to be demolished, to be destroyed’; Tigre *färsa* ‘to be ruined’; Tigrinya *färäsä* ‘to be ruined’; Argobba *(a)färräsä* ‘to demolish’; Amharic *färräsä* ‘to be demolished’; Gurage (Gogot) *färräsä* ‘to be demolished’, (Endegeñ) *afäräsä* ‘to demolish, to destroy’. Klein 1987:530; Leslau 1987:167; Murtonen 1989:348. Arabic *farā* ‘to split lengthwise, to cut lengthwise; to mince, to chop’. Arabic *faraǧa* ‘to open, to part, to separate, to cleave, to split, to breach’. Zammit 2002:318. Egyptian *prṯ*, *prḏ* ‘to separate’, *prḫ* ‘to divide, to separate’, *pršˁ* ‘to break open’; Coptic *pōrǧ* [ⲡⲱⲣϫ] ‘to divide, to separate’. Hannig 1995:287; Vycichl 1983:164; Černý 1976:129. Berber: Tawlemmet *fardat* ‘to be cut into small pieces’, *səffərdət* ‘to cut into small pieces’; Tamazight *afərdu* ‘wooden mortar’, *tafərdut* ‘small mortar, a piece of wood used to plug a hole’, *sfurdu* ‘to crush, to pound’, *tisfərdut* ‘pestle’; Zenaga *affurdi* ‘large wooden mortar’. [Proto-Southern Cushitic **paraħ-* ‘to pull apart’ > Iraqw *parḥami* ‘piece’; Asa *parames-* ‘to split up (firewood)’; Ma’a *-paráʔa* ‘to disperse’, *-paráti* ‘to scatter (something)’; Dahalo *poroḥ* ‘to pull apart’. Ehret 1980:143. Note: Some of the Southern Cushitic forms may belong with **pʰar-* (~ **pʰər-*) ‘(vb.) to spread, to scatter; (n.) breadth, width, extension, space; (adj.) broad, extended, spread out, scattered’.] West Chadic **par-* ‘to smash, to break to pieces’ > Angas *par-p-* ‘to smash’; Tangale *puure-* ‘to break to pieces’. Central Chadic: Mofu *pərč-* ‘to cut’. Ehret 1995:95, no. 50, **par-*/**pir-* ‘to separate’, **pur-* ‘to take apart’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:418, no. 1951, **par-* ‘to break, to thresh’, 420, no. 1957, **parVm-* ‘to cut, to split’, 420, no. 1958, **paroḳ-* ‘to tear, to rip’, 420, no. 1959, **paruç-* ‘to cut, to break through’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *pari* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to separate, to be sundered, to break off, to be destroyed, to cut asunder, to destroy’, *pari* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to cut asunder’, *paruṅku* (*paruṅki-*) ‘to pluck (as fruit), to tear off’; Tuḷu *paripuni* ‘to tear, to rend’; Kolami *part-* (*paratt-*) ‘to cut up’; Parji *parŋg-* ‘to be split’, *parkip-* (*parkit-*) ‘to split, to plow for the first time’, *parka* ‘piece, portion, split piece of wood’; Kuwi *par-* ‘to dig a ditch’; Malto *parġe* ‘to split, to cleave, to rend’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:353, no. 3962.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **pric’-* ‘to tear, to rend, to break or burst apart’: Georgian *p(x)ric’-*/*p(x)rec’-* ‘to tear, to rend’, *prec’il-* ‘torn’; Mingrelian *buric’-* ‘to tear, to rend’; Laz *bric’-*/*bruc’-* ‘to break, to burst, to tear’, *brac’el-* ‘torn’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:62 **breç-*/**breç-*; Fähnrich 2007:77—78 **breç-*/**breç-*; Klimov 1964:190 **priç-* and 1998:204 **preç-* : **priç-* ‘to tear, to rend’, 1998:204 **preç-il-* ‘torn’.

D. Proto-Indo-European *$p^her$-/*$p^hor$-/*$p^hr̥$- ‘to separate, to divide’: Sanskrit *pūrtá-m* ‘gift, reward’; Greek περάω ‘to carry beyond the seas for the purpose of selling, to sell abroad’, πέρνημι ‘to export for sale, to sell (as slaves)’, πορεῖν ‘to furnish, to present, to offer’; Latin *pār* ‘equal’, *pars* ‘part, portion, share’, *portiō* ‘part, section, division’; Old Irish *rann* ‘part’; Lithuanian *perkù*, *peřkti* ‘to buy’. Rix 1998a:427 *$perh_2$- ‘to sell’; Pokorny 1959:817 **per*-, **perə*- ‘to sell, to divide’; Walde 1927—1932.II:40—41 **per*-; Mann 1984—1987:924 **perk̂*- ‘to split, to breach’; Rix 2001:474 *$perh_2$- ‘to sell’; Watkins 1985:50 **per*- ‘to traffic in, to sell’ (< ‘to hand over, to distribute’) and 2000:66 **perə*- ‘to grant, to allot’; Mallory—Adams 1997:185 **per*- ‘to exchange, to barter’ and 441 (?) *$pr̥(h_3)tis$ ‘what is distributed’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:324; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:888 and II:928; Frisk 1970—1973.II:516—517 and II:579—580; Hofmann 1966:265 **per*- ‘to sell’; Boisacq 1950:757—758, 774, and 804; Beekes 2010.II:1178—1179 *$perh_2$- and II:1222 *$perh_3$-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:481, 485, and 524; De Vaan 2008:444; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:250—251 and II:257—258.

E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **päre* ‘small piece, bit, fragment’ > Finnish *päre* ‘shingle, splint’ (> Lapp / Saami *bærâ*/*bærâgâ*- ‘splinter, chip, thin flat piece of wood used for lighting purposes’); (?) Votyak / Udmurt *pyry*, *pyr* ‘crumb, fragment’; Zyrian / Komi *pyryg*, *pyrig* ‘crumb, fragment’; Vogul / Mansi *-poår* ‘piece, bit’; Ostyak / Xanty *pər* ‘small piece, bit; shingle (for making fire)’. Collinder 1955:106—107 and 1977:121; Rédei 1986—1988:366 **päre*.

F. Altaic: Manchu *farsi* ‘piece, strip’, *farsila*- ‘to cut or make in pieces’.

G. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **pər*- ‘to pull, tear, pluck, or rip out’ > Chukchi *pər*- ‘to pull out by root, to rip out’; Koryak *pəj*- ‘to pluck, to harvest, to peel, to take away; to take off (clothing)’; Alyutor *pr*- ‘to pluck, to take off’. Fortescue 2005:225.

Buck 1949:12.33 separate (vb.); 12.232 divide; 13.23 part (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:232—233, no. 37; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1775, **päri[ʔ]E* (or **päryE* ?) ‘to tear, to split’, no. 1791, **PVRiċV* ‘to break through, to tear’, and, no. 1792, **Pärga* ‘to split, to crack’.

100. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^har$- (~ *$p^hər$-):
(vb.) *$p^har$- ‘to spread, to scatter’;
(n.) *$p^har$-*a* ‘breadth, width, extension, space’; (adj.) ‘broad, extended, spread out, scattered’

A. Proto-Afrasian **par*- ‘to spread, to scatter’: Proto-Semitic **par-aṯ̣*- ‘to spread, to scatter’ > Hebrew *pāraś* [פָּרַשׂ] ‘to spread, to expand, to spread out’, *pēraś* [פֵּרַשׂ] ‘to stretch, to spread, to scatter’; Aramaic *pəras* ‘to spread out, to extend’; Arabic *faraša* ‘to spread, to spread out’; Ḥarsūsi

*ferōś* ‘to spread’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *férɔ́ś* ‘to spread’; Mehri *fərōś* ‘to spread’. Klein 1987:533; Murtonen 1989:350; Zammit 2002:319. Arabic *farada* ‘to spread, to spread out, to extend, to stretch’. Egyptian *prš* ‘to stretch out’; Coptic *pōrš* [**ⲡⲱⲣϣ**] ‘to spread, to stretch, to extend’. Vycichl 1983:164; Černý 1976:128. Berber: Tuareg *əfrəḍ* ‘to sweep, to be swept’, *səfrəḍ* ‘to make sweep’, *tasəfrəṭṭ* ‘broom’; Ghadames *əfrəḍ* ‘to split in two (a fruit)’; Mzab *əfrəḍ* ‘to sweep, to be swept’; Kabyle *əfrəḍ* ‘to sweep, to clean’. [Proto-Southern Cushitic *paraħ- ‘to pull apart’ > Iraqw *parḥami* ‘piece’; Asa *parames-* ‘to split up (firewood)’; Ma’a *-paráʔa* ‘to disperse’, *-paráti* ‘to scatter (something)’; Dahalo *poroḥ* ‘to pull apart’. Ehret 1980:143. Note: At least some of the Southern Cushitic forms may belong with *$p^h$ar- (~ *$p^h$ər-) ‘(vb.) to separate, to divide, to break (apart); (n.) part, portion, share’.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *para* ‘to spread, to be diffused, to be flattened, to be broad’; Malayalam *parakka* ‘to spread, to be diffused, to be extended, to become large’; Kota *pard-* (*pardy-*) ‘to spread over large space’; Kannaḍa *paraḍa* ‘to spread, to extend, to be diffused’; Telugu *parapu*, *paṟapu* ‘broad, extended, expanded’, *paravu* ‘to spread’; Parji *parp-* (*part-*) ‘to spread’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:351—352, no. 3949; Krishnamurti 2003:277 and 279 *par-a ‘to spread’.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$p^h$er-/*$p^h$or-/*$p^h$r̥- ‘to spray, to sprinkle, to scatter’ (extended forms: *$p^h$er-s-/*$p^h$or-s-/*$p^h$r̥-s-, *$p^h$r-ew-/*$p^h$r-ow-/*$p^h$r-u-, *$p^h$r-eE- [> *$p^h$r-ē-]): Sanskrit *pruṣṇóti* ‘to sprinkle, to wet, to shower’, *pŕṣat-* ‘spotted, speckled, piebald, variegated; sprinkling; a drop of water’, *párṣati* ‘to sprinkle’; Greek πρήθω ‘to blow up, to swell out by blowing’, πίμπρημι ‘to blow up, to distend’ (also ‘to burn, to burn up’); Old Icelandic *fors* ‘waterfall’, *frýsa* ‘to snort, to whinny (of a horse)’, *frusa* ‘to spray, to sprinkle’, *frauð*, *froða* ‘froth’ (> English *froth*), *freyða* ‘to froth’; Old English *āfrēoþan* ‘to froth’; Old Church Slavic *para* ‘steam’; Slovenian *prhati* ‘to strew; to drizzle’; Hittite (reduplicated) (3rd sg. pres.) *pa-ap-pár-aš-zi* ‘to sprinkle, to pour’; Tocharian B *pärs-* ‘to sprinkle’, *pärsāntse* ‘resplendent, speckled’. Rix 1998a:441—441 *$preh_1$- ‘to blow up’, 445 *preu̯s- ‘to spray’; Pokorny 1959:809—810 *per-, *perə-, *prē-, *preu- ‘to spray’, 823 *pers- ‘to spray, to sprinkle’; Walde 1927—1932.II:27—28 *per-, (A) *per(ē)-, (B) *pr-eu- and II:50 *pers-; Mann 1984—1987:986 *preus- ‘to sprinkle, to spray, to wash’, 997 *prŭs- (*phrŭs-) ‘to snort, to spray’; Mallory—Adams 1997:72 *per- ‘to blow (on a fire)’, *preus- and 540 *pers- ‘to sprinkle’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:230, II:336—337 and II:380—381 *prus-; Boisacq 1950:784—785 *pere-, *perē- ‘to spurt out, to gush forth (fire, fluid)’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:538—539; Hofmann 1966:270; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:902—903; Orël 2003:120 Proto-Germanic *fursaz; Kroonen 2013:161—162 Proto-Germanic *fursa- ‘gush’ (?); De Vries 1977:139, 140, 142, and 145; Adams 1999:375 *pers- ‘to sprinkle’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:365

**pers-*; Sturtevant 1951:65, §87. Proto-Indo-European **pʰerkʰ-/*pʰrokʰ-/*pʰr̥kʰ-* 'spotted, speckled': Sanskrit *pŕ̥śni-ḥ* 'spotted'; Greek περκνός 'dark-colored'; Old Irish *erc* 'speckled'; Old High German *faro* 'colored', *far(a)wa* 'color' (New High German *Farbe*). Pokorny 1959:820—821 **perk̂-*, **prek̂-* 'speckled'; Walde 1927—1932.II:45—46 **perk̂-*, **prek̂-*; Mann 1984—1987:924 **perkos*, *-ā* 'spot, dot'; 924 **perks-* 'to scatter, to sprinkle', 999—1000 **pr̥ks-* 'speckle, spot; to sprinkle, to spray', 1000 **pr̥k̂-* 'spot, speckle; to spray'; Watkins 1985:50 **perk-* and 2000:66 **perk-* 'speckled'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:594 **p[ʰ]erk̂[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:454 (fn. 52), I:509 **pʰerk̂ʰ-* 'spotted'; Mallory—Adams 1997:537 **perk̂-* 'speckled'; Frisk 1970—1973.II:515—516 **perk̂-*, **pork̂-*, **pr̥k̂-*; Boisacq 1950:773—774 **perk̂-*, **prek̂-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:887; Hofmann 1966:265 **perk̂-*, **prek̂-*; Beekes 2010.II:1178 **perk̂-*; Kroonen 2013:130 Proto-Germanic **farwa-* 'colorful' (< **porḱ-u̯ó-*); Orël 2003:93 Proto-Germanic **farxwaz*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:184; Kluge—Seebold 1989:202—203 (German *Farbe* < Proto-Indo-European **qu̯or-wo-* 'form, shape, color'); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:336 and 1986—2001.II:164. Proto-Indo-European **(s)pʰer-/*(s)pʰor-/*(s)pʰr̥-* 'to spread, to scatter, to strew': Latin *spargō* 'to scatter, to strew'; Greek σπείρω 'to scatter seed, to sow'; Armenian *pʰarat* 'dispersed, scattered'; Old High German *spreitan* 'to spread'; (?) Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *iš-pa-a-ri*, *iš-pár-ri-ya-az-zi*, *iš-pár-ri-iz-zi* 'to spread, to trample'. Rix 1998a:533—534 **spʰerh₂g-* 'to hiss, to sizzle, to crackle' (given as possible source of Latin *spargō*); Pokorny 1959:993—995 **(s)p(h)er-*, **sprei-*, **spreu-* "to scatter, to strew, to sow', 996—998 **(s)p(h)ereg-*, **(s)p(h)erəg-*, **(s)p(h)rēg-* 'to strew'; Walde 1927—1932.II:670—672 **sp(h)er-*, 672—675 **sp(h)er(e)-g-*, **sp(h)erē-g-*; Mann 1984—1987:1252 **spargos* (**spharg-*) 'point, prick, dot', 1255 **sperį̄ō* (**spər-*) 'to scatter, to sow', 1267 **spr̥į̄ō* 'to blow, to scatter', 1270—1271 **sperō*, *-į̄ō*; Watkins 1985:63—64 **sper-* and 2000:83 **sper-* 'to strew'; Mallory—Adams 1997:500 **sper-* 'to strew, to sow'; Beekes 2010.II:1379—1380 **sper-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:762—763 **sp(h)er-*; Hofmann 1966:327 **sp(h)er-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1035—1036 **sper-*; Boisacq 1950:894—895 **sp(h)er-*, **sp(h)erē-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:566—567 **sper-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:638; De Vaan 2008:578; Sturtevant 1951:63, §85; Kroonen 2013:469 Proto-Germanic **spraidjan-* ~ **spraitjan-* 'to spread, to disperse'; Orël 2003:366 Proto-Germanic **spraiđjanan*, 367 **sprīđanan*.

D. Altaic: Manchu *fara-* 'to spread freshly harvested grain out to dry'.

Sumerian *pàr* 'to spread or stretch out'.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 9.34 spread out, strew; 10.38 blow (vb. intr.). Brunner 1969:23, no. 40, and 25, no. 62; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:241—242, no. 46; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1777, **ṗAri[ʕ]V* 'to strew, to spread, to extend'.

101. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^{h}ar$- (~ *$p^{h}ər$-):
(vb.) *$p^{h}ar$- ‘to press forward, to precede, to hasten in advance, to overtake, to surpass, to outstrip’;
(n.) *$p^{h}ar$-*a* ‘leader, master, lord, hero’; (adj.) ‘chief, foremost, first’

A. Proto-Afrasian *p[a]r- ‘to precede, to surpass, to outstrip, to overtake’: Proto-Semitic *par-aʕ- ‘to surpass, to outstrip, to excel’ > Hebrew *peraʿ* [פֶּרַע] ‘leader, prince’; Ugaritic *prʿ* ‘chief’; Arabic *faraʿa* ‘to surpass, to outstrip, to excel’; Sabaean *frʿ* ‘summit’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *féraʿ* ‘to win’, *féraʿ* ‘brave’, *fɛrʿún* ‘strong and muscular, brave; winner’; Ḥarsūsi *fēra* ‘brave’; Mehri *fōra* ‘to win (usually children) in a game where palms are turned up and down’, *frā* ‘to go up, to ascend’, *farʔ* ‘brave’. Murtonen 1989:348. Arabic *faraṭa* ‘to precede, to hasten in advance, to overtake’. Egyptian *prỉ* ‘to go up, to ascend; to advance against’, *pry* ‘champion, hero’. Erman—Grapow 1921:54 and 1926—1963.1:520—521; Faulkner 1962:90—91 and 91; Hannig 1995:283—284 and 285; Gardiner 1957:565.
B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *pa-ar-qa* ‘formerly, in former times’.
C. Proto-Indo-European *$p^{h}er$-/*$p^{h}or$-/*$p^{h}r̥$- base of prepositions and preverbs with a wide range of meanings such as ‘in front of, forward, before, first, chief, forth, foremost, beyond’: Sanskrit *páraḥ* ‘far, distant’, *puráḥ* ‘in front, forward, before’, *purati* ‘to precede, to go before’, *prá* ‘before, in front’, *práti* ‘towards, near to, against’, *pratarám* ‘further’, *prathamá-ḥ* ‘foremost, first’; Greek πέρᾱν, πέρην ‘across, beyond, on the other side’, παρά, παραί ‘beside’, πάρος ‘before’, πρό ‘before’, πρότερος ‘before, in front of, forward’, πρῶτος ‘first, foremost’, πρόμος ‘chief, foremost, first’, πρόκα ‘forthwith’, πρός, προτί ‘from’; Latin *per* ‘through, along, over’, *prae* ‘before, in front’, *prior* ‘former, first’, *prīmus* ‘first, foremost’, *prō* ‘before, in front of’; Umbrian *pernaiaf* ‘from in front’, *perne* ‘before’; Gothic *faur* ‘for, before’, *frauja* ‘master, lord’, *fairra* ‘far’, *faura* ‘before, for, on account of, from’, *fram* ‘from, by, since, on account of’, *framis* ‘further, onward’, *frumists* ‘first, foremost, best, chief’, *fruma* ‘the former, prior, first’, *frums* ‘beginning’; Old Icelandic *for-* ‘before’, *fjarri* ‘far off’, *fram* ‘forward’, *fyrr* ‘before, sooner’, *fyrstr* ‘first’; Old English *feorr* ‘far’, *feorran* ‘from afar’, *for*, *fore* ‘before’, *forma* ‘first’, *fram* ‘from’, *frum* ‘first’, *fyrst*, *fyrest* ‘first’, *fyrmest* ‘first’; Old Frisian *for* ‘before’, *fara*, *fore* ‘before’, *ferest* ‘first’, *forma* ‘first’, *vorsta*, *fersta* ‘prince’; Old Saxon *for*, *fur* ‘before’, *for(a)*, *far* ‘before’, *forma* ‘first’, *furi* ‘before’, *furist* ‘first, foremost’, *furisto* ‘prince’; Old High German *furi* ‘before, for’ (New High German *für*), *fora* ‘before’ (New High German *vor*), *furist* ‘first’, *fir(i)-* ‘opposite’ (New High German *ver-*); Lithuanian *priẽ* ‘at, near, by’, *prõ* ‘through, past, by’, *priẽš* ‘against’; Hittite *pa-ra-a* ‘forth’, *pí-ra-an* ‘before, forth’; Luwian *pár-ra-an* ‘before, in front’, *pa-ri-ya-an* ‘beyond; exceedingly, especially’; Lycian *przze/i-* ‘front, foremost’, *pri* ‘forth; in front’. Pokorny 1959:810—816 *per- ‘passing beyond’;

Walde 1927—1932.II:29—38 **per-*; Mann 1984—1987:922 **perəm-* (**perəmos*, *-ā*) ‘away, across, farthest’, 926 **pern̥-* (**pern̥t-*) ‘beyond, away, far’, 976 **por-* (**poro-*), 989—990 **pro*, **pro-* (**prō*, **pr̥o*, **pr̥ō-*) ‘forward, forth, away, for’, 992 **prōi̯-* ‘ahead, before, earlier, soon’ (variant **prōi̯ām*), 992 **prok-* ‘forth, forward; later, late; advance’, 993 **prom-*, **pr̥om-*, **prōm-* (**promi-*) ‘forth, forward, on, forthcoming, first, beyond’, 996 **prŏ̄-ter-* (comparative of **prŏ̄-*), 996 **pro-təmo-*, 996 **pro-tən-* (**pro-ten-*, **pro-tn-*), 996—997 **proti* (**pr̥oti*, **proti̯ō*) ‘forward, toward, against’, 997 **prōu̯-* ‘forward, forth, forthright, straight’ (variant **prou̯-*), 998 **pr̥̄*, **pr̥̄-* (**pər-*), 998—999 **pr̥i* (**pəri*, **prəi*, **pri*) ‘before, at, to’, 999 **pr̥i-tero-* (**pr̥-tero-*), 1004 **pr̥̄u̯os* ‘first, foremost’; Watkins 1985:49—50 **per* and 2000:65—66 **per* base of prepositions and preverbs with the basic meanings of ‘forward, through’ and a wide range of extended senses such as ‘in front of, before, early, first, chief, toward, against, near, at, around’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:199 **p[ʰ]r̥ros*, I:200 **p[ʰ]r̥H-*, II:843 **p[ʰ](e)r̥-H-*, **p[ʰ]rei-u̯o-*, **p[ʰ]r-is-mo-*, **p[ʰ]r-is-t[ʰ]o-*, **p[ʰ]r̥-H-mo-*, **p[ʰ]r̥-H-u̯o-* and 1995.I:172 **pʰr̥ros* ‘earlier’, I:173 **pʰr̥H-*, I:741**pʰer-H-* (**pʰr̥-H-*) ‘front, forward’, **pʰrei-wo-* ‘only, single’, **pʰr-is-mo-* ‘first’, **pʰr-is-tʰo-* ‘first’, **pʰr̥-H-mo-* ‘first’, **pʰr̥-H-wo-* ‘first’; Mallory—Adams 1997:60—61 **pr̥hₐéh₁* ‘in front of; before (of time)’, **pr̥hₐéi* ‘in front of; before (of time), **pro* ‘forward, ahead, away’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:214—215, II:309—310, II:350—353 **prŏ*, II:358 **pro-tero-*, II:358—360 **proti/*preti*, and II:363—364 **pro-* : **pr̥-*; Boisacq 1950:746 **pr̥*, **pr̥rai*, **prai*, 748 **pr̥ros*, **per-*, **pr̥-*, 770—771 **per-*, 814 **pro*, **prō*, 814 **pro-qo-*, 815 **pro-mo-*, 816, 816—817 **proti*, 819—820 **pr̥̄to-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:472—473, II:476 **pr̥rós*, II:596—597 **pro*, II:599, II:600, II:600—601, II:603, and II:609—610; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:856—857, II:939; II:940, II:941, II:942, and II:945—946; Beekes 2010.II:1151 **prh₂-*, II:1154 **prh₂-*, II:1175 **per*, II:1176 **per-*, II:1233—1234 **prei*, II:1235 **pro*, II:1237 **pro-k-*, II:1237—1238 **promo-*, II:1238 **proti*, II:1239 **pro-ti-o-*, II:1240 **pro-tero-*; Hofmann 1966:253 **pr̥-*, 253 **pₑros*, 284 **prŏ̄*, 284 **pro-qo-*, 284—285 **pro-mo-s*, 285 **pro-tero-*, 285 **pro-ti*, **preti*, and 286; Ernout—Meillet 1979:497 **peri*, **per*, 529—530, 535, 536—537 **pro*, **prō*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:283—286 **peri*, **per*, II:351, II:362—363, and II:364—365; De Vaan 2008:459—560, 485—486, 488—489, and 489—490; Orël 2003:111 Proto-Germanic **frama*, 111**framaz*, 116* *frumaz* ~ **frumōn*, 119 **fur(a)*, 119 **furai*, 119 **furxaz*, 120 **furistaz*; Kroonen 2013:156 Proto-Germanic **frōi-* ‘early’, 157 **fruman-* ‘former, first’, 161 **furi* ‘in front of, for’; Feist 1939:137 **per*, **peri*, 141, 145 **pₑrăˇ*, 160, 164, and 169—170 **prₑmo-*; Lehmann 1986:104, 110 **pr̥-*, 110—111 **perā*, 121 **pro*, 124 **pro-mo-*, and 129—130 **pr̥mo-*; De Vries 1977:123—124, 137, 139—140, 148, and 149; Onions 1966:357, 368, 369, and 378; Klein 1971:283 **prŏ̄-*, 290 **per-*, **pr̥-*, and 297; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:123;

Kluge—Mitzka 1967:225, 811, and 825; Kluge—Seebold 1989:237 **per-*, 757, and 768—769; Brugmann 1904:472—476 **per-* (**pr̥-*, **pr-*): (1) **pro*, **prō*; (2) **preti*, **proti*; (3) **prai*; (4) **pr̥res*, **pr̥ros*; (5) **pr̥*; (6) **peri*, **per*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:652—653 and II:657; Smoczyński 2007.1:483 and 1:486. Notes: Some of the forms cited here may be from Proto-Indo-European **pʰer-*/**pʰor-*/**pʰr̥-* 'to go or pass; to go or pass over or across; to go forth or out' instead. Still others may be from Proto-Indo-European **pʰeri* 'around', which is listed below under Proto-Nostratic **pʰir-* (~ **pʰer-*) '(vb.) to twist, to turn; (n.) twist, twining, turn; twine, string, rope, cord'. Indo-European loan in Kartvelian: cf. Georgian *p'irveli* 'first' (cf. Blažek 1999b:85 Indo-European **pr̥H₂-wó-*).

D. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit **paʁla-* 'to hurry eagerly towards' > Sirenik *paʁlәγ-* 'to jump across something'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *paʁliuq-* 'to welcome'; North Alaskan Inuit *paʁla-* 'to welcome, to greet'; Western Canadian Inuit *paʁla-* (Netsilik) 'to fight to be first', (Caribou) 'to tremble with eagerness when hunting caribou'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *paʁla-* 'to throw things at them to eat, to hurry to eat (to get most)'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:251.

Sumerian *para₅* 'king, prince' (Semitic loan ?).

Buck 1949:13.34 first; 14.23 hasten, hurry (vb. intr.); 19.35 prince. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:236—237, no. 41; Möller 1911:201; Blažek 2004:15—18.

102. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰar-* (~ **pʰər-*):
(vb.) **pʰar-* 'to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee';
(n.) **pʰar-a* 'flying, flight, fleeing'
Note also:
(vb.) **pʰir-* 'to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee';
(n.) **pʰir-a* 'flying, flight, fleeing'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *paṟa* (*paṟapp-*, *paṟant-*) 'to fly, to hover, to flutter; to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry; to be greatly agitated; to be scattered, dispersed, to disappear', (reduplicated) *paṟapaṟa* 'to hasten, to hurry', *paṟavai* 'bird, wing, feather, bee', *paṟi* 'to run away, to flow out quickly, to be displaced suddenly, to give way, to fly off, to be discharged', *paṟai* 'flying, wing, feather, bird'; Malayalam *paṟakka* 'to fly, to flee'; Kota *parn-* (*parnd-*) 'to fly, to run fast without stopping'; Kannaḍa *paṟi*, *paṟu* 'flying, running swiftly'; Tuḷu *pāruni* 'to run, to fly, to escape'; Telugu *paṟacu* 'to run away, to flee, to flow; to cause to flee', *pāṟu* 'to run, to flow'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:358, no. 4020. Tamil *pari* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) 'to run, to go out, to escape', *pari* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) '(vb.) to run, to

proceed; (n.) motion, speed, rapidity, pace of a horse, horse', *parippu* 'motion'; Malayalam *pari* 'horse'; Toda *pary-* (*parc-*) '(horse) to gallop; to ride at a gallop'; Kannaḍa *pari*, *hari* '(vb.) to run, to flow, to proceed (as work), to go away, to disappear, to be discharged (as debt); (n.) moving, running, flowing, stream'; Tuḷu *pariyuni*, *hariyuni* 'to run, to flow'; Telugu *parugu*, *paruvu*, *parvu* 'running, a run', *pāru* 'to run, to run away', *paruviḍu* 'to run'; Malto *parce*, *parctre* 'to run away'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:353, no. 3963.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **par-*, **pr-en-* 'to fly': Georgian *pr-en-* 'to fly', *pr-t-e* 'wing', *(m-)pr-in-v-el-i* 'bird'; Mingrelian *purin-* 'to fly'; Laz *purtin-* 'to fly'. Fähnrich 1994:235 and 2007:425 **par-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:348 **par-*; Klimov 1964:190 **prin-* and 1998:203 **pr-en-* : **pr-in-* 'to fly'; Schmidt 1962:136. Proto-Kartvelian **partx-*/**prtx-* 'to flutter, to fly': Georgian *partx-*, *prtx-* 'to flutter'; Laz *putx-* 'to fly up, to take flight, to rise'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:349—350 **partx-*/**prtx-*. Proto-Kartvelian **parpat'-* 'to flit, to flutter': Georgian *parpat'-* 'to flit, to flutter'; Mingrelian *porpot'-* 'to flit, to flutter'. Klimov 1998:197 **parpaṭ-* 'to flit, to flutter'; Fähnrich 2007:427 **parpaṭ-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:350 **parpaṭ-* (reduplicated form of **par-* 'to fly').

C. Proto-Indo-European **p$^{h}$er-*/**p$^{h}$or-*/**p$^{h}$r̥-* '(vb.) to fly, to flee; (n.) feather, wing': Sanskrit *parṇá-m* 'wing, feather'; Hittite (3rd sg.) *pár-aš-zi* 'to flee'; Latin *-perus* in *properus* 'quick, rapid, hasty', *properō* 'to hasten'; Old English *fearn* 'fern' (originally 'feathery leaf'); Old Saxon *farn* 'fern'; Dutch *varen* 'fern'; Old High German *farn* 'fern' (New High German *Farn*); Russian Church Slavic *perǫ*, *pъrati* 'to fly', *pero* 'feather'; Czech *prchnouti* 'to flee'; Polish *pierzchnać* 'to flee'; Serbo-Croatian *prhati* 'to fly up'; Russian *porxát'* [порхать] 'to flutter, to fly about', *peró* [перо] 'feather, plume'. Pokorny 1959:816—817 **per-*, **perə-* 'to flee', 850; Walde 1927—1932.II:39—40 **per-*; Mann 1984—1987:922 **perənt-* (**pern̥t-*) 'birdlife, bird(s)', 926 **peros*, *-om*, *-i̯om* 'feather, wing', 926 **peros* 'swift, swiftness', 927 **perperos* 'flighty, giddy'; Watkins 1985:50 **per-* and 2000:66 **per-* 'to lead, to pass over'; Mallory—Adams 1997:646 **pornóm* 'wing, feather'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972:372—373; Ernout—Meillet 1979:539; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:223—224 **per-* 'to fly'; Kroonen 2013:129—130 Proto-Germanic **farna-* 'fern' (< **ptorH-no-*); Orël 2003:94 Proto-Germanic **farnan*; Onions 1966:351 West Germanic **farno* (< **porno-*); Klein 1971:278; Kluge—Seebold 1989:203; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:184—185 **por-no-*.

Buck 1949:3.64 bird; 4.292 wing; 4.393 feather; 10.37 fly (vb.); 10.51 flee; 14.21 swift, fast, quick. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1758, **ṗarV* 'to fly, to jump'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:242—243, no. 47.

103. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **p$^{h}$ar-a* 'calf, heifer':

Note also:
(n.) *$p^hur$-*a* ‘calf, heifer’

A. Proto-Afrasian **par*- ‘young bull or calf’: Proto-Semitic **par*-/**pur*- ‘young bull or calf’ > Hebrew *par* [פַּר] ‘young bull or calf’, *pārāh* [פָּרָה] ‘heifer, calf’; Ugaritic *pr* ‘bull’; Akkadian *pūru* ‘young bull or calf’. Klein 1987:522. Egyptian *pry* ‘ferocious bull’. Hannig 1995:285; Faulkner 1962:91; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:526; Gardiner 1957:565. Central Chadic **par*- ‘cattle’ > Mbara *far-ay* ‘cattle’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:418, no. 1950, **par*- ‘cattle’.
B. Proto-Indo-European *$p^hor$-/*$p^hr̥$- ‘young bull or calf’: Sanskrit *pṛthuka-ḥ* ‘young animal’; Armenian *ort$^h$* ‘calf’; Greek πόρις, πόρταξ, πόρτις ‘calf, heifer, young cow’; Old Icelandic *farri* ‘bullock’; Old English *fearr* ‘bull’; Old High German *far*, *farro* ‘bullock’ (New High German *Farre*); Middle High German *verse* ‘heifer’ (New High German *Färse*). Pokorny 1959:818 **per*- ‘to bear, to bring forth’; Walde 1927—1932.II:41—42 **per*-; Mann 1984—1987:979 **porstis* (**pr̥sth*-) ‘calf, youngster’, 1653 **poris*, **porṷis* (?); Watkins 1985:50 **per*- ‘the young of an animal’; Mallory—Adams 1997:24 (?) **per*- ‘offspring (of an animal)’; Boisacq 1950:804—805 **per*-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:580; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:928—929; Hofmann 1966:280 **per*-; Beekes 2010.II:1222 **por-i*-; Orël 2003:94 Proto-Germanic **farzōn*; Kroonen 2013:130 Proto-Germanic **farza(n)*- ‘young bull’ (< **pors-ó(n)*-); De Vries 1977:113 Germanic **farzan*-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:185; Kluge—Seebold 1989:203; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:332—333.

Buck 1949:3.21 bull; 3.24 calf. Möller 1911:202—203; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:244—245, no. 50; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1783, **ṗ[o]r[w]V* ‘female young ruminant’.

104. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$p^har$-*a*, (?) *$p^hur$-*a* ‘house’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **par*- ‘house’: Egyptian *pr* ‘house’; Coptic *-pōr* [-ⲡⲱⲣ], *per*- [ⲡⲉⲣ-] ‘house’. Hannig 1995:278—279; Faulkner 1962:89; Erman—Grapow 1921:53 and 1926—1963.1:511—516; Gardiner 1957:565; Vycichl 1983:162; Černý 1976:127. Berber **far(r)*- ‘enclosure’ > Ahaggar *a-farra* ‘enclosure’; Tawlemmet *a-farra* ‘enclosure’. East Chadic **par*- ‘hangar’ > Migama *para* ‘hangar’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:418, no. 1949, **par*- ‘house, enclosure’.
B. Proto-Dravidian **puray* ‘house, dwelling’ (< **pər*- ?): Tamil *purai* ‘house, dwelling, small room’, *pirai* ‘shed, factory’, *puraiya<u>n</u>* ‘house, cottage, dwelling made of leaves’, *puraiyuḷ* ‘house’; Malayalam *pura* ‘house (especially thatched house), hut, room’; Koḍagu *pore* ‘thatched roof’; Tuḷu

*porè*, *purè* ‘roof, ceiling’, *pura* ‘house’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:379—380, no. 4294.

C. Indo-European: Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *pí-ir* (< *$p^hēr$) ‘house’, (dat. sg.) *pár-ni*, *pár-na* (< *$p^hr̥$-*n*-), (dat. pl.) *pár-na-aš*; Luwian (dat.-loc. sg.) *pár-ni* ‘house’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *parn-* ‘house’; Lycian *prñna-* ‘house’, *prñnawati* ‘to build, to construct’; Lydian *bira-* ‘house’. Kloekhorst 2008b:666.

Buck 1949:7.12 house. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:253, no. 61.

105. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^har$- (~ *$p^hər$-):
(vb.) *$p^har$- ‘to go or pass; to go or pass over or across; to go forth or out’;
(n.) *$p^har$-*a* ‘going, passage, journey, crossing’

A. Proto-Afrasian **par*- ‘to go out’: Egyptian *pr̓i* ‘to go, to come out, to go forth; to go up, to ascend’, *prw* (*pr̓iw*) ‘motion, procession, outcome, result’, *prt* ‘(ritual) procession’; Coptic *pire* [**ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲉ**] ‘to come forth’. Hannig 1995:283—284 and 285; Faulkner 1962:90—91; Gardiner 1957:565; Erman—Grapow 1921:54 and 1926—1963.1:518, 1:525, 1:526; Černý 1976:127; Vycichl 1983:162. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *farāʔ*- ‘to go out’. Reinisch 1895:82. Saho-Afar **far*- ‘to go out’ > Saho *far*- ‘to go out’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:419, no. 1955, **par*-/**pir*- ‘to go out’. Orël—Stolbova also include Hadiyya *fir*- ‘to go out, to exit’ (< Highland East Cushitic **fir*- ‘to go out’). However, Hudson (1989:71 and 409) derives Hadiyya *fir*- from Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ful*- ‘to go out, to exit’.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *pa-ri-* ‘to come, to reach; to go, to start, to set out’.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$p^her$-/*$p^hor$-/*$p^hr̥$- ‘to go or pass; to go or pass over or across; to go forth or out’: Sanskrit *píparti* ‘to bring over or to, to bring out of, to deliver from, to rescue, to save, to protect, to escort, to further, to promote; to surpass, to excel’, (causative) *pāráyati* ‘to bring over or out’, *pārá-ḥ* ‘bringing across’; Avestan (causative) *-pārayeite* ‘to convey across’; Greek περάω ‘to pass across or through, to pass over, to pass, to cross’, πορίζω ‘to carry, to bring about, to provide, to furnish, to supply, to procure, to cause’, πόρος ‘a means of crossing a river, ford, ferry’; Latin *portō* ‘to bear or carry along, to convey’, *portus* ‘harbor, haven, port’; Gothic **faran* ‘to wander, to travel’, **farjan* ‘to travel’, **at-farjan* ‘to put into port, to land’, **us-farþō* ‘shipwreck’; Old Icelandic *ferja* ‘to ferry over a river or strait’, *far* ‘a means of passage, ship’, *fara* ‘to move, to pass along, to go’, *farmr* ‘freight, cargo, load’, *færa* ‘to bring, to convey’, *för* ‘journey’; Old English *faran* ‘to go, to march, to travel’, *fær* ‘going, passage, journey’, *ferian* ‘to carry, to convey, to lead’, *fōr* ‘movement, motion, course’, *ford* ‘ford’; Old Frisian *fara* ‘to travel’; Old Saxon *fara* ‘to travel’, *fōrian* ‘to lead, to convey’, *ferian* ‘to lead, to ferry across’;

Dutch *varen* ‘to travel’; Old High German *faran* ‘to travel’ (New High German *fahren*), *ferien*, *ferren* ‘to lead, to ferry across’, *fuoren* ‘to lead, to convey’ (New High German *führen*), *fuora* ‘journey, way’ (New High German *Fuhre*), *furt* ‘ford’ (New High German *Furt*). Rix 1998a:425 **per-* ‘to pass over or across, to traverse’; Pokorny 1959:816—817 **per-*, **perə-*; Walde 1927—1932.II:39—40 **per-*; Mann 1984—1987:924 **perḭ̂ō*, 926 **perō* (‘to pass through’), 977 **poreḭ̂ō* ‘to convey’, 978 **pormos* ‘going, gait, progress, ferry, freight’, 978 **poros* ‘passage, crossing, track, space, period’, 979 **port-* (**portos*, *-ā*, *-us*, *-is*) ‘way, passage, gate’, 1003—1004 **pr̥t-* (**pr̥tos*, *-ā*, *-is*, *-us*) ‘passage, crossing, way, fort, shallow’; Watkins 1985:50 **per-* and 2000:66 **per-* ‘to lead, to cross over’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:883 **p[ʰ]orH-* and 1995.I:779 **pʰorH-* ‘passageway’; Mallory—Adams 1997:228—229 **per-* ‘to pass through’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:258 and II:284; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:929; Frisk 1970—1973.II:491—492; Boisacq 1950:757—758 **per-*; Hofmann 1966:257—258 **per-*; Beekes 2010.II:1163—1164 **per-*; De Vaan 2008:482—483; Orël 2003:93 Proto-Germanic **faran*, 93 **faranan*, 93 **farđiz*, 93 **farjanan*. 93 **farjōn*, 94 **farō*; Kroonen 2013:128 Proto-Germanic **faran-* ‘to go’, 128 *fardi-* ‘journey’, 129 **farjōn-* ‘ferry’, 129 **farma-* ‘moving’ (?), and 160 **furdu-* ‘ford’; Feist 1939:142—143 **per-*; Lehmann 1986:108—109 **per-*; De Vries 1977:112, 118, 150, and 151; Onions 1966:345, 352, and 369; Klein 1971:273 **per-*, 278, and 290; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:101; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:180 **per-*, **por-*, 223, and 225—226 **pr̥tú-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:199 **per-*, 236, and 237—238 **pr̥tu-*.

Sumerian *pàr* ‘to go or pass by, to go past’.

Buck 1949:10.47 go; 10.62 bring; 10.63 send; 10.64 lead. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:260, no. 69; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1768, **P̲VRV* ‘to cross, to pass through’.

106. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰarʸ-* (~ **pʰərʸ-*):
(vb.) **pʰarʸ-* ‘to cover’;
(n.) **pʰarʸ-a* ‘covering’

A. Proto-Dravidian **paṛ-* ‘to cover’: Pengo *pṛak-* (*-t-*) ‘to cover’; Maṇḍa *pṛak-* ‘to cover, to close the eyes’; Kui *planga* (*plangi-*) ‘to be covered’, *plapka* (< *plak-p-*; *plakt-*) ‘to cover with something’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:357, no. 4008.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **par-* ‘to cover’: Georgian *par-* ‘to cover, to hide’; Mingrelian *por-* ‘to cover’; Svan *par-*/*pr-* (*li-pr-eni*, *li-l-pär-i*) ‘to cover something’. Klimov 1964:187 **par-* and 1998:197 **par-* : **pr-* ‘to cover’;

Schmidt 1962:135; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:348 **par-*; Fähnrich 1994:235 and 2007:424—425 **par-*.

Buck 1949:12.26 cover (vb.).

107. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰarʸ-* (~ **pʰərʸ-*):
(vb.) **pʰarʸ-* 'to ripen, to mature, to grow old, (hair) to turn gray';
(n.) **pʰarʸ-a* 'ripeness, maturity'; (adj.) 'ripe, mature, gray'

A. Proto-Afrasian **par-* 'white': Chadic: Hausa *fáríí* 'white'; Guruntum *fari* 'white'; Margi *pə̀rtʰ*, *pə̀rtù* 'white'; Gisiga-Marua *babaraŋ* 'white'; Gidar *bábara* 'white'; Lele *bòré* 'white'; Kabalay *bùrùwa* 'white'; Dangla *pə́rtà* 'white'; Migama *púrtà* 'white'; Jegu *pórórân* 'white'; Birgit *fóróórà* 'white'. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:178 **pr*, II:344—345; Newman 1977:34, no. 145. Omotic: Yemsa / Janjero *poro* 'white'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *paṟu* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to ripen (as fruits, grain), to grow, to mature, to arrive at perfection (as knowledge, piety), to become old, to come to a head (as a boil), to change color by age, to become pale or yellowish (as the body by disease), to become flexible, to become pliant', *paṟu*, *paṟuppu* 'ripeness, yellowness (of fruits), leaf turned yellow with age', *paṟunu* (*paṟuni-*), *paṟuṉu* (*paṟuṉi-*) 'to grow ripe, to become mellow, to mature, to be full or perfect', *paṟam* 'ripe fruit'; Malayalam *paṟukka* 'to grow ripe, to become well-tempered, to suppurate, to decay', *paṟuppu* 'ripening of fruit', *paṟam* 'ripe fruit, ripe plantains'; Kota *paṛv-* (*paṛd-*) '(fruits) to become ripe, (boil, sore) to open'; Tuḷu *parnduni* 'to be ripe, to mature, (hair) to turn gray', *parndu̯* 'ripeness, ripe fruit, ripe plantains; ripe, gray'; Telugu *paṇḍu* 'to ripen, to mature, to yield, to produce, to win (in a game)'; Kolami *paṇḍ-* (*paṇḍt-*) 'to become ripe'; Gadba (Salur) *paṛŋ-* '(hair) to become gray'; Gondi *paṇḍānā*, *paṇḍīnā* 'to become ripe', *paṇḍ-* 'to become ripe, (hair) to become gray'; Konḍa *paṇḍ-* 'to ripen, (hair) to become gray', *paṟu* 'fruit'; Pengo *paṛ* 'fruit'; Manḍa *paṛ* 'fruit'; Kuwi *panḍu* 'ripe fruit'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:356—357, no. 4004; Krishnamurti 2003:192 **paẓ-V-* 'to ripen'.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **per-* 'gray': Georgian *per-o* 'gray'; Svan *pär-w* (< **per-w* < **per-o*) 'gray'. Fähnrich 2007:432—433 **per-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:354 **per-*.

108. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰasʸ-* (~ **pʰəsʸ-*):
(vb.) **pʰasʸ-* 'to breathe out, to blow; to fart';
(n.) **pʰasʸ-a* 'a fart'

A. Proto-Afrasian **p[a]sʸ-* 'to breathe out, to blow; to fart': Proto-Semitic **pasʸ-aw-* 'to breathe out, to blow; to fart' > Akkadian *pašū* 'to breathe out, to expire'; Arabic *fasā* 'to fart noisily'; Geez / Ethiopic *fasawa* 'to

fart', *fasaw* [ፈሰው], *fasəw* [ፈሰው] 'a fart'; Tigre *fäša* 'to fart'; Tigrinya *fäsäwä* 'to fart'; Amharic *fässa* 'to fart'; Gafat *fʷäsa* 'to fart'; Gurage (Soddo) *fošša* 'to fart', *fos* 'a fart'; Harari *fäs* 'a fart'. Leslau 1963:65, 1979:246, and 1987:168. Ethiopian Semitic loan in Bilin *fäšā́-* 'to fart'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:186, no. 821, reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **fos[i]ʔ-* 'to breathe' on the basis of a comparison of Akkadian *pašū* 'to breathe out, to expire' with the following Highland East Cushitic forms: Hadiyya *fooš-eʔ-* 'to breathe', *fooša* 'odor, smell'; Kambata *fooš-eeʔ-* 'to breathe', *fosša* 'odor, smell', *fooš-eek-fuucc'-* 'to pant'. However, these forms are to be derived from Proto-Highland East Cushitic **fool-* 'to breathe', **foole* 'breath, odor, smell' (cf. Hudson 1989:31), and are thus not related to the Semitic forms cited above as proposed by Orël—Stolbova.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *hasuku* 'sharp, disagreeable smell'; Telugu *pasi* 'smell, scent'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:343, no. 3826.

C. Proto-Indo-European **pʰes-t'-*/**pʰos-t'-* 'to fart': Latin *pēdō* 'to fart', *pōdex* 'anus'; Greek βδέω 'to fart'; Old English *fīsting* 'gentle fart'; Middle High German *vist*, *vīst* 'gentle fart' (New High German *Fist*); Czech *pezd* 'anus, fart', *bzdít* 'to fart'; Serbo-Croatian *bàzdeti* 'to fart'; Russian *bzdet'* [бздеть] 'to fart'; Ukrainian *bzdíty* 'to fart'; Polish *bździeć* 'to fart'; Lithuanian *bezdù*, *bezdėti* 'to fart'; Latvian *bzdêt* 'to fart'. Rix 1998a:429 **pesd-* 'to fart'; Pokorny 1959:829 **pezd-* 'to fart'; Walde 1927—1932.II:68—69 **pezd-*; Mann 1984—1987:928 **pesdō* 'to fart'; Watkins 1985:51 **pezd-* and 2000:67 **pezd-* 'to fart'; Mallory—Adams 1997:194 **pesd-* 'to fart'; Boisacq 1950:117 **p[e]zd-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:230 **pezd-*, **pzd-* > **bzd-*; Hofmann 1966:34 (Greek βδέω < *βzδέω); Beekes 2010.I:209 **pesd-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:171—172 **pezd-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:493 **pezd-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:273—274 **pezd-*; De Vaan 2008:454—455; Orël 2003:101 Proto-Germanic **festiz*; Onions 1966:358 Germanic **fisti-* (< **fest-* < **pezd-*); Kluge—Mitzka 1967:200 (New High German *Fist* < **peis-*); Kluge—Seebold 1989:216 (Proto-Germanic **fisti-* < **pezdi-*); Shevelov 1964:95; Smoczyński 2007.1:58 **pésd-e-*, **psd-éi̯e-* (> Greek βδέω); Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:42.

Sumerian *peš*, *peš₅*, *peš₆* 'to breathe, to respire; to breathe a sigh of relief; to blow'.

Buck 1949:4.64 fart, break wind (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:237—238, no. 42; Möller 1911:205.

109. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰasʸ-* (~ **pʰəsʸ-*):
(vb.) **pʰasʸ-* 'to split, to cleave, to break, to shatter';
(n.) **pʰasʸ-a* 'split, break; part, share, portion'

A. Proto-Afrasian **pas$^{y}$-* ‘to split, to cleave, to break, to shatter’: Proto-Semitic **pas$^{y}$-ax-* ‘to tear, to render asunder, to sever’ > Hebrew *pāšaḥ* [פָּשַׁח] ‘to tear to pieces’; Syriac *pəšaḥ* ‘to tear, to rend asunder, to cut off’; Arabic *fasaḥa* ‘to dislocate, to disjoint, to sever, to sunder, to tear’. Klein 1987:534. Proto-Semitic **pas$^{y}$-at’-* ‘to tear off, to strip off’ > Hebrew *pāšaṭ* [פָּשַׁט] ‘to strip off, to flay’; Syriac *pəšaṭ* ‘to stretch out, to extend, to reach out’; Akkadian *pašāṭu* ‘to expunge, to obliterate’. Klein 1987:534. (?) Egyptian *pzš* (if dissimilated from **pšš*) ‘to divide, to share; division’, *pzšty* ‘part, division’, *pzšt* ‘sharing out; share, portion’; Coptic *pōš* [ⲡⲱϣ] ‘to divide’, *paše* [ⲡⲁϣⲉ] ‘division, half’. Faulkner 1962:94—95; Hannig 1995:294; Gardiner 1957:566; Erman—Grapow 1921:55 and 1926—1963.1:553—554; Vycichl 1983:166; Černý 1976:130 and 131. Berber: Tuareg *əfsi* ‘to break up, to be broken up, to melt (grease, ice), to liquify’; Mzab *əfsi* ‘to melt’, *əfsu* ‘to disentangle, to undo’; Tamazight *əfsəy* ‘to melt, to dissolve’, *fsu* ‘to undo, to stetch out, to disentangle; to be undone, *afsay* ‘melting, dissolution’; Kabyle *əfsi* ‘to melt, to be broken up, to fray, to be undone’.

B. Proto-Dravidian **pă(y)-/*pac-* ‘to divide, to separate, to distribute’: Tamil *payal* ‘half, share’; Kannaḍa *pañcu*, *pasu* (*pacc-*) ‘to divide, to separate, to part, to distribute, to share; to be divided, etc.’, *pacci*, *paccu* ‘part, portion’, *pasuge* ‘dividing, separation, division’; Tuḷu *pasalu* ‘the share of the fisherman’; Telugu *pancu* ‘to distribute, to divide’; Kolami *pay-*, *paiy-* ‘to divide’; Naikṛi *payk-* ‘to distribute’; Parji *payp-* (*payt-*) ‘to share’; Gadba (Salur) *pay-* ‘to divide into shares’, *payp-* (*payup-*) ‘to distribute’; Pengo *paspa* ‘to divide, to distribute’; Kui *pahpa* (*paht-*) ‘to share, to apportion’, *paharị* ‘part, share, portion’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:350—351, no. 3936; Krishnamurti 2003:149 **pay-V-* ‘to break, to separate’. Tuḷu *pāpaṭè* ‘parting of the hair on a female’s forehead’; Telugu *pāyu* ‘to separate (intr.), to leave, to quit, to be disentangled’, *pācu* ‘to remove’, *pāpu* ‘to separate (tr.), to divide, to part, to remove, to efface’, *pāya* ‘branch, division, clove or division of garlic’, *pāpaṭa* ‘the parting of the hair’; Kolami *pa·p-* (*pa·pt-*) ‘to comb’; Naikṛi *pāp-* ‘to comb’; Gondi *pāyā* ‘parting of the hair’; Konḍa *pāy-* ‘to leave, to be gone’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:363, no. 4089.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **pešk-* (‘to burst, to break’ >) ‘to dehisce (noisily)’: Georgian *piš-* in (reduplicated) *piš-piš-i* ‘popping noise made when broth or porridge is brought to a boil’, [*pš-*] ‘to husk’; Mingrelian *pašk-*, *pešk-* ‘to dehisce, to burst (noisily)’; Svan *pišg-/pšg-* ‘to explode (noisily)’. Klimov 1964:188—189 **peš-* and 1998:201 **peš-* : **pš-* ‘to dehisce (noisily, with a crack)’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:356—357 **peš-/*piš-*; Fähnrich 2007:435 **peš-/*piš-*. For the semantics, cf. Gurage *färäṭä* ‘to burst, to burst and make the sound of bursting, to explode’ from the same root found in: Hebrew *pāraṣ* [פָּרַץ] ‘to break through, to break, to

burst', *pereṣ* [פֶּרֶץ] 'breach, gap'; Arabic *faraṣa* 'to cut, to split, to tear, to injure'; Akkadian *parāṣu* 'to break through'; etc.

D. Proto-Uralic **pasʸɜ-* 'to break, to shatter; to tear, to split': Votyak / Udmurt *paś* 'hole, opening'; Zyrian / Komi *paś* in *paś mun-* 'to shatter into fragments, to fall and scatter, to fall and shatter', *paś vart-* 'to beat into small bits, to crush to pieces'; Selkup Samoyed *paase*, *pas* 'fissure, tear, break'; Kamassian *buzoj* 'a crack, crack in the floor, tear', *puzoj* 'cleft, tear'. Collinder 1955:47 and 1977:65; Rédei 1986—1988:357—358 **paśɜ*; Décsy 1990:105 **pasja* 'hole, opening'; Janhunen 1977b:114. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *pašal'əš-* 'to bend or break an iron or wooden thing', *pašal'a:-* 'to get blunt, to get notches (of a wooden or iron thing)'. Nikolaeva 2006:344.

Sumerian *peš$_5$* 'to break, to smash, to shatter'.

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:245—246, no. 51.

110. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **pʰasʸ-a* 'sperm, semen; male genitals, penis; descendant, offspring':

A. Proto-Dravidian **pă(y)-*/**pac-* 'descendant, offspring': Tamil *payal*, *paiyal*, *paital*, *pacal* 'boy', *paiyaṉ* 'boy, son', *paical* 'small boy, urchin', *pacalai* 'infancy, tenderness', *payalai* 'young one'; Malayalam *paital*, *paśakan* 'child', *paśuṅṅaḷ* 'children'; Kota *payḷ* 'young grain plant (not paddy), child'; Kannaḍa *pasuḷa*, *pasuḷe* 'child', *pasuḷetana* 'childhood', *haykaḷu* 'male or female children', *hayda* 'a boy', *peyya* 'calf'; Koḍagu *pajja* 'Holeya girl'; Tuḷu *pasi* 'boy, child', *paiyya* 'child', *paiyyè*, *paiyerụ*, *paiyyerụ* 'child, boy; Pariah's child'; Koraga *payali* 'child'; Telugu *paida* 'boy, child', *paidali* 'woman', *peyya*, *pēya* 'calf, female calf, heifer'; Naiki (of Chanda) *paya*, *piya* 'calf'; Parji *peyya* 'calf'; Gadba (Ollari) *pē-pāp* 'young calf', (Salur) *beḍḍa-peyyā* 'young cow' (*beḍḍa* 'female'); Gondi *pedī* 'girl', *pedā* 'girl, child', *pedāl* 'child, children', *pēḍal* 'son, boy', *pēkur*, *pēkor*, *pēkal* 'boy'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:351, no. 3939. Semantics as in Old English *fæsl* 'seed, offspring, progeny' (see below).

B. Proto-Indo-European **pʰes-*/**pʰos-* 'penis': Sanskrit *pásas-* 'penis'; Greek πέος 'penis', πόσθη 'penis'; Latin *pēnis* (< pre-Latin **pes-ni-s*) 'penis'; Old Icelandic *fösull* 'a brood'; Old High German *faselt* 'penis', *fasel* 'seed, offspring, progeny' (Middle High German *vasel*, New High German [dial.] *Fasel* 'barrow [of pigs]; brood, young [of animals]', also in *Faselschwein* 'brood-pig', [older] *Faselsau* 'brood-sow', *Faselhengst* 'stallion', *Faselvieh* 'breeding-cattle'); Old English *fæsl* 'seed, offspring, progeny'. Pokorny 1959:824 **pes-*, **pesos-* 'penis'; Walde 1927—1932.II:68 **pes-*, **pesos-*; Mann 1984—1987:928 **pesəlos*, 929 **pesos* 'penis'; Watkins

1985:50 **pes-* and 2000:67 **pes-* (suffixed form **pes-ni-*) ‘penis’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:817 **p[ʰ]es-os-* and 1995.I:716 **pʰes-os-* ‘penis’; Mallory—Adams 1997:507 **péses-* ‘penis’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:241; Hofmann 1966:262 **pesos*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:882 **pesos*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:507 **pésos*; Beekes 2010.II:1173 **pes-os-*; Boisacq 1950:768 **pes-os*; De Vaan 2008:458; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:281 **pes-nis*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:496; Orël 2003:94 Proto-Germanic **fas(u)laz*; De Vries 1977:151; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:185—186; Kluge—Seebold 1989:204.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pasʸз* ‘penis’ > Lapp / Saami *buočča*/*buožâ-* ‘penis’; Hungarian *fasz* ‘penis’. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:96—97, no. 371, Proto-Uralic **p/a/śe*; Collinder 1955:74 and 1977:94; Rédei 1986—1988:345 **paćз*; Sammallahti 1988:548 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **på/o/oośi*.

D. Altaic: Old Uighur *äs* ‘male genitals’.

Sumerian *peš* ‘sperm, semen’, *peš* ‘descendant, offspring, son’. Semantics as in Old English *fæsl* ‘seed, offspring, progeny’.

Buck 1949:4.492 penis. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:96—97, no. 371, **/pʿ/a/se* ‘membrum virile’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:253—254, no. 62.

111. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰatʰ-* (~ **pʰətʰ-*):
(vb.) **pʰatʰ-* ‘to flutter, to quiver, to tremble, to palpitate, to move rapidly’;
(n.) **pʰatʰ-a* ‘haste, hurry’

A. Proto-Afrasian **pat-* ‘to flutter, to quiver, to tremble, to palpitate, to move rapidly, to fall down’: Proto-Semitic **pat-* (**ha-pat-*, **pat-at-*, **pat-pat-*) ‘to fall down, to collapse, to weaken, to crumble’ > Arabic *ha-fata* ‘to fall down, to collapse; to suffer a breakdown’, *fatta* ‘to weaken, to undermine, to sap, to crumble’, *fatfata* ‘to fritter, to crumble (something, especially bread)’; Mandaic *ptt* ‘to crumble’; Hebrew *pāθaθ* [פָּתַת] ‘to break up, to crumble’; Aramaic *pəθaθ* ‘to crumble’; Ḥarsūsi *fet* ‘to crumble’; Mehri *fət* ‘to crumble’; Geez / Ethiopic *fatta* [ፈተ], *fatata* [ፈተተ], *fattata* [ፈተተ] ‘to break off a piece, to fracture, to crush, to break the Host during communion, to break and distribute (bread and anything else), to give out, to make a gift, to appoint a portion, to give a share’, *fatfata* [ፈትፈተ] ‘to crumble bread’; Tigre *fätäta* ‘to crumble bread, to break into small pieces’, *fätfäta* ‘to crumble’; Tigrinya *fättätä* ‘to crumble’, *fätfätä* ‘to crumble’; Amharic *fättätä*, *fätäffätä* ‘to crumble’; Gurage *fətäfätä* ‘to crumble’. Klein 1987:538; Leslau 1987:169—170 and 171; Murtonen 1989:351. Egyptian *ptpt* in *ptpt (r) ḫry* ‘to fall to the ground’ (*ḫry* = ‘that which is under’), *ptḏ* ‘to cast to the ground’, *ptḏt* in *ptḏt nt ȝpdw* ‘flight of birds’ (*ȝpdw* = ‘birds’); Coptic *potpt* [ⲡⲟⲧⲡⲧ] ‘to fall away, to make fall, to drop’. Hannig 1995:298 and 299; Faulkner 1962:96; Gardiner 1957:566;

Vycichl 1983:165; Černý 1976:130; Erman—Grapow 1921:56, 57, and 1926—1963.1:563, 1:565—566. Note: Two distinct Proto-Afrasian roots seem to have fallen together in Semitic — **pat-* 'to flutter, to quiver, to tremble, to palpitate, to move rapidly, to fall down' > 'to crumble' and **pVt-* 'to break, to split, to cut' > 'to crush, to crumble' (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:433, no. 2030, **pVtoḳ-* 'to split, to cut', 1995:178, no. 784, **fatVq-* 'to pierce, to split', and 1995:180, no. 795, **fet-* 'to break, to cut').

B. Dravidian: Tamil *pataṟu* (*pataṟi-*) 'to be flurried, to be confused, to be impatient, to be overhasty, to hurry', *pataṟṟam* 'rashness, hurry', *pataṭṭam* 'trembling, agitation', *patai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to throb (as in sympathy), to flutter, to quiver, to be in agony, to shake, to be anxious'; Malayalam *pataṟuka* 'to be precipitate, overhasty, confused', *pataṟikka* 'to cause confusion', *pata* 'boiling, throbbing, foam, froth', *patekka* 'to palpitate, to boil up, to agitate', *patappu* 'throbbing', *patapata* 'boiling, hot, effervescing', *patupata* 'bubbling up'; Kannaḍa *paḍaṟu* 'to be overhasty, to speak unadvisedly, to talk nonsense', *paḍap(p)u* 'eagerness, zeal, pleasurable excitement'; Telugu *padaru*, *paḍuru*, *paḍaṟu*, *paḍur(u)cu*, *padrucu* 'to be overhasty or precipitate, to be angry, to move, to be shaken', *paḍaṭamu*, *paḍaṭu* 'precipitation, hurry'; Malto *padrare*, *padkare* 'to prattle'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:349, no. 3910.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **petk-* 'to quiver, to tremble, to palpitate, to explode': Georgian *petk-* 'to vibrate, to explode'; Mingrelian *partk-al-* (< **patk-*) 'to tremble, to palpitate'; Laz *pa(r)tk-al-* 'to break, to palpitate'; Svan *li-ptk-w-e* 'to strike, to split'. Fähnrich 1994:235 and 2007:432 **petk-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:353 **petk-*; Klimov 1964:188 **petk-* and 1998:199 **petk-* : **ptk-* 'to break; to blow up'; Schmidt 1962:135. Proto-Kartvelian **pet-* 'to be terrified, scared, frightened' (< 'to tremble, to shake'): Georgian *pet-i* 'scaredy-cat', *da-pet-eb-a* 'to be terrified, scared, frightened'; Svan *li-pēt-e* 'to be terrified, scared, frightened; to become enraged, infuriated, angry'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:352—353 **pet-*; Fähnrich 2007:431 **pet-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European **pʰetʰ-*/**pʰotʰ-* 'to fly, to rush, to pursue; to fall, to fall down': Sanskrit *pátati* 'to fly, to soar, to rush on; to fall down or off; to set in motion, to set out on foot; to rush on, to hasten', (causative) *patáyati* 'to fly or move rapidly along, to speed', (passive) *pātyate* 'to let fly or cause to fall; to fling, to hurl, to throw; to overthrow, to ruin, to destroy; to knock out (teeth); to set in motion, to set on foot; to rush on, to hasten', *pátram* 'wing, feather', *pátvan-* 'flying, flight'; Greek πέτομαι 'to fly; (also of any quick motion) to fly along, to dart, to rush; to be on the wing, to flutter', πίπτω 'to fall, to fall down', πτερόν 'feather, bird's wing'; Latin *petō* 'to make for, to go to, to seek'; Old Irish *én* (< **ethn-* < **pet-no-s*) 'bird'; Welsh *edn* 'bird'; Old Breton *etn-* 'bird'; Old Icelandic *fjöðr* 'feather, quill'; Swedish *fjäder* 'feather'; Norwegian *fjør*, *fjøder* 'feather'; Danish *fjær*, *fjeder* 'feather'; Old English *feþer* 'feather', (pl.) *feþra*

'wings'; Old Frisian *fethere* 'feather'; Old Saxon *fethara* 'feather'; Middle Dutch *vedere* 'feather' (Dutch *veer*); Old High German *fedara* 'feather' (New High German *Feder*), *fettāh* 'wing' (New High German *Fittich*); Hittite *pát-tar* 'wing', (3rd pl. pres.) *pít-ti-(ya-)an-zi* 'to flee, to fly, to hasten'. Rix 1998a:431 **peth$_2$-* 'to fly (up)'; Pokorny 1959:825—826 **pet-*, **petə-*, **ptē-*, **ptō-* 'to tumble down on'; Walde 1927—1932.II:19—22 **pet-*, **petā-*, **petə-*; Mann 1984—1987:931 **petō* 'to dash, to fly, to fall'; Watkins 1985:50—51 **pet-* (**petə-*) and 2000:67 **pet-* (also **petə-*) 'to rush, to fly'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:57 **p[$^h$]et[$^h$]-* and 1995.I:50, I:125 (fn. 68), I:131, I:195, I:455 **p$^h$et$^h$-* 'to fly'; Mallory—Adams 1997:208 **pet-* 'to fly' and 646 **pet(e)r-*, **pet(e)n-* 'wing, feather'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:199 and II:203—204; Boisacq 1950:776 **pet-*. 787 **pet-*, and 821—822 **pet(e)-* 'to fly', **pet(e)-r-*, **p(e)te-r-* 'wing, feather'; Frisk 1970—1973.II:521—522, II:542—543, and II:612—613; Hofmann 1966:266 **pet-*, 271 **pet-*, and 287 **peter-* (**peten-*); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:892, II:905—906, and II:947—948 **pet-*/**pt-(ə$_1$)*; Beekes 2010.II:1181—1182 **pet-*, II:1195—1196 **petH-*, II:1248 **pet-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:503—504 **pet-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:297—298; De Vaan 2008:464—464; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:26, 47, and 82; Kroonen 2013:138—139 Proto-Germanic **feþrō-* 'feather'; Orël 2003:102 Proto-Germanic **feþrjan*, 102 **feþrō*; De Vries 1977:124—125; Onions 1966:348 **pet-*, **pt-*; Klein 1971:276; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:188 and 200; Kluge—Seebold 1989:206 and 217.

E. Proto-Eskimo **pattaɣ-* 'to flap (wings), to flutter; to make a flapping noise, to clap, to slap': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *pataxtuʁ-* 'to hurry'; Central Alaskan Yupik *pataɣ-*, *pataxtuʁ-* 'to hurry'; Central Siberian Yupik *pataɣ-* 'to hit lightly'; Sirenik *pataɣaʁa(ci)-* 'to clap, to slap'; Seward Peninsula Inuit (Qawiaraq) *patakaq-* 'to hurry'; North Alaskan Inuit *pattak-* 'to slap, to spank', *patala-* 'to get ready in a hurry, to feel one's way in the dark'; Western Canadian Inuit *pattak-* 'to applaud, to clap, to caress'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *patta(k)-* 'to play ball'; Greenlandic Inuit *pattaɣ-* 'to knock something off someone with the hand', *pattaat(i)-* 'to play ball', *pattattuʁ-* 'to flap wings'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1995:252 **pattaɣ-* 'to clap or slap'.

Buck 1949:10.23 fall (vb.); 10.26 shake (vb. tr.); 10.37 fly (vb.); 16.42 anger; 16.43 rage, fury; 16.53 fear, fright. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:240—241, no. 45; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1830, **ṗeṭV* (or **ṗEṭV* ?) 'to fly; bird'.

112. Proto-Nostratic root **p$^h$at$^h$-* (~ **p$^h$ət$^h$-*):
(vb.) **p$^h$at$^h$-* 'to open; to be wide, open, spacious, spread out; to stretch, to extend, to spread out';
(n.) **p$^h$at$^h$-a* 'opening, open space'; (adj.) 'wide, open, spacious'

A. Proto-Afrasian *_pat-_ ‘to open; to be wide, open, spacious, spread out; to stretch, to extend, to spread out’: Proto-Semitic _pat-aḥ-_ ‘to open, to untie, to loosen’ > Hebrew _pāθaḥ_ [פָּתַח] ‘to open, to untie, to loosen’; Aramaic _pəθaḥ_ ‘to open’; Arabic _fataḥa_ ‘to open’; Akkadian _pitū_, _petū_, _patū_ ‘to open’; Phoenician _ptḥ_ ‘to open’; Ugaritic _ptḥ_ ‘to open’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli _fétəḥ_ ‘to open’; Ḥarsūsi _fetōḥ_ ‘to open’; Mehri _fətḥ_, _fōtəḥ_ ‘to open’; Geez / Ethiopic _fatḥa_ [ፈትሐ] ‘to open, to untie, to loosen, to unfasten, to release, to dissolve, to disengage, to make of no effect, to set free, to solve, to absolve, to forgive (sins), to judge’; Tigre _fätḥa_ ‘to loosen, to open, to untie, to release’; Tigrinya _fätḥe_ ‘to loosen, to open, to untie, to release’; Harari _fätaḥa_ ‘to untie, to set free’; Amharic _fätta_ ‘to release, to untie, to unfasten, to divorce’; Argobba _fätta_ ‘to undo, to release, to absolve of sin, to divorce’; Gurage _fäta_ ‘to untie, to loosen, to divorce’. Klein 1987:536; Leslau 1979:247 and 1987:170; Zammit 2002:315; Murtonen 1989:351—352. Proto-Semitic *_pat-ay-_ ‘to be wide, spacious, open’ > Hebrew _pāθāh_ [פָּתָה] ‘to be wide, spacious, open’; Aramaic _pəθā_ ‘to be spacious’; Gurage (Wolane) _fätti_ ‘wide, broad’. Gurage (Wolane) _fetätä_ ‘to be wide, broad’, _afetätä_ ‘to widen’. Klein 1987:536; Leslau 1979:248. Egyptian _ptḥ_ ‘to be open’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:565. Central Chadic *_pVtVH-_ ‘to open’ > Mofu _pəth-_ ‘to open’. East Chadic *_pit-_ ‘to open’ > Bidiya _pit-_ ‘to open’; Sokoro (reduplicated) _fitifiti_ ‘to open’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:425—425, no. 1989, *_pitaḥ-_ ‘to open’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil _pātti_ ‘small field’; Malayalam _pātti_ ‘garden bed’; Kannaḍa _pāti_ ‘garden bed’; Tuḷu _pāti_ ‘nursery for plants’; Telugu _pādu_, _pādi_ ‘garden bed or plot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:362, no. 4078.

C. Proto-Indo-European *_pʰetʰ-_/*_pʰotʰ-_ ‘to be wide, open, spacious, spread out; to stretch, to extend, to spread out’: Avestan _paθana-_ ‘wide, broad’; Ossetic _fätän_ ‘wide’; Greek πετάννῡμι ‘to spread out’, πέταλος ‘broad, flat’; Latin _pateō_ ‘to be open’, _patulus_ ‘standing open, open’; Old Welsh _etem_ ‘fathom’; Scots Gaelic _aitheamh_ ‘fathom’; Old Icelandic _faðmr_ ‘outstretched arms, embrace; fathom’, _faðma_ ‘to embrace’; Old English _fæþm_ ‘outstretched arms, embrace; cubit, fathom’; Old Frisian _fethem_ ‘fathom’; Old Saxon (pl.) _fathmos_ ‘outstretched arms, embrace’; Dutch _vadem_, _vaam_ ‘fathom’; Old High German _fadam_, _fadum_ ‘cubit’ (New High German _Faden_). Rix 1998a:430—431 *_peth₂-_ ‘to spread out’; Pokorny 1959:824—825 *_pet-_, *_pₑt-_, *_petə-_ ‘to stretch out’; Walde 1927—1932.II:18 *_pet-_ (*_petə-_); Mann 1984—1987:907 *_pat-_ ‘space, pace, stretch’, 929 *_pet-_, 932 *_pət-_ (*_pəth-_) ‘(vb.) to extend; (n.) extent; (adj.) wide, open’; Watkins 1985:51 *_petə-_ and 2000:67 *_petə-_ ‘to spread’; Mallory—Adams 1997:539 *_peth$_a$-_ ‘to spread out (the arms)’; Boisacq 1950:775—775 *_petā-_; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:891; Frisk 1970—1973.II:520—521; Beekes 2010.II:1181 *_peth₂-_; Hofmann 1966:265—266; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:262; Ernout—Meillet 1979:486—487; De Vaan 2008:449; Kroonen 2013:132 Proto-Germanic *_faþma-_

'fathom'; Orël 2003:95 Proto-Germanic **faþmaz*, 95 **faþmjanan*, 95 **faþmōjanan*; De Vries 1977:109; Onions 1966:347 **pot-*, **pet-*, **pt-*; Klein 1971:275; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:109—110; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:179—180; Kluge—Seebold 1989:198 **petə-*.

D. Proto-Altaic **$p^hat^ha$* 'uncultivated land, field': Proto-Mongolian **(h)atar* 'uncultivated land, field' > Written Mongolian *atar* 'virgin land, unplowed or fallow land'; Khalkha *atar* 'virgin land, wilderness'; Buriat *atar* 'uncultivated land, field'; Mongruor *atər* 'uncultivated land, field'. Proto-Turkic **Atïr$^y$* 'watered field, boundary' > Karakhanide Turkic *atïz* 'any strip of land between two dikes'; Uighur *etiz* 'watered field, boundary'; Turkmenian *atïz* 'watered field, boundary'; Kazakh *atïz* 'watered field, boundary'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1127 **p'at'a* 'uncultivated land, field'.

Buck 1949:1.24 plain, field; 12.24 open (vb.); 12.61 wide, broad. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:233—234, no. 38; Brunner 1969;77, no. 417; Möller 1911:205; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1835. **ṗaṭḥV* 'to be open; open'.

113. Proto-Nostratic root **$p^hat'$-* (~ **$p^hət'$-*):
(vb.) **$p^hat'$-* 'to hasten, to move quickly';
(n.) **$p^hat'$-a* 'foot'

A. Proto-Afrasian **p[a]t'-* '(vb.) to hasten, to move quickly; (n.) foot': Proto-Semitic **pat'-an-* 'to be quick, rapid, fast' > Geez / Ethiopic *faṭana* [ፈጠነ] 'to be fast, to be swift, to hurry, to be in a hurry, to be prompt, to speed up'; Tigrinya *fäṭänä* 'to be rapid'; Harari *fäṭäna* 'to be fast, quick, rapid'; Gurage *fäṭänä* 'to be fast, quick'; Amharic *fäṭṭänä* 'to be fast, quick'. Leslau 1963:66, 1979:250—251, and 1987:171. Egyptian *pd* 'foot, knee', *pd* 'to run away, to flee, to hasten'; Coptic *pat* [ⲡⲁⲧ] 'leg, shin, knee, foot', *pōt* [ⲡⲱⲧ] 'to run, to flee'. Faulkner 1962:96; Erman—Grapow 1921:57 and 1926—1963.1:566; Gardiner 1957:566; Vycichl 1983:165; Černý 1976:129.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *ba-at*, *pa-at* 'foot; under'.

C. Proto-Indo-European **$p^het'$-*/**$p^hot'$-* 'foot': Sanskrit *pā́t* 'foot' (gen. sg. *padáḥ*), *padám* 'step, footstep, position, site'; Greek πούς 'foot' (gen. sg. ποδός), πέδον 'the ground, earth'; Armenian *otn* 'foot', *het* 'footprint'; Latin *pēs* 'foot' (gen. sg. *pedis*); Umbrian *peřum*, *persom-e* 'ground'; Gothic *fōtus* 'foot'; Old Icelandic *fet* 'place, step', *fótr* 'foot'; Swedish *fot* 'foot'; Norwegian *fot* 'foot'; Danish *fod* 'foot'; Old English *fōt* 'foot'; Old Frisian *fōt* 'foot'; Old Saxon *fōt*, *fuot* 'foot'; Dutch *voet* 'foot'; Old High German *fuoz* 'foot' (New High German *Fuß*); Luwian *pa-ta-a-aš* 'foot'; Hittite *pí-e-da-an* 'place'; Lycian *pddã̄t-* 'place', *pddẽn-* 'place, precinct'; Lithuanian *pãdas* 'sole of foot'; Tocharian A *pe*, B *paiyye* 'foot', A *päts*, B *patsa* 'bottom'. Pokorny 1959:790—792 **pĕ̆d-*, **pŏ̆d-* 'foot'; Walde

1927—1932.II:23—25 **pĕd-*, **pōd-*; Mann 1984—1987:909—911 **ped-*, **pēd-* ‘foot’, 911 **pedi̯os*, *-i̯ə* ‘of a foot; foot, base, firmness, link’; Watkins 1985:47 **ped-* and 2000:62 **ped-* ‘foot’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:38, I:43, I:57, I:146 (fn. 1), I:154, II:786 (fn. 2), **p[ʰ]ĕt’-*, **p[ʰ]ŏt’-* and 1995.I:33, I:38, I:50, I:125 (fn. 68), I:133, I:158, I:688 (fn. 12), **pʰĕt’-*, **pʰŏt’-* ‘foot’; Mallory—Adams 1997:208—209 **pṓds* ‘foot’ (acc. **pódm̥*, gen. **pedós*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:204—205 and II:249; Frisk 1970—1973.II:485—486 **pedo-m* and II:587—588 **pĕd-*, **pŏd-*; Boisacq 1950:754 and 808—809 **pĕd-*, **pŏd-*; Hofmann 1966:256 **pedom* and 282 **pod-*, **ped-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:867 and II:932—933; Beekes 2010.II:1160—1161 **ped-o-*, II:1227—1228 **pod-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:293—295; Ernout—Meillet 1979:500—502 **ped-*; De Vaan 2008:462; Orël 2003:110 Proto-Germanic **fōtz* ~ **fōtuz*; Kroonen 2013:152 Proto-Germanic **fōt-* ‘foot’; Feist 1939:159—160 **ped-*, **pod-*; Lehmann 1986:121; Onions 1966:368 **pod-*, **ped-*; Klein 1971:289 **pŏd-*, **pĕd-*; De Vries 1977:118 and 139; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:226; Kluge—Seebold 1989:238; Adams 1999:362 and 401—402; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:369—370 and I:370 **ped-*, **pod-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:521; Smoczyński 2007.1:435; Derksen 2015:342 **pódum*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:526—540 **ped-*.

D. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *petnu-* ‘to crawl, to go on all fours’, *petteŋ* ‘crawling’. Nikolaeva 2006:351.

E. Proto-Altaic **pʰēta-* ‘(vb.) to step, to walk; to hasten, to hurry; (n.) step, pace’: Proto-Tungus **pete-* ‘to run quickly, to hurry; to jump’ > Evenki *hetekēn-* ‘to run quickly, to hurry’; Lamut / Even *heteken-* ‘to run quickly, to hurry’; Ulch *peten-* ‘to jump’; Orok *potčo-* ‘to jump’; Nanay / Gold *petēn-* ‘to jump’; Negidal *χeteχen-* ‘to jump’; Oroch *χete-* ‘to jump’; Udihe *χetigen-e-* ‘to jump’. Proto-Mongolian **(h)ada-* ‘to hurry’ > Mongolian *adaγa-* ‘to hurry, to speed, to strive’, *adaγam* ‘hurry, speed’; Khalkha *adga-* ‘to hurry’; Kalmyk *adγə-* ‘to hurry’, *adm* ‘hurry, speed’. Proto-Turkic **āt-* ‘(vb.) to walk, to step; (n.) step, pace’ > Turkish *adım* ‘step, pace’; Azerbaijani *adïm* ‘step, pace’; Turkmenian (dial.) *āt-*, *ā̄t-*, *ā̄t-le-* ‘to step’, *ādïm* ‘step, pace’; Uzbek *ɔdim* (dial. *adïm*) ‘step, pace’; Uighur *atli-* ‘to step’; Karaim *adïm* ‘step, pace’; Tatar *atla-* ‘to step’, *adïm* ‘step, pace’; Bashkir *atla-* ‘to step’, *aðïm* ‘step, pace’; Kirghiz *atta-* ‘to step’, *adïm* ‘step, pace’; Kazakh *atla-* ‘to step’, *adïm* ‘step, pace’; Noghay *atla-* ‘to step’, *adïm* ‘step, pace’; Chuvash *ot-*‘to walk’, *oďьm* ‘step, pace’; Yakut *atïllā-* ‘to step’; Dolgan *atïllā-* ‘to jump, to hop’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1139 **pʻēta* ‘to step, to walk’.

Buck 1949:4.37 foot. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:239, no. 44; Illič-Svityč 1965: 368 **ṗatʌ* ‘foot’ (ступня); Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1665, **ṗa[g]dV* ‘foot’.

114. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **pʰat’-a* ‘chaff, husk, (unripe or blighted) grain’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *patar* ‘chaff, husk, empty ears of grain; worthless person, emptiness, worthlessness’, *patar* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to become useless’, *pataṭi* ‘chaff, blighted grain, husk, futility’; Malayalam *patir* ‘empty corn husk, chaff’, *patirikka* ‘rice to be without grain’; Kannaḍa *hadir* ‘a very young, quite unripe fruit’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:349, no. 3908.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **pet'w-* ‘millet’: Georgian *pet'v-i* ‘millet’; Mingrelian *pat'-i* ‘millet’; Laz *pat'-i* ‘millet’; Svan *pät'w*, *pet'w* ‘millet’, *pet'w-ra* ‘millet flour’. Klimov 1964:188 **peṭw-* and 1998:200 **peṭw-* ‘millet’; Schmidt 1962:135; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:355 **peṭw-*; Fähnrich 1994:225 and 2007:433—434 **peṭw-*.

115. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **$p^hek^{wh}$-*:
(vb.) **$p^hek^{wh}$-* ‘to warm, to heat’ (> ‘to cook, to bake’);
(n.) **$p^hek^{wh}$-a* ‘warmth, heat’; (adj.) ‘warm, hot’ (> ‘cooked, baked’)

A. Proto-Indo-European **$p^hek^{wh}$-* ‘to bake, to cook, to roast’: Sanskrit *pácati* ‘to cook, to bake, to roast’, *paktí-ḥ* ‘cooking, cooked food’, *pakvá-ḥ* ‘cooked, baked’; Pāḷi *pacati* ‘to fry, to roast’; Avestan *pačaiti* ‘to boil, to burn’; Greek πέσσω (Attic πέττω, later πέπτω) ‘to cook, to dress, to bake; to soften, to ripen, to change (by means of heat)’ (future πέψω); Latin *coquō* (< **quequō*) ‘to cook, to prepare food; to bake, to burn; to ripen’; Welsh *pobi* ‘to bake’, *poeth* ‘hot’; Albanian *pjek* ‘to roast, to broil, to cook, to bake’; Lithuanian (with metathesis) *kepù*, *képti* ‘to bake, to roast’; Old Church Slavic *pekǫ*, *pešti* ‘to bake, to burn’, *pešть* ‘oven’; Tocharian A, B *päk-* (active) ‘to make ready for eating: to cook, to boil, to ripen’; Armenian *hac$^h$* ‘bread’. Rix 1998:421—422 **pek̯u-* ‘to make ripe, to cook, to prepare food’; Pokorny 1959:798 **pek̯u-* ‘to cook’; Walde 1927—1932.II:17—18 **peq$^u$-*; Mann 1984—1987:920 **peq̥los*, *-om*, *-ā*, 920 **peq̥mn-* (**peq̥no-*) ‘baking, firing, cooking, cooked’, 920—921 **peq̥ō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to bake, to cook, to roast, to ripen’, 921 **peq̥os* (**poq̥u-*) ‘cooking’, 921 **peq̥tis* ‘baking, cooking, roasting, ripening’, 921 **peq̥tos* ‘cooked, baked, roasted, ripened’, 976 **poq̥u-* ‘baked, cooked; baked or cooked object’; Watkins 1985:48 **pek$^w$-* and 2000:63 **pek$^w$-* ‘to cook, to ripen’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:146 **p[$^h$]ek[$^h$]$^o$-*, I:410 fn. 1 **p[$^h$]ek[$^h$]$^o$-*, II:699 **p[$^h$]ek[$^h$]$^o$-* and 1995.I:125 **p$^h$ek$^{h\,o}$-* ‘to cook’, I:358 fn. 21 **p$^h$ek$^{h\,o}$-*, I:604 **p$^h$ek$^{h\,o}$-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:125 **pek$^w$-* ‘to cook, to bake’ and 2006:258 **pek$^w$-* ‘to cook, to bake’, 259—260 **pek$^w$-* ‘to cook’, **pek$^w$tis* ‘cooking’, **pek$^w$ter-* ‘cook’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II;183, II:184, and II:185—186; Boisacq 1950:769—770 **peq$^u$ō*, **peq$^u$i̯ō*; Hofmann 1966:262—263 **peq$^u$-* (Italo-Celtic assimilated to **q$^u$eq$^u$-*); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:884 **pek$^w$-* and 890 **pek$^w$-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:519—520 **peq$^u$-i̯o/e-*, **peq$^u$-o/e-*; Beekes 2010.II:1180—1181 **pek$^w$-*; Huld 1984:103—104 **pek̯u-*; De Vaan 2008:134; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:270—271 *coquō* (< **quequō* < **peq$^u$ō*); Ernout—

Meillet 1979:141—142 **pekʷō* (> **kʷekʷō*); Adams 1999:368 **pekʷ-* ‘to cook, to ripen’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:355 **peqᵘ-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:275—276 **pekʷ-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:241 **pekᵘ-*; Derksen 2008:393 **pekʷ-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:548—552 **pekᵘ-*; Orël 1998:329.

B. (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *pugö* ‘summer’, *puge-* ‘hot’, *pugelbə-* ‘to get warmer’, *pugeləde*j- ‘to heat, to warm’, *puged'ə* ‘sweat’, *pugučə* ‘warmth’, (Northern / Tundra) *pugelwe-* ‘to get warmer’, *puguler-* ‘to heat, to warm’, *pugej-* ‘hot’, *pugud'e* ‘heat, warmth’, *puguo-* ‘warm’, *pugukie-* ‘to get warmer’. Nikolaeva 2006:366.

C. Proto-Altaic **pʰekʰV-* (~ **p-*) ‘hot, warm’: Proto-Tungus **peku-* ‘hot’ > Evenki *heku* ‘hot’; Lamut / Even *hök* ‘hot’; Negidal *χeku-di* ‘hot’; Manchu *fiyakiya-* ‘to be hot from the sun’, *fiyakiyan* ‘burning hot; the sun’s heat’, *fiyaku-* ‘to heat, to dry by a fire, to dry in the sun; to bake’; Ulch *pukeuli* ‘hot’, *pêkki-* ‘to bake’; Orok *χekkuli*, *χekusi* ‘hot’ (loanword from Oroch); Nanay / Gold *peku* ‘hot’, *pịqị-* ‘to warm, to heat’; Oroch *χeku*, *χekusi* ‘hot’; Udihe *χekuhi* ‘hot’, *piki-le-* ‘to bake’ (loanword from Ulch); Solon *eχūgdi* ‘hot’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1084 **pek'V-* (~ **p'-*) ‘warm, hot’.

Buck 1949:5.21 cook; 5.22 boil; 5.23 roast, fry; 5.24 bake; 15.85 hot, warm. Greenberg 2000:41, no. 76; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1679, **p̈äḳô* ‘to heat (on fire), to be hot’ (→ ‘to cook, to bake; to dry’); Illič-Svityč 1965:337—338 **p̈ä[ḳ]ʌ* [‘горячий’] ‘hot, warm’. The Kartvelian forms cited by Dolgopolsky are not included here — the original meaning appears to have been ‘to blow (air, wind, breeze), to dry in the air’ (cf. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:362 **puḳ-*; Fähnrich 2007:443—444 **puḳ-*: Georgian *puk'-v-a* ‘to let the air out’; Svan [Lower Bal] *li-pk'w-e* ‘to dry [something] in the air’, *puk'wi* ‘dry’). The Afrasian forms cited by Dolgopolsky and the Eskimo-Aleut and Chukchi-Kamchatkan forms cited by Greenberg are not included here due to problems with both the semantics and the phonology. Finally, the Uralic forms cited by Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky appear to be loanwords from North Germanic (cf. de Vries 1977:23; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:31—32: Old Icelandic *baka* ‘to bake; to warm and rub the body and limbs’, *bakstr* ‘baking; baked bread, especially communion bread; poultice, fermentation; warming, rubbing [of the body]’; Swedish *baka* ‘to bake’; Danish *bage* ‘to bake’ → Saami / Lapp [Lule] *pahkka* ‘hot; heat’, [Southern] *baakke* ‘hot; heat’, [Norwegian] *bak'kâ* ‘heat’, *bak'ka* ‘hot’).

116. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰel-*:
(vb.) **pʰel-* ‘to tremble, to shake; to be frightened, fearful, afraid’;
(n.) **pʰel-a* ‘fright, fear’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **pal-ax-* ‘to fear, to be afraid; to respect, to venerate, to serve, to worship’ > Old Akkadian *palāḫum* ‘to fear, to be

afraid; to respect, to venerate, to serve, to worship', *palḫum* 'feared, awe-inspiring'; Amorite *plḫ* 'to fear' (basic stem, Qal *yaplaḫ*, etc.); Imperial Aramaic *plḥ* 'to serve, to worship', *plḥ ʔlhʔ* 'servant of God'; Syriac *pəlaḥ* 'to serve (especially, to serve God), to worship'. Murtonen 1989:340. Semantic development as in Greek σέβομαι 'to feel awe of', sometimes 'to fear', commonly 'to revere, to worship'; note also Hittite (1st sg. pres.) *na-aḫ-mi* 'to fear, to respect, to revere', *na-aḫ-ša-ra-az* 'fear, reverence'.

B. Proto-Indo-European **p$^{h}$el-/*p$^{h}$l̥-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **p$^{h}$ol-*) 'to tremble, to shake; to be frightened, fearful, afraid': Greek πάλλω 'to sway, to shake; (passive) to swing or dash oneself; to quiver, to leap (especially in fear)', πελεμίζω 'to shake, to make quiver or tremble'; Gothic *us-filma* 'frightened, astonished', *us-filmei* 'astonishment'; Old Icelandic *fæla* 'to frighten, to scare', *fæling* 'frightening', *felmtr* 'sudden fear, fright', *felms-fullr* 'alarmed, frightened'; Old English *eal-felo* 'baleful, dire'; Middle High German *vālant* 'devil' (New High German [poet.] *Voland* 'evil friend', [dial.] *Valand* 'devil, evil friend'); Old Church Slavic *plaxъ* 'dread, fear, fright', *plašiti* 'to scare, to frighten'. Pokorny 1959:801 (**pel-*); Walde 1927—1932.II:52—53 **pel-* 'to tremble, to shake'; Mann 1984—1987:916; Boisacq 1950:744 and 762; Frisk 1970—1973.II:469 and II:497—498; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:854 and II:875—876; Beekes 2010.II:1148 **pelh$_{1}$-*, II:1167; Hofmann 1966:251 **pel-* and 260 **pelem-*; Feist 1939:530 **pelem-*; Lehmann 1986:381 **pel-*; De Vries 1977:110, 117, and 149; Orël 2003:97 Proto-Germanic **felmaz*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:823; Kluge—Seebold 1989:768.

C. Proto-Uralic **pele-* 'to fear, to be afraid': Finnish *pelko* 'fright, fear'; Lapp / Saami *bâllâ-/bâlâ-* 'to be afraid'; Mordvin *pele-* 'to be afraid'; Votyak / Udmurt *pul-* 'to be afraid'; Zyrian / Komi *pol-* 'to be afraid'; Vogul / Mansi *pil-*, *pəl-* 'to be afraid'; Ostyak / Xanty *pəl-*, (Southern) *pət-* 'to be afraid'; Hungarian *fél-* 'to fear, to be afraid'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *piil'u-*, *piir'u-* 'to be afraid'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *filiti-* 'to be afraid'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *fie-* 'to be afraid'. Collinder 1955:47 and 1977:66; Rédei 1986—1988:370 **pele-*; Décsy 1990:105 **pelä* 'to fear, to be afraid'; Sammallahti 1988:539 Proto-Uralic **peli-* 'fear'; Janhunen 1977b:124—125.

Buck 1949:16.53 fear, fright; 22.16 worship (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:255, no. 64; Hakola 2000:136, no. 592; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.II:98—99, no. 337, **pelHi* 'to tremble, to be afraid'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1704, **pelqê* 'to tremble, to fear'.

117. Proto-Nostratic root **p$^{h}$id-* (~ **p$^{h}$ed-*):
(vb.) **p$^{h}$id-* 'to seize, to hold, to clutch, to capture, to cling to';
(n.) **p$^{h}$id-a* 'hold, grasp'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *piṭi* ‘to catch, to grasp, to seize, to clutch, to capture, to cling to, to contain, to carry, to keep back, to understand, to make a handful; to cling (intr.), to adhere, to be pleasing, to be suitable’, *piṭippu* ‘grasping, holding, seizure, catching, sticking, money amassed, handle’; Malayalam *piṭi* ‘grasp, hold, closed hand, handful, handle, hilt, memory’, *piṭikka* ‘to seize, to catch, to hold (as a vessel), to stick to, to understand, to take effect’; Kota *piṛc-* ‘to clench (hand)’; Kannaḍa *piḍi* ‘to seize, to catch, to grasp, to hold’; Koḍagu *puḍi* (*puḍip-*, *puḍic-*) ‘to catch, to hold’; Telugu *piḍikili* ‘fist, hold, grasp, handful’; Parji *piḍk-* ‘to embrace’; Gondi *pīḍānā* ‘to snatch, to catch’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:367—368, no. 4148; Krishnamurti 2003:115 **piṭ-i* ‘(vb.) to grasp; (n.) handle’.
B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pitä-* ‘to seize, to hold, to grasp, to cling to’ > Finnish *pitä-* ‘to keep, to hold, to retain, to maintain’; Mordvin (Erza) *ped'a-*, (Moksha) *pedə-* ‘to attach oneself, to adhere, to start, to begin in an obstinate way’; Cheremis / Mari *pidä-*, *pida-* ‘to tie, to knit’; Hungarian *füz-* ‘to stitch, to sew, to thread; to attach, to bind, to tie’, *füzér* ‘string, garland’. Collinder 1955:108 and 1977:122; Sammallahti 1988:547 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **pitä-* ‘to keep, to hold’; Rédei 1986—1988:386 **pitä-*.

Buck 1949:11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:250—251, no. 57; Hakola 2000:142—143, no. 623.

118. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰinʸ-* (~ **pʰenʸ-*):
(vb.) **pʰinʸ-* ‘to watch (over), to protect, to nourish, to nurture’;
(n.) **pʰinʸ-a* ‘protection, care; feeding, nourishing, nourishment’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *pēṇu* (*pēṇi-*) ‘to treat tenderly, to cherish, to foster, to protect, to regard, to esteem, to honor, to treat courteously, to worship, to care for’, *pēṇ* ‘protection’, *pēṇam* ‘tenderness, regard, care, nurture’, *piṇai* ‘protecting with loving care’; Malayalam *pēṇuka* ‘to foster, to take care of’, *pēṇam* ‘caution’, *peṇṇuka* ‘to take care of, to use, to take to oneself’; Telugu *pen(u)cu* ‘to nourish, to nurture, to foster, to support, to rear, to fatten, to increase, to extend’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:392, no. 4436.
B. Proto-Indo-European **pʰen-* ‘food, protection’: Latin *penus* ‘food supplies, provisions’; Lithuanian *pẽnas* ‘food’, *penù*, *penẽti* ‘to feed, to fatten’; Gothic *fenea* ‘barley-groats, porridge’; Farsi *panāh* ‘refuge, protection’. Rix 1998a:424 **pen-* ‘to feed’; Pokorny 1959:807 **pen-* ‘to feed’; Walde 1927—1932.II:25 **pen-*; Mann 1984—1987:919 **penos* ‘food, protection’; Mallory—Adams 1997:199 **pen-* ‘to feed, to fatten’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:283; Ernout—Meillet 1979:496—497; De Vaan 2008:458—459; Feist 1939:147—148; Lehmann 1986:112; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:569; Smoczyński 2007.1:449—450.
C. Proto-Uralic **punʸa-* ‘to watch (over), to protect, to preserve, to keep’: Lapp / Saami (Kola) *binnje-*/*binje-* ‘to hoard, to keep, to protect, to

preserve, to watch (over), to hold, to value', *binnjej* 'herdsman'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Baiha) *fońiŋe-*, (Hatanga) *foneŋe-* 'to watch (over), to pasture', *fońidde*, *fonedde* 'herdsman'. Collinder 1955:6 and 1977:27; Décsy 1990:106 **punja* 'to herd (reindeer)'; Rédei 1986—1988:413—414 **pɤńɜ-*; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:106—111, no. 373, Proto-Uralic **pī̮ńa* (< **pēńa* ?). (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *peńi:-* 'to put; to leave, to abandon', *pońo:-* 'to remain', (Northern / Tundra) *pońi-* 'to put; to leave, to abandon', *pońinube* 'place where clothes and other things are left', *pońaa-* 'to remain'. Nikolaeva 2006:359.

Buck 1949:5.12 food. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:106—111, no. 373, **p'eHńa* 'to shepherd, to graze, to defend, to take care of'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1746, **ṗEX|Qńa* 'to keep, to protect'; Koskinen 1980:72, no. 256; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:251—252, no. 58.

119. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰir-* (~ **pʰer-*):
(vb.) **pʰir-* 'to bring forth, to bear fruit';
(n.) **pʰir-a* 'birth, issue, offspring, descendant, fruit'

A. Proto-Afrasian **pir-* 'to bring forth, to bear fruit': Proto-Semitic **par-ay-* 'to bring forth, to bear fruit' > Hebrew *pārāh* [פָּרָה], *pārāʾ* [פָּרָא] 'to bring forth, to bear fruit', *pərī* [פְּרִי] 'fruit'; Aramaic *pərā* 'to bear fruit, to be fruitful'; Phoenician *pry* 'to bear fruit'; Ugaritic *pr* 'fruit'; Sabaean *fry* 'to cultivate'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *efréʔ* 'to become ripe, to ripen'; Geez / Ethiopic *farya* [ፈርየ], *faraya* [ፈረየ] 'to bear fruit, to produce fruit, to yield fruit, to be fruitful, to engender', *fərē* [ፍሬ] 'fruit'; Tigrinya *färäyä* 'to bear fruit'; Tigre *fära* 'to bear fruit'; Amharic *(a)färra* 'to bear fruit'; Gurage *(a)färra* 'to bear fruit', *fre* 'fruit'. Klein 1987:522, 523, and 527—528; Leslau 1979:240 and 1987:167; Murtonen 1989:347. Proto-Semitic **par-ax-* 'to sprout' > Hebrew *pāraḥ* [פָּרַח] 'to bud, to sprout'; Aramaic *pəraḥ* 'to blossom, to sprout'; Akkadian *parāḫu* 'to sprout', *pirḫu* 'sprout', *pirʾu* 'issue, offspring, descendant'; Arabic *farraḥa* 'to have young ones (bird), to hatch; to germinate, to sprout', *farḫ* 'young bird; shoot, sprout (of a plant or a tree)'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *fərəġ* '(flower) to open up', *fərġ* 'fully-grown, fast grown'; Ḥarsūsi *fátereġ* 'to ripen, to bloom'; Mehri *fərōġ* '(bird) to hatch (eggs)', *fátrəġ* 'to bloom'; Geez / Ethiopic *farḫa* [ፈርሀ] 'to sprout, to germinate'. Murtonen 1989:347; Leslau 1987:166; Klein 1987:527. Egyptian *prt* 'fruit, seed, offspring, posterity', *prỉ* 'to be born, to arise from', *prḫ* 'flower, bloom, blossom'. Faulkner 1962:90 and 91; Erman—Grapow 1921:54; Hannig 1995:286 and 287. Berber: Guanche *a-faro* 'corn'. Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *firi* 'fruit'; Xamir *fir* 'fruit'; Bilin *fir* 'fruit'; Saho *fire* 'flowers, fruit'. Appleyard 2006:73; Reinisch 1887:125. Orël—Stolbova 1995:424, no. 1983, **pir-* 'fruit, corn', 425, no. 1984,

**piraḫ-* ‘sprout, flower’ (derived from **pir-* ‘fruit, corn’). Ehret 1995:106, no. 85, **fir-* ‘to flower, to bear fruit’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *peṟu* (*peṟuv-*, *peṟṟ-*) ‘to get, to obtain, to beget, to generate, to bear’, *piṟa* ‘to be born, to be produced’, *piṟavi* ‘birth’; Malayalam *peṟuka* ‘to bear, to bring forth, to obtain, to get’, *pēṟu* ‘birth’; Kota *perv-* (*perd-*) ‘to be born’, *perp* ‘birth’; Kannaḍa *peṟ-* (*pett-*) ‘to get, to obtain, to beget, to bear’; Koḍagu *per-* (*peruv-*, *pett-*) ‘to bear (child)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:391, no. 4422.

C. Proto-Indo-European **pʰer-*/**pʰr̥-* ‘to bear, to bring forth’: Latin *pariō* ‘to bear, to bring forth’; Lithuanian *periù*, *perėti* ‘to hatch’; (?) Gothic *fraiw* ‘seed’; (?) Old Icelandic *fræ*, *frjó* ‘seed’, *frjóa* ‘to fertilize, to multiply, to be fertile’, *frjór* ‘fertile’, *frjó-ligr*, *frjó-samr* ‘fruitful’; Swedish *frö* ‘seed, grain’; Danish *frø* ‘seed, grain’. Rix 1998a:427—428 **perh₃-* ‘to get, to obtain’; Pokorny 1959:818 **per-* ‘to bear, to bring forth’; Walde 1927—1932.II:41—42 **per-*; Mann 1984—1987:926 **perō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to breed’; Watkins 1985:50 **perə-* and 2000:66 **perə-* ‘to produce, to procure’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:483—484; De Vaan 2008:445—446; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:255—256 **per-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:573; Smoczyński 2007.1:451; Kroonen 2013:152 Proto-Germanic **fraiwa-* ‘seed’ (“[a] word with a debated etymology”) — Kroonen also compares Old Icelandic *Freyr* ‘fertility deity’ (< **frauja-*) and *frygð* ‘blossoming, excellence’ (< **fruwwiþō-*); Orël 2003:111 Proto-Germanic **fraiwjaz*; Feist 1939:163; Lehmann 1986:123; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:201; De Vries 1977:145.

D. Proto-Altaic **pʰŭri* ‘seed, offspring’: Proto-Tungus **pur-* ‘young (boy, child); children; family; breed’ > Manchu *fursun* ‘shoots, sprouts (especially of grain)’; Evenki *hur-kēn* ‘young (boy, child)’, *hurū* ‘family’, *huril* ‘children’; Lamut / Even *hur-ken* ‘young (boy, child)’, *hurъl* ‘children, sons’; Ulch *purul* ‘children’; Negidal *χuyil* ‘children’; Orok *puriγe* ‘young (boy, child)’, *puril* ‘children’; Nanay / Gold *puri* ‘family’, *puril* ‘children’; Oroch *χī* ‘children’; Solon *ukkēχẽ*, *urkēχẽ* ‘young (boy, child)’, *uril* ‘children’. Proto-Mongolian **hüre* ‘seed; child, descendant’ > Written Mongolian *üre* ‘seed, grain, fruit; offspring, descendants; result, product’; Khalkha *ür* ‘seed, child, descendant’; Buriat *üri* ‘seed, child, descendant’; Kalmyk *ürṇ* ‘child, descendant’; Ordos *ür*, *üre* ‘child, descendant’; Dagur *χur* ‘child, descendant’; Monguor *furē* ‘fruit’. Poppe 1955:55. Proto-Turkic **urug* (~ *or-*) ‘seed, kin, kind; child’ > Old Turkic *uruγ* ‘seed, kin, kind’; Karakhanide Turkic *uruγ* ‘seed, kin, kind’; Turkmenian *uruɢ* ‘kin, kind’; Uzbek *uruγ* ‘seed’; Uighur *uruq* ‘seed’; Tatar *orlïq* ‘seed’; Bashkir *orloq* ‘seed’; Kirghiz *uruq* ‘kin, kind’; Kazakh *urïq* ‘seed’; Noghay *urlïq* ‘seed’; Tuva *uruγ* ‘child, girl’; Chuvash *vъʷrъʷ* ‘seed’; Yakut *urū* ‘relatives’; Dolgan *urū* ‘relatives’. Poppe 1960:111; Street 1974:24 **püre* ‘seed, fruit; result, offspring’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1187 **pʻŭri* ‘seed’.

Buck 1949:4.72 bear (of mother); 5.71 fruit. Bomhard—Kerns 1984:234—235, no. 39; Brunner 1969:22, no. 31; Möller 1911:203; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1761, **ṗ[e]rV* ~ **ṗ̂HrV* (both from **ṗ̂ûʔ[e]rV* ?) ‘fruit’, no. 1766, **ṗ̂ôr[i]* (or **ṗ̂ôHar[i]* ?) ‘child, offspring’, and, no. 1773, **P̲ar[ʔ]V* ‘to bring forth, to give birth (of animals), to breed; young of animals’.

120. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰir-* (~ **pʰer-*):
(vb.) **pʰir-* ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’;
(n.) **pʰir-a* ‘flying, flight, fleeing’
Note also:
(vb.) **pʰar-* ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’;
(n.) **pʰar-a* ‘flying, flight, fleeing’

A. Proto-Afrasian **pir-* ‘(vb.) to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee; (n.) flying, flight, fleeing’: Proto-Semitic **par-* (**na-par-*, **par-ar-*, **par-ax-*, **par-ad-*, **par-ah-*, **par-par-*) ‘to move swiftly, to hasten, to be in a hurry, to be greatly agitated; to flutter, to fly, to flee’ > Akkadian *naprušu* ‘to fly, to take flight, to flee’; Arabic *farra* ‘to flee, to run away, to desert’, *nafara* ‘to flee, to run away’, *farḫ* ‘young bird’, (reduplicated) *farfara* ‘to move, (birds) to shake wings’, *furfur* ‘small bird’; Hebrew *pāraḥ* [פָּרַח] ‘to fly’; Aramaic *pəraḥ* ‘to fly’, *parḥā* ‘young bird’; Syriac *pərað* ‘to flee’; Ugaritic **prr* ‘to flee’ (imptv. *pr* ‘flee!’), *npr* ‘fowl’; Sabaean *frh* ‘to flee’; Ḥarsūsi *fer* ‘to fly, to jump, to spring’, *ferfáyr* ‘feather’, *ferōd* ‘to run off in panic, to stampede, to flee’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ferr* ‘to fly, to flee, to jump up quickly’, *férɔ́d* ‘to stampede, to panic’, *fɛrfɔ̄r* ‘hasty’, *ənfɛrfér* ‘to have a fit, to have epilepsy, to panic’; Mehri *fər* ‘to fly, to jump up’, *fərōd* ‘to stampede, to panic, to make off, to run away’, *fərfīr* ‘hasty person’; Geez / Ethiopic *farḫ* [ፈርኅ] ‘chick, young bird’, *ʔanfarfara* [አንፈርፈረ] ‘to thrash about, to flail about, to move convulsively’; Tigre *fərfərät* ‘a bird’; Tigrinya *färärä* ‘to fly, to fly away’, *ʔanfärfärä* ‘to writhe, to flop about’; Amharic *tänfäräffärä* ‘to flop around, to writhe, to thrash about’, *fərfərt* ‘partridge’. Klein 1987:527; Leslau 1987:165 and 166; Militarëv 2010:70 Proto-Semitic **prḫ*; Zammit 2002:318. Egyptian *pry* ‘to soar, to rise’. Hannig 1995:283—284; Faulkner 1962:90—91 *priˀ* (2) ‘to go up, to ascend’; Gardiner 1957:565; Erman—Grapow 1921:54 and 1926—1963.1:520—521. Berber: Kabyle *ffərfər* ‘to flap the wings, to fly away; to fly; to go quickly’, *ifərr* ‘wing; leaves, foliage’; Tamazight *afrəw* ‘to fly’, *afər* ‘wing’; Semlal *firri* ‘to fly’; Ahaggar *fərə-t* ‘to fly’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **pur-* or **pir-* ‘to fly’ > Ma’a *púru* ‘to fly’, *-púrupúru* ‘to hop’. Ehret 1980:321. Beja / Beḍawye *fir-* ‘to fly’. Reinisch 1895:81. West Chadic **pir-* ‘to soar’ > Hausa *fìira* ‘to soar’; Angas *fiir* ‘to stretch the

wings'. Central Chadic **pVr-* 'bird's flight' > Mafa *parr*, *perr* 'bird's flight'. Newman 1977:26 Proto-Chadic **pərə* 'to fly, to jump'. Ehret 1995:96, no. 51, **pir-* 'to fly'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:424, no. 1981, **pir-* 'to fly, to soar', and 422, no. 1971, **per-* 'bird'; Takács 2011a:116—117.

B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **pirɜ* 'nimble, quick, swift' > Finnish *pireä* 'quick, swift, lively', *pirakka* 'lively'; Estonian *pirakas* 'lively, vigorous'; Lapp / Saami *bârok* 'nimble, quick, swift, light of foot'; Zyrian / Komi *peryd*, *peryt* 'quick, swift, speedy'. Rédei 1986—1988:732 **pirɜ*.

Buck 1949:3.64 bird; 4.292 wing; 4.393 feather; 10.37 fly (vb.); 10.51 flee; 14.21 swift, fast, quick. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:242—243, no. 47.

121. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰir-* (~ **pʰer-*):
(vb.) **pʰir-* 'to twist, to turn';
(n.) **pʰir-a* 'twist, twining, turn; twine, string, rope, cord'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *piri* 'twist, strand, wisp', *puri* 'to be twisted, to curl, to turn', *puri* 'cord, twine, rope, strand, twist (as of straw), curl, spiral, conch'; Malayalam *piri* 'a twist, twining', *piriyuka* 'to be twisted, warped', *pirikka* 'to twist', *puri* 'twisting, string'; Kannaḍa *puri* 'twisting, twist, twine, string'; Tuḷu *piri* 'twist, spiral thread (as of a screw)', *piripuni* 'to twist (as a rope)', *piripāvuni* 'to turn, to twist'; Telugu *piri*, *puri* 'twist, strand, twisting', *pirigonu* 'to be twisted, to twist'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:370, no. 4177.

B. Proto-Indo-European **pʰeri* 'around': Sanskrit *pári* 'around'; Avestan *pairi* 'around'; Old Persian *pariy* 'around, about'; Greek περί 'around'. Pokorny 1959:810 **per*, **peri*; Walde 1927—1932.II:29—32 **per*, **peri*; Mann 1984—1987:922—923 **peri* (**per*, **per-*) 'through, over, around'; Watkins 1985:49—50 **per* and 2000:65 **per-* base of prepositions and preverbs with the basic meaning 'forward, through' and a wide range of extended senses such as 'in front of, before, early, first, chief, toward, against, near, at, around'; Mallory—Adams 1997:581 **per-* 'over, through, about'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:216—217 **peri*, **per-*; Boisacq 1950:772—773 **peri* (**per*); Hofmann 1966:;264 **peri* (**per*); Frisk 1970—1973.II:512—513 **péri*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:886; Beekes 2010.II:1176 **per-*. For possible additional cognates, cf. Proto-Indo-European **pʰer-*/**pʰor-*/**pʰr̥-* base of prepositions and preverbs with a wide range of meanings such as 'in front of, forward, before, first, chief, forth, foremost, beyond', which is listed above under Proto-Nostratic **pʰar-* (~ **pʰər-*) '(vb.) to press forward, to precede, to hasten in advance, to overtake, to surpass, to outstrip; (adj.) chief, foremost, first'.

C. Proto-Uralic **pire* 'round; any round object; around, round about': Finnish *piiri* 'circumference, periphery; extent; compass, circle; department, district'; Lapp / Saami *birrâ* 'round, all around; close (densely) round;

round about, around; concerning, about'; Mordvin (Erza) *pire*, (Moksha) *pere* 'fenced place'; Selkup Samoyed *pör*, *pür* 'ring; round; wheel, circle', *pöruŋ*, *püruŋ* 'round, round about'; Kamassian *pjeeri* 'about, around, round about'. Collinder 1955:49, 1960:408 **pirɜ*, and 1977:67; Rédei 1986—1988:384 **pire*; Décsy 1990:106 **pirä* 'circle'.

D. Proto-Altaic **pʰerkV-* 'to tie round, to surround': Proto-Tungus **perke-* 'to bind, to tie round' > Evenki *herke-* 'to bind, to tie round'; Lamut / Even *herkъ-* 'to wrap, to envelop'; Negidal *χeyke-* 'to bind, to tie round'; Orok *pitu-* 'man's girdle'; Solon *ekke-* 'to bind, to tie round'. Proto-Mongolian **hergi-* 'to go round' > Written Mongolian *erge-*, *ergi-* 'to turn, to move around, to revolve'; Dagur *ergi-* 'to turn, to rotate'; Ordos *erge-* 'to turn, to rotate'; Khalkha *ergi-* 'to turn, to rotate'; Buriat *erye-* 'to turn, to rotate'; Monguor *χərgi-* 'to turn, to rotate'; Kalmyk *ergi-* 'to turn, to move around'; Moghol *irga-* 'to spin a spindle'. Poppe 1955:46 and 153, 1960:104; Street 1974:23 **perki-* 'to turn, to revolve, to go around'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1137 **pʻerkV* 'to tie round, to surround'.

E. Proto-Eskimo **piʁðaʁ-* 'to braid or weave': Naukan Siberian Yupik *piiXə-* 'to braid, to weave'; Central Siberian Yupik *piiXə-* 'to braid'; Sirenik *piʁcəʁ-* 'to braid, to weave'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *piʁlaq-* 'to braid'; North Alaskan Inuit *pilʸʁaq-* 'to braid'; West Canadian Inuit *pilʁaq-* 'to braid'; East Canadian Inuit *piʁʁai-* 'to plait'; Greenlandic Inuit *piʁɬaʁ-* 'to twist', *piʁɬaa-* 'to braid hair'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:263. Proto-Eskimo **piʁðaʁaʁ* 'braid or woven thing': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *piiXaq* 'woven mat'; Central Alaskan Yupik *piiXaq* 'two-ply cordage, string or interlaced fish'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *piiXaq* 'braided hair'; [Sirenik *piʁžasaq* 'braided hair']; Seward Peninsula Inuit *piʁlaaq* 'something braided (sinew, yarn, hair)'; Western Canadian Inuit *pilʁaqtat* 'braids'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *piʁʁaaq* 'plait of hair, whale ligament, thread'; Greenlandic Inuit *piʁɬaaq* 'twisted sinew thread'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1995:263—264.

Sumerian *pir* 'to wrinkle, to crumple; to be rolled up, contracted'. For the semantics, cf. Old English *wrincle* 'a wrinkle', *wrinclian* 'to wrinkle', diminutives formed from *wrencan* 'to twist, to turn' (cf. Klein 1971:832; Onions 1966:1015; Watkins 1985:76—77).

Buck 1949:10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.); 12.81 round; 12.82 circle. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:257, no. 66; Hakola 2000:139—140, no. 609; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1771, **ṗi[h|X|Q]RE* 'around' (the alleged Egyptian and Coptic cognates included by Dolgopolsky do not belong here and must be removed; furthermore, there is no evidence from the daughter languages to suggest that an initial **ṗ-* is to be reconstructed at the Proto-Nostratic level).

122. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^hir$- (~ *$p^her$-):
(vb.) *$p^hir$- ‘to tremble, to shake; to be afraid, to fear’;
(n.) *$p^hir$-*a* ‘trembling, fear’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **par-ah-* ‘to be afraid, to fear’ > Geez / Ethiopic *farha* [ፈርሀ], *farḥa* [ፈርሐ] ‘to be afraid, to fear, to revere’, *fərhat* [ፍርሐት] ‘fear, fright, terror, dread, awe, reverence’; Tigre *färha* ‘to fear, to be afraid’; Tigrinya *färhe* ‘to fear, to be afraid’; Amharic *färra* ‘to fear, to be afraid’, *fəraččа* ‘fear’; Harari *fära* ‘to fear, to be afraid’; Gurage *färe* ‘to fear, to be afraid’, *färī* ‘fear’. Leslau 1987:165—166. Proto-Semitic **par-ak’-* ‘to be terrified, afraid, frightened’ > Arabic *fariḳa* ‘to be terrified, to be dismayed, to be afraid’; Ḥarsūsi *ferōḳ* ‘to fear, to be afraid’, *fáyreḳ* ‘to be afraid, to fear’, *frōḳ* ‘to frighten’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *férəḳ* ‘to be afraid, frightened’, *efúrḳ* ‘to frighten’, *efréḳ* ‘to frighten’, *šəfréḳ* ‘to be frightened’, *fərḳét* ‘fear’, *fərḳún* ‘fearful’; Mehri *fīrəḳ* ‘to be afraid, timorous’, *frōḳ* ‘to frighten’. Zammit 2002:320. Note: Orël—Stolbova (1995:188, no. 833) reconstruct Proto-Afrasian **furVh-* ‘to fear’ on the basis of a comparison of the Ethiopian Semitic forms cited above and Lowland East Cushitic **fuur-* ‘to fear’, represented in, for example, Konso *fuur-* ‘to fear’ and Gidole *huur-* ‘to fear’. They assume that **fuur-* comes from earlier **fuHVr-*. They then claim that **fuHVr-* is to be derived from a still earlier **furVH-* through metathesis. This explanation is highly speculative and cannot be supported on the basis of the evidence they cite.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *piṟaṟ* ‘to tremble’, *piṟaṟcci*, *piṟaṟvu* ‘shivering, trembling’, *piṟakkam* ‘awe, fear’, *piṟappu* ‘fear, alarm’; Kannaḍa *piṟiki* ‘coward’; Telugu *piṟiki* ‘coward; timid, cowardly’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:372, no. 4200(a).

C. Proto-Kartvelian **pertx-* ‘to shake’: Georgian *pertx-* ‘to shake, to shake out, to beat out’; Mingrelian *partx-* ‘to clean, to scrub, to clean oneself’; Laz *patx-* ‘to shake, to shake out, to beat out’. Klimov 1964:188 **pertx-* and 1998:200 **pertx-* ‘to shake’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:354—355 **pertx-*; Fähnrich 2007:433 **pertx-*. Proto-Kartvelian **pr̥tx-* ‘to tremble, to quiver’: Georgian *prtx-* ‘to rouse oneself, to take care’, *prtx-il-* ‘careful’; Mingrelian *(p)ntx-* ‘to rouse oneself, to take care’; Laz *putx-* ‘to flutter about, to fly’; Svan *pə(r)tx-ən-*, *bərdγ-ən-* ‘to tremble, to quiver’. Klimov 1964:190 **pr̥tx-* and 1998:204 **prtx-* ‘to tremble, to rouse oneself’; Fähnrich 1994:235; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:359 **prtx-*; Fähnrich 2007:440—441 **prtx-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European *$p^herk^h$-/*$p^hr̥k^h$- (secondary *o*-grade form: *$p^hork^h$-) ‘to be afraid, to fear’: Gothic *faurhtei* ‘fear’, *faurhts* ‘fearful, afraid’, *faurhtjan* ‘to be afraid’; Old English *fyrhto* (Northumbrian *fryhto*) ‘fear, fright’, *(ge)fyrht* ‘afraid’, *fyrhtan* ‘to frighten’, *forht* ‘fearful, afraid’, *forhtian* ‘to be afraid, to fear’; Old Frisian *fruchte* ‘fear’, *fruhtia* ‘to fear’; Old Saxon *foroht*, *foraht* ‘fear’, *forahtian* ‘to fear’; Old High German

*furhten* ‘to fear’ (New High German *fürchten*), *forhta* ‘fear’ (New High German *Furcht*); Tocharian A *pärsk-*, *prask-*, B *pärsk-*, *prāsk-* ‘to be afraid, to fear’, A *praski*, B *prosko*, *proskiye* or *proskye* ‘fear’. Rix 1998a:443 **preK-* ‘to be afraid’; Pokorny 1959:820 **perg-* ‘fear’; Walde 1927—1932.II:48—49 **perg-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:198 **perk-* ‘to fear’; Orël 2003:120 Proto-Germanic **furxtaz*, 120 **furxtīn*, 120 **furxtjanan*; Kroonen 2013:161 Proto-Germanic **furhta-* ‘fearful’, **furhtjan-* ‘to fear’, **furhtō-* ‘fright’; Feist 1939:146—147; Lehmann 1986:111; Onions 1966:377; Klein 1971:296 **pṛk-* ‘(vb.) to fear; (n.) fright’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:225; Kluge—Seebold 1989:237 **perk-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:366 **pṛq-* and I:388; Adams 1999:375—376 **p(e)rK-* and 422.

E. Proto-Altaic **p*$^{h}$*i̯ŭri-* ‘to be afraid, to be angry’: Proto-Tungus **purkē-* ‘to be bored, to be angry’ > Manchu *fuče-* ‘to get angry, mad, enraged’; Evenki *hurkē-* ‘to be bored’; Lamut / Even *hörken-* ‘to be bored’. Proto-Mongolian **hurin* ‘anger’ > Written Mongolian *urin* ‘ardent passion, anger, dislike’; Khalkha *urin* ‘anger’; Buriat *uri gari bološohon* ‘to be in bad spirits’; Kalmyk *uṙṇ* ‘anger’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1162 **p‘i̯ŭri* ‘to be afraid, to be angry’. Different etymology in Poppe 1960:80, 83, 87, and 111 and Street 1974:24 (**pürk-* ‘to be afraid’).

Buck 1949:16.53 fear, fright. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:258—260, no. 68; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1793, **ṗürVḴV* (or **ṗirVḴV*) ‘to be startled, to be scared, to fear’.

123. Proto-Nostratic root **p*$^{h}$*it’*$^{y}$- (~ **p*$^{h}$*et’*$^{y}$-):
(vb.) **p*$^{h}$*it’*$^{y}$- ‘to give birth to’;
(n.) **p*$^{h}$*it’*$^{y}$*-a* ‘genitals (male or female); birth, origin’

A. Proto-Afrasian **pit’*$^{y}$- ‘(vb.) to give birth to; (n.) genitals (male or female)’: Semitic: Arabic *faẓa*, *faẓan* ‘womb’. Central Chadic **pičur-in-* ‘testicles’ > Fali Jilvu *fčerin* ‘testicles’; Fali Mubi *fučuru* ‘testicles’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:70, no. 279, **biči̯ur-*/**pi̯čur-* ‘pudenda’ (according to Orël—Stolbova, the original Central Chadic stem seems to have been **pičur-*). The Semitic material cited by Orël—Stolbova is too divergent phonetically and semantically to be related to the Chadic forms. On the other hand, though not without problems of its own, the following may belong here: Egyptian *pzdd* ‘testicles (of the god Seth)’.

B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *picci* ‘the testicles of an animal’; Telugu *picca* ‘testicle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:367, no. 4140.

C. Proto-Indo-European **p*$^{h}$*it’-* ‘(vb.) to give birth to; (n.) birth; vulva, womb’: Gothic *fitan* ‘to be in labor, to give birth to’; Danish (Jutland) *fitte* ‘vulva’; Old Irish *idu*, (gen. sg.) *idan*, (nom. pl.) *idain* ‘birth pains, pains’. Feist 1939:155—156; Lehmann 1986:118.

D. Proto-Altaic *$p^h$i̯o̯ǯi* (~ *p*-, -i̯*u*-) ‘root, origin’: Proto-Tungus **puǯuri* ‘root, beginning’ > Manchu *fuǯuri* ‘foundation, basis, origin’. Proto-Mongolian **hiǯaɣur* ‘root, origin’ > Written Mongolian *uǯuɣur*, *iǯaɣur* ‘root, origin’; Khalkha *yoʒōr* ‘root’; Dagur *oǯōr* ‘root, origin’; Monguor *sʒūr* ‘root, origin’; Ordos *iǯūr* ‘root, origin’; Buriat (Alar) *uzūr* ‘root, origin’; Kalmyk *yozūr* ‘root, origin’. Poppe 1955:42 and 119. Poppe 1960:12, 64, 121, and 139; Street 1974:24 **puǯa-gūr(i)* ‘origin’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1098 **pi̯o̯ǯi* (~ *p ʻ*-, -i̯*u*-) ‘root’.

Buck 1949:4.47 womb; 4.49 testicle. Bomhard 1996a:226—227, no. 640.

124. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^h u ʔ$- (~ *$p^h o ʔ$-):
(vb.) *$p^h u ʔ$- ‘to swell, to fatten’;
(n.) *$p^h u ʔ$-*a* ‘swelling, fullness, fat(ness)’

A. Proto-Afrasian **puʔ*- ‘to swell, to fatten’: Proto-Semitic **paʔ-am*- ‘to be or become full, to be fat’ > Hebrew *pīmāh* [פִּימָה] ‘superabundance, fat’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Arabic *faʾama* ‘to quench one’s thirst with water; to be full’, *faʾima* ‘to be fat’; Akkadian *piāmu* ‘robust’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʾafʾama* [**አፋ-አመ**] ‘to put a morsel of food in another’s mouth, to give bread to a beggar’; Gafat *(tä)famä* ‘to take a mouthful’; Amharic *fämma* (< **fmʔ*) ‘to eat’. Klein 1987:505; Leslau 1987:154. Proto-Southern Cushitic **puʔ*- ‘clump of hair’ > Iraqw *puʾumpuʾay* ‘clump of hair’; Ma’a *kipupú* ‘vulva’. Ehret 1980:146. Proto-Southern Cushitic **puʔus*- ‘to swell, to rise’ > K’wadza *puʾus*- ‘to swell, to rise’; Ma’a -*puʾú* ‘to rise (of the sun)’. Ehret 1980:146. According to Ehret, “[**puʔus*- ‘to swell, to rise’] appears to be a verb derivative of the noun stem in [**puʔ*- ‘clump of hair’]; a pre-Southern Cushitic root with the meaning ‘clump, lump, mound, swelling’ would thus seem to underlie both [**puʔ*- ‘clump of hair’] and [**puʔus*- ‘to swell, to rise’].”

B. Proto-Indo-European *$p^h oʔ(i/y)$*- ‘to swell, to fatten’: Sanskrit *páyate* ‘to swell, to fatten, to overflow, to abound’, *pī́van*- ‘swelling, full, fat’, *páyas*- ‘milk’; Greek πῑ́ων ‘fat, rich’, πῖαρ ‘fat; any fatty substance, cream’; Old Icelandic *feitr* (< Proto-Germanic **faitaz*) ‘fat’, *feita* ‘to fatten’, *feiti* ‘fatness’; Norwegian *feit* ‘fat’; Swedish *fet* ‘fat’; Danish *fed* ‘fat’; Old English *fǣtt* ‘fat’; Old Frisian *fatt*, *fett* ‘fat’; Old Saxon *feit* ‘fat’; Dutch *vet* ‘fat’; New High German *feist* ‘fat, stout’, *fett* ‘fatty, greasy’; Lithuanian *píenas* ‘milk’. Rix 1998a:419 **pei̯H*- ‘to swell up’; Pokorny 1959:793—794 **pei̯(ə)*-, **pĭ̄*- ‘to be fat’; Walde 1927—1932.II:73—75 **poi*-, **pĭ̄*-; Watkins 1985:47 **peiə*-, **pei*- and 2000:62 **peiə*- ‘to be fat, to swell’ (extended *o*-grade form **poid*-); Mallory—Adams 1997:194 **pih$_{x}$u̯r* ‘fat(ness)’; Benveniste 1935:168; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:212 **poi*- and II:297—298; Frisk 1970—1973.II:532; Boisacq 1950:781—782 **pōi*-, **pī*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:898—899; Hofmann 1966:268—269

*poi-, *pǐ̆-; Beekes 2010.II:1188 *piH-uer-; Kroonen 2013:132 Proto-Germanic *faita- ‘fat’; Orël 2003:90 Proto-Germanic *faitaz; De Vries 1977:115—116; Onions 1966:346—347 *poid-; Klein 1971:274—275 *poi-, *pǐ̆- (extended form *poid-, *pǐ̆d-); Kluge—Mitzka 1967:191 and 194—195; Kluge—Seebold 1989:208 *peiə- and 211; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:585; Smoczyński 2007.1:455. Proto-Indo-European *$p^hoʔ(i/y)$- ‘to drink, to swallow’: Sanskrit *pā́ti*, *páyate*, *píbati* (< *$p^hí$-$p^hʔ$-e-$t^hi$) ‘to drink, to swallow’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *pa-a-ši* ‘to swallow’; Greek πί̆νω (Lesbian, Aeolian πώνω) ‘to drink’; Albanian *pije-a* ‘drink, beverage’, *pi* ‘to drink’; Latin *bibō*, *pōtō* ‘to drink’; Old Irish *ibid* ‘to drink’; Old Prussian *poieiti* ‘to drink’; Old Church Slavic *pijǫ*, *piti* ‘to drink’. Rix 1998a:417—418 *$peh_3(i)$- ‘to drink’; Pokorny 1959:839—840 *pō(i)-, *pī- ‘to drink’; Walde 1927—1932.II:71—72 *pō(i)-, *pī-; Mann 1984—1987:934 *pibō ‘to drink’, 935 *pīi̯ō ‘to drink’, 935 *pīi̯o-, *pii̯-, 938 *pīnō ‘to drink, to absorb’, 935 *poi̯os (*poii̯os), -es- ‘drinking, drink’; Mallory—Adams 1997:175—176 *$peh_3(i)$- ~ *$pih_3$- ‘to swallow’ > ‘to drink’; Watkins 1985:52 *pō(i)- (contracted from *$poe̯(i)$-) and 2000:68 *pō(i)- ‘to drink’ (oldest form *$peḛ_3(i)$-, colored to *$poḛ_3(i)$-, contracted to *pō(i)-); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:402, I:426 *p[ʰ]oH-, II:702, II:703 *p[ʰ]oH(i)- and 1995.I:180 *$p^h$oH-s-, I:352 and I:373 *$p^h$oH-, I:607 *$p^h$oH(i)-, I:608 *$p^h$oH(i)-, I:856 *$p^heʔ$-, *$p^hi$-$p^hʔ$-e-$t^hi$ > *$p^hi$-p’-e-$t^hi$ > Sanskrit *pí-b-a-ti*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:252 and II:286—287 *pō(i)-, *$peḛ_3$- (= *pō-), *pi-$pḛ_3$-e-ti; Boisacq 1950:785—786 *pōi- : *pō(i)-, *pī-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:540—542 *pī-, *pōi-; Hofmann 1966:270—271 *pō(i)-, *pī-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:904—905 *pōi-, *pī-; Beekes 2010.II:1194—1195 *$peh_3$-, *$ph_3$-i-; De Vaan 2008:71—72 and 485; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:103—104 *pō(i)-, *pī-;Ernout—Meillet 1979:70 and 529; Huld 1984:103 *$piO_1$-; Orël 1998:324—325; Kloekhorst 2008b:649.

Buck 1949:5.13 drink (vb.); 5.86 milk (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:235—236, no. 40.

125. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^hul$- (~ *$p^hol$-) stem indicating downward motion:
(vb.) *$p^hul$- ‘to fall, to fall down, to collapse, to ruin, etc.’;
(n.) *$p^hul$-a ‘fall, collapse, ruin’; (adj.) ‘fallen, ruined, weakened; low, base, vile, mean’

A. Proto-Afrasian *p[u]l- verbal stem indicating any kind of downward motion: ‘to fall, to fall down, to collapse, to set (sun), etc.’: Proto-Semitic *na-pal- ‘to fall, to fall down’ > Hebrew *nāφal* [נָפַל] ‘to fall, to lie’, *mappālāh* ‘decaying ruins, heap of rubble’, *mappeleθ* ‘fall, collapse’; Aramaic *nəφal* ‘to fall, to fall down’; Akkadian *napālu* ‘to fall’ (West Semitic loan), *napalsuḫu* ‘to fall to the ground, to fall upon something, to

throw oneself to the ground, to let oneself fall to the ground'; Ugaritic *npl* 'to fall'; Arabic *nafl* 'supererogation, what is optional, prayer of free will', *naffala* 'to do more than is required by duty or obligation, to supererogate (specifically, prayers, charity, or the like)', *nafal* 'booty, loot, spoil'; Sabaean *nfl* 'to fall upon an enemy, to make an attack'; Mehri *hənfūl* 'to throw stones down; (goats, etc.) to have stones fall onto them'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *enfél* 'to throw stones down'. Klein 1987:422; Murtonen 1989:286. Hebrew *pālal* [פָּלַל] 'to pray' (originally 'to prostrate oneself in prayer'). Klein 1987:511; Murtonen 1989:339. Proto-Semitic **ʔa-pal-* 'to set (sun), to grow dark' > Arabic *ʔafala* 'to go down, to set (stars)', *ʔufūl* 'setting (of stars)'; Hebrew **ʔāφal* [אָפַל] 'to grow dark', *ʔōφel* [אֹפֶל] 'darkness', *ʔāφēl* [אָפֵל] 'dark, obscure, gloomy', *ʔăφēlāh* [אֲפֵלָה] 'darkness'; Aramaic *ʔəφal* 'to grow dark, to darken'; Akkadian *aplu* 'late'. Klein 1987:47; Murtonen 1989:98; Zammit 2002:75. West Chadic **pal-* 'to fall' > Sura *pal* 'to fall'; Chip *pal* 'to fall'; Dera *yupele* 'to fall'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:416, no. 1936, **pal-* 'to fall'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *pul* 'meanness, baseness', *pulai* 'baseness, defilement, vice, lie, adultery, outcast', *pulaiyan* 'a low-caste person', (f.) *pulaicci*, *pulaitti*, *pulaimi* 'baseness', *punmai* 'meanness, vileness, uncleanness', *pallan* 'vile, base person', *polliyār* 'low, base persons', *pollā* 'bad, vicious, evil, severe, intense', *pollāṅku*, *pollāpu* 'evil, vice, defect, deficiency, ruin', *pollăṯu* 'vice, evil', *pollāmai* 'evil, fault', *pollān* 'a wicked man', *polam* 'badness, evil'; Malayalam *pula* 'taint, pollution, defilement (especially by birth or death)', *pulayan* 'an outcast', *pulacci* 'a low-caste woman', *pollā* 'to be bad, evil', *pollāta* 'bad', *pollāppu* 'mischief'; Kannaḍa *pol*, *polla* 'meanness, badness, noxiousness', *pole* 'menstrual flow, impurity from childbirth; defilement, meanness, sin', *poleya* 'a low-caste man', (f.) *polati*, *polasu* 'impurity'; Koḍagu *pole* 'pollution caused by menstruation', birth, or death', *poleyë* 'a low-caste man', (f.) *polati* 'a low-caste woman'; Tuḷu *polè* 'pollution, defilement', *polasụ* 'dirty, unclean', *pile* 'impurity from birth or menstruation, humility'; Telugu *pulu* 'blemish or flaw (as in precious stone)'; Kuwi *pōlaʔa ki-* 'to do wrong'; Brahui *poling* 'stain, a stain on one's character'. Burrow—Emeneau 1964: 402, no. 4547; Krishnamurti 2003:11 **pul-V-* 'pollution'.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **polwx-* 'to fall down, to fall apart; to be ruined, debilitated, weakened': Old Georgian *mo-polxw-eb-a* 'to fall down, to fall apart; to be ruined, debilitated, weakened', *mo-polxw-eb-ul-i* 'ruined, debilitated, weakened'; Mingrelian *porxv-i* 'antiquated, obsolete, out-of-date', *porx-u* 'bed-ridden, weak, feeble, decrepit, infirm'; Svan *porx-ä-j*, *porx-ä* 'shuffling, lagging, straining (of gait)'. Fähnrich 2007:438 **polwx-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European **pʰol-* 'to fall, to fall down': Armenian *pʰlanim* 'to fall in'; Old Icelandic *falla* 'to fall', *fall* 'fall, death, ruin, decay, destruction', *fella* 'to fell, to make to fall, to kill, to slay'; Old English *feallan* 'to fall, to fall down, to fail, to decay, to die; to prostrate oneself',

*feall*, *fiell* ‘fall, ruin, destruction, death’, *fiellan* ‘to make to fall, to fell, to pull down, to destroy, to kill; to humble’; Faroese *falla* ‘to fall’; Danish *falde* ‘to fall’; Norwegian *falla* ‘to fall’; Swedish *fall* ‘fall, descent’, *falla* ‘to fall, to descend’; Old Frisian *falla* ‘to fall’, *fella* ‘to fell’, *fal* ‘fall’; Old Saxon *fallan* ‘to fall’, *fellian* ‘to fell’; Dutch *vallen* ‘to fall’, *vellen* ‘to fell’; Old High German *fallan* ‘to fall’ (New High German *fallen*), *fellan* ‘to fell’ (New High German *fällen*); Lithuanian *púolu*, *pùlti* ‘to fall (up)on, to attack, to assault, to fall’; Latvian *puolu*, *pult* ‘to fall’. Pokorny 1959:851 **phŏl-* ‘to fall’; Walde 1927—1932.II:103 **phŏl-*; Watkins 1985:51 **p(h)ol-* and 2000:69 **pŏl-* ‘to fall’; Mallory—Adams 1997:191 **phŏl-* ‘to fall’; Orël 2003:91 Proto-Germanic **fallanan*; Kroonen 2013:125—126 Proto-Germanic **fallan-* ‘to fall’; De Vries 1977:110 and 117; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:146; Onions 1966:343 and 350; Klein 1971:272 **phol-* and 277; Skeat 1898:203 and 205; Kluge—Lutz 1898:71; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:99 and 100; Kluge—Seebold 1989:200; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:182 **phŏl-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:666; Endzelins 1971:44, §26.

(?) Sumerian *pu-la* ‘(to be) insignificant, unimportant, mean, low, inferior’.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 1.63 shade; 4.82 weak; 10.23 fall (vb.); 12.32 low; 14.17 late (adv.); 16.72 bad. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:247, no. 53; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:97—106, no. 372, **p‘ä/jlʌ* ‘to fall’.

126. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰulʸ-* (~ **pʰolʸ-*):
(vb.) **pʰulʸ-* ‘to swell’;
(n.) **pʰulʸ-a* ‘a swelling (on the skin): blister, abscess, pimple, etc.’
Derivative:
(n.) **pʰulʸ-a* ‘that which is fat, swollen, etc.’ (> ‘tallow, grease, fat, oil, blubber, etc.’ in the daughter languages)

A. Dravidian: Tamil *poḷḷu* (*poḷḷi-*) ‘to blister, to swell’, *poḷḷal* ‘blister, swelling’; Malayalam *poḷḷu* ‘bubble’, *poḷḷuka* ‘to rise in bubbles or blisters’, *poḷḷal* ‘pustule, blistering’, *poḷḷikka* ‘to blister’, *poḷḷa* ‘blister, bubble’, *poḷukuka* ‘to blister’, *poḷukam* ‘blister, watery eruption’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:404, no. 4563.
B. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated) **pupul-* (< **pul-pul-*) ‘pimple’: Georgian *pupul-i* ‘dried up pimple’; Laz *pupu(r)-*, *pupul-* ‘pimple’; Mingrelian *pupul-* ‘abscess, pimple’. Klimov 1964:193 **pupul-* and 1998:207 **pupul-* ‘abscess’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:362 **pul-*; Fähnrich 2007:444 **pul-*.

127. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **pʰulʸ-a* ‘that which is fat, swollen, etc.’ (> ‘tallow, grease, fat, oil, blubber, etc.’ in the daughter languages)

Derivative of:
(vb.) *$p^hul^y$- ‘to swell’;
(n.) *$p^hul^y$-*a* ‘a swelling (on the skin): blister, abscess, pimple, etc.’

A. Uralic: Proto-Ugric *$p[u]l^yt^yɜ$ ‘tallow, grease, fat’ > Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *pol't'* ‘fat’, (Krasnoyarsk, Nizyam) *put'* ‘fat, tallow’; Hungarian *faggyú* ‘tallow, suet’, *faggyaz*, *faggyúz* ‘(to smear with) tallow, grease’, *faggyús* ‘tallowy, greasy’. Rédei 1986—1988:881 Proto-Ugric *$pɤl'ć ɜ$ ‘tallow, grease, fat’.
B. Proto-Eskimo **puya* ‘rancid residue of oil or grease’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Alaska Peninsula) *puya*- ‘to be permeated by stench (or stain)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *puya*-, *puyaləXtə*- ‘to be rancid (oil or grease)’ (Norton Sound Unaliq: ‘to be dirty’); Naukan Siberian Yupik *puya* ‘fat condensed on side of barrel’; Central Siberian Yupik *puya* ‘rancid residue of oil from blubber’; Sirenik *púya* ‘rancid residue of oil from blubber’, *puyapaɣŋuX* ‘smelling of rancid oil’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *puya* ‘dirt, grime; blubber dried on surface’; North Alaskan Inuit *puya* ‘dirt, sticky oil, blubber used to waterproof a skin boat’; Western Canadian Inuit *puyaq* ‘old oil or grease’, *puyaq*- ‘to get dirty’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *puyaq* ‘residue of oil, rancid oil, earwax’; Greenlandic Inuit *puya(k)* ‘dried rancid blubber oil (with which *umiaq* is greased)’, *puya*- ‘to be rancid, to have a layer of rancid blubber on it’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:271.

128. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$p^hur$-*a* ‘calf, heifer’:
Note also:
(n.) *$p^har$-*a* ‘calf, heifer’

A. Dravidian: Kota *po·ry* ‘young bullock’; Kannaḍa *hōri* ‘bull calf, bullcock’; Koḍagu *po·ri* ‘male buffalo’; Tuḷu *bōri* ‘bull, ox’. (?) Tamil *pori* ‘calf or buffalo’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:406, no. 4593.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **pur*- ‘cow’: Georgian *pur-i* ‘cow, female buffalo’; Mingrelian *puǯ-i* ‘cow’; Laz *puǯ-i* ‘cow’; Svan *pur*, *pür*, *pir-w* ‘cow’. Klimov 1964:192 **pur*- and 1998:206 **pur*- ‘cow’; Fähnrich 1994:225 and 2007:445 **pur*-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:363 **pur*-; Schmidt 1962:136.

Buck 1949:3.21 bull; 3.24 calf. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:244—245, no. 50; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1783, **ṗ[o]r[w]V* ‘female young ruminant’.

129. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^huš$- (~ *$p^hoš$-):
(vb.) *$p^huš$- ‘to breathe out, to sigh; to blow, to puff (up), to inflate’;
(n.) *$p^huš$-*a* ‘puff, breath, snort; bulge’

A. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *bus*, *busu*, *bussu*, *bos* ‘a sound to imitate the puffing or hissing of a serpent, of a pair of bellows, of the snorting of cattle, etc.’; Koḍagu *bus ku·ṭ-* ‘to hiss’; Tuḷu *busu*, *busubusu*, *bussu* ‘gasping, panting, hissing’; Telugu *busa* ‘hiss of a serpent, hissing, snorting, snoring, a deep breath, a sigh’, *busabusá* ‘noise of the boiling of water’, *busabusal-āḍu* ‘to hiss’, *bussu* ‘hiss of a snake’; Kolami *puskarileng* ‘to hiss’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:376, no. 4246.

B. Proto-Indo-European **p$^{h}$us-* ‘to puff, to blow; to blow up, to inflate; to swell, to grow’: Sanskrit *púṣyati* ‘to thrive, to flourish, to prosper; to nourish, to be nourished’, *púṣpa-m* ‘flower, blossom’, *púṣya-ḥ* ‘vigor’, *puṣṭí-ḥ*, *púṣṭi-ḥ* ‘fatness, prosperity’, *póṣa-ḥ* ‘growth, prosperity’; Pāḷi *pupphati* ‘to bloom, to flower’, *pupphita-* ‘blooming, flowering’, *puppha-* ‘flower, menses’, *puṭṭha-* ‘nourished’; Latin *pustula* ‘blister, pimple’; Old Church Slavic **puxati* ‘to blow’; Russian *pyxtét′* [пыхтеть] ‘to puff, to pant’; Czech *pýcha* ‘pride’; Latvian *pùst* ‘to blow’. Rix 1998a:433 **peu̯s-* ‘to bloom’; Pokorny 1959:846—848 **pŭ̄-*, **peu-*, **pou-*, **phu-* ‘to blow up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:79—81 **pŭ̆-*, **peu-*, **pou-*, **phu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1012 **pŭ̆skō* (**phŭ̆skō*) ‘to puff, to swell, to blow, to blow up, to well up, to erupt, to froth forth’, 1012 **pŭ̆skos*, *-ā* (**phŭ̆sk-*) ‘puff, froth, fizz, swell, bulge, bubble, bladder’, 1012 **pŭ̆slos* (**phŭ̆slo-*), *-is*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* ‘puff, blow, fizz, gush, vacuum, air-space, bladder’, 1012—1013 **pŭ̆sō* (**phŭ̆sō*), *-i̯ō* ‘to fizz, to froth, to puff, to blow, to swell’; Watkins 1985:53 **pŭ̄-* (also **phŭ̄-*) and 2000:69 **pŭ̄-* (also **phŭ̄-*) ‘to blow, to swell’; Mallory—Adams 1997:72 **p(h)eu-* ‘to blow through an aperture so as to make a noise’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:316—318 **p(h)us-* ‘to blow, to swell, to inflate’; De Vaan 2008:501—502; Ernout—Meillet 1979:547; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:392 **pu-*, **phū-*.

C. Proto-Uralic **pušɜ-* ‘to blow’: (?) Finnish *puhu-* ‘to speak’ (dial. ‘to blow’), *puhalta-* ‘to blow’, *puhallas* ‘blowing’; Estonian *puhu-* ‘to breathe, to blow, to speak, to swell’; Lapp / Saami *bosso-*/*boso-* ‘to blow (also of the wind), to blow up (inflate), to blow on, to breathe heavily’; (?) Zyrian / Komi *pušky-* ‘to blow (of the wind); to blow up (the fire)’; Vogul / Mansi *pot-* ‘to sprinkle’, *putas-* ‘to spit’; Ostyak / Xanty *pŏl-*, (Southern) *păt-* ‘to spit’; Selkup Samoyed *puttu* ‘saliva’, *putona-* ‘to spit; to spout water; to pour out’. Collinder 1955:51 and 1977:69; Rédei 1986—1988:409—410 **pušɜ-* ‘to blow’.

D. Proto-Altaic **p$^{h}$i̯ŭ̆si-* ‘to spray (from the mouth); to spout or pour forth’: Proto-Tungus **pisu-*, **pusu-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’ > Manchu *fusu-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’; Evenki *husu-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’; Lamut / Even *hus-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’; Ulch *pisuri-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’; Orok *pisitči-*, *possoli-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’; Nanay / Gold *pisi-*, *fisi-*, *fuksu-* ‘to sprinkle (water)’. Proto-Mongolian **hösür-* ‘to sprinkle, to pour’ > Written Mongolian *ösür* ‘to rush forward, to sprinkle, to splash’; Khalkha *üsre-* ‘to sprinkle’; Kalmyk *ösr-* ‘to sprinkle’; Dagur *χesurə-* ‘to sprinkle’; Monguor

*fuʒuru-*, *fuʒuru-* ‘to pour’. Proto-Turkic **üskür-* ‘to cough, to spray (from the mouth)’ > Turkish *öksür-* ‘to cough, to be at the last gasp’; Gagauz *ǖsur-* ‘to cough, to spray (from the mouth)’; Azerbaijani *öskür-* ‘to cough, to spray (from the mouth)’; Turkmenian *üsgür-* ‘to cough, to spray (from the mouth)’; Karaim *öksür-*, *öksir-* ‘to cough, to spray (from the mouth)’; Chuvash *üzər-* ‘to cough, to spray (from the mouth)’. Poppe 1960:11, 65, and 133; Street 1974:24 **püsü-* ‘to squirt out, to pour’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1163—1164 **p‘i̯ŭsi* ‘to sprinkle’.

Buck 1949:4.51 breathe; breath. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1815, **PušV* ‘to blow’; Illič-Svityč 1965:339 **p̀ušʌ* ‘to blow’ (‘дуть’).

## 22.4. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *pʰ (> PROTO-AFRASIAN *f)

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| pʰ- | f- | p- | p- | pʰ- | p- | pʰ- | p- |
| -pʰ- | -f- | -pp-/-v- | -p- | -pʰ- | -p- | -pʰ- | -p(p)- |

130. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^haħ$- (~ *$p^həħ$-):
(vb.) *$p^haħ$- ‘to warm, to heat, to burn’;
(n.) *$p^haħ$-*a* ‘fire, flame, spark’
Extended form:
(vb.) *$p^haħ$-*V*-*w*- ‘to warm, to heat, to burn’;
(n.) *$p^haħ$-*w*-*a* ‘fire, flame, spark’

A. Proto-Afrasian **f[a]ħ*- ‘(vb.) to warm, to heat, to burn; (n.) fire, embers’: Proto-Semitic **paħ-am*- ‘glowing coal(s), embers’ > Hebrew *peḥām* [פֶּחָם] ‘coal, charcoal for embers’; Syriac *paḥmā* ‘coal, charcoal’; Ugaritic *pḥm* ‘live coal(s)’; Arabic *faḥm* ‘charcoal, coal’; Sabaean *fḥm* ‘incense altars’; Akkadian *pēntu* (for *pēmtu*) ‘glowing coal’; Geez / Ethiopic *fəḥm* [ፍሕም] ‘coals, carbon, live coals, embers’; Tigre *fäḥam* ‘charcoal’; Tigrinya *fəḥmi* ‘charcoal’; Argobba *fəḥəm* ‘charcoal’; Amharic *fəm* ‘charcoal’; Gurage *fem* ‘coal’; Harari *fēḥama* ‘to be red hot’. Murtonen 1989:338; Klein 1987:502; Leslau 1987:157. Egyptian *wfḫ* ‘to burn’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.1:306. Central Chadic **ʔa-f[wa]*- ‘fire’ > Logone *fo* ‘fire’; Musgu *afu* ‘fire’; Gidar *afa* ‘fire’; Mbara *fee* ‘fire’. According to Orël—Stolbova (1995:186, no. 819), “irregular vowels in individual [Chadic] languages may continue **-yaHu-*/**-waHu-*”. They also consider the *w*- in Egyptian *wfḫ* to stand for a rounded vowel — in my opinion, the *w*- is a prefix. Orël—Stolbova 1995:186, no. 819, **foḫ*- ‘(vb.) to burn; (n.) fire’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *pū* ‘spark (as of fire)’; Kui *pūvala* ‘spark’; Kuwi *pūya* ‘embers’, *puva* ‘spark’, *puyā* ‘burning coal’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:384, no. 4347.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **px*- ‘warm (weather)’: Georgian *px*- in *za-px-ul-i* ‘summer’; Laz *px*- in *ma-px-a* ‘clear weather, cleared up (sky)’; Svan *px*- in *lu-px-w* ‘summer’, *mē-px-e*, *mā̄-px-e* ‘cleared up (sky)’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:366—367 **px*-; Klimov 1964:194 **px*- and 1998:209 **px*- ‘to be clear (of weather)’; Fähnrich 2007:450 **px*-.

D. Proto-Indo-European *$p^hé\underline{ħ}\underline{ḫ}$-*ur*- [*$p^há\underline{ħ}\underline{ḫ}$-*ur*-], *$p^hə\underline{ħ}\underline{ḫ}$-*wór*- ‘fire’: Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *pa-aḫ-ḫu-ur*, *pa-aḫ-ḫu-wa-ar*, *pa-aḫ-ḫur* ‘fire’, (gen. sg.) *pa-aḫ-ḫu-e-na-aš*; Luwian (nom. sg.) *pa-a-ḫu-u-ur* ‘fire’; Greek πῦρ ‘fire’; Umbrian *pir* ‘fire’; Gothic *fōn* ‘fire’, (gen. sg.) *funins*; Old Icelandic *fúrr* ‘fire’, *funi* ‘flame’; Old Danish *fyr* ‘fire’; Old English *fȳr* ‘fire’; Old Frisian

*fiur*, *fior* ‘fire’; Old Saxon *fiur* ‘fire’; Dutch *vuur* ‘fire’; Old High German *fiur*, *fuir* ‘fire’ (New High German *Feuer*); Tocharian A *por*, B *puwar* ‘fire’; Old Czech *púř* ‘glowing ashes, embers’; Armenian *hur* ‘fire’; (?) Old Prussian *panno* ‘fire’. Pokorny 1959:828 **peu̯ōr*, **pŭr* ‘fire’, (gen. sg.) **pu-n-és*, (loc. sg.) **puu̯éni*; Walde 1927—1932.II:14—15 **peu̯ōr*, (gen. sg.) **pu-n-és*, (loc. sg.) **puu̯éni*; Mann 1984—1987:1016 **puu̯ər* (**puʔu̯ur*, **pūr*) ‘fire’; Watkins 1985:53 **pūr-* (contracted from **pua̯r-*, zero-grade form of **paa̯wr̥*) and 2000:61 **paa̯wr̥* ‘fire’ (oldest form **pea̯₂wr̥*, colored to **paa̯₂wr̥*, with zero-grade **pa̯₂ur*, metathesized to **pua̯₂r*, contracted to **pūr*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:210, I:274, II:699 **p[ʰ]Ḫ̥Hur* and 1995.I:181, I:238—239, I:605 **pʰḪ̥Hur* ‘fire’; Mallory—Adams 1997:202 **péh₂ur* ‘fire’; Benveniste 1935:169 **péa̯₂-w-r* > **péa̯₂ur*; Beekes 2010.II:1260—1261 **peh₂-ur*, **ph₂-uen-s*; Boisacq 1950:828—829; Hofmann 1966:291 **péu̯ōr*, **punés*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:956—957; Frisk 1970—1973.II:627—629 **p(e)u̯ōr* : **pŭr-* : **puu̯en-* : **pŭn-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:612—613 **péh₂-ur*, **ph₂-uen-s*; Sturtevant 1951:40, §62d, Indo-Hittite **péxwr*; Puhvel 1984— .8:18—26 **péA₁wr*, (“collective” pl.) **p(e)A₁wṓr*, (gen. sg.) **p(e)A₁wéns*; Orël 2003:121 Proto-Germanic **fuwer* ~ **fūr*; Kroonen 2013:151 Proto-Germanic **fōr-* ~ **fun-* ‘fire’ (< **péh₂-ur*; gen. sg. **ph₂-un-ós*); De Vries 1977:147 and 149; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:205; Feist 1939:158—159 **pāu̯-er* ‘fire’, (gen.) **pū-nós*; Lehmann 1986:120 **pex-w-* ‘fire’; Onions 1966:357 West Germanic **fūir*; Klein 1971:282 **pewōr-*, **pūwer-*; Skeat 1898:209; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:115 **peh₂-ur*, **p(e)h₂-uen-s*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:195 **peu̯ōr*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:212 **pehwr̥*, **phwnos*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:382—383 **peu̯ōr*; Adams 1999:392—393 **peh₂wr̥*, **peh₂wōr*, **ph₂ur-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:540—545 **péh₂u̯r̥* (?),**p(e)h₂u̯ōr*, **ph₂ur/n-*, **p(e)h₂u̯er/n-*; Miklosich 1886:269. Note: Old Prussian loanword in Finnish *panu* ‘fire(-god)’.

E. Proto-Uralic **päwe-* ‘(vb.) to heat, to warm; (adj.) warm’: Lapp / Saami *bivvâ-*/*bivâ-* ‘to keep warm (not feel cold)’, *bivvâl* ‘warm (mild)’; Zyrian / Komi *pym* ‘hot, boiling; sweaty’; Ostyak / Xanty *pəm* ‘warmth, warm weather, hot, (hot) steam (in a Russian bath); (visible) breath’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *pyyw* ‘warm, dry wind (especially in the summer)’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *feabeme-* ‘to warm oneself’; Selkup Samoyed *pöö* ‘warm, hot; heat’; Kamassian *pide-* ‘to warm’. Décsy 1990:105 **pävä* ‘warm’; Collinder 1955:6, 1960:405 **päwɜ*, and 1977:27; Rédei 1986—1988:366—367 **päwe*; Sammallahti 1988:540 **päjwä* ‘sun, warmth’; Janhunen 1977b:120 **pejwä*.

Buck 1949:1.81 fire. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:238—239, no. 43; Illič-Svityč 1965:352 **ṗiγwʌ* ‘fire’ (‘огонь’); Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1671, **ṗä[ɣ]üwA* ‘fire’ (→ ‘heat’ → ‘daylight, day’).

131. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$p^h$*al-a* ‘skin, hide’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **fal-*, **ful-* ‘skin, hide’: Proto-Southern Cushitic **fal-* or **faal-* ‘skin, hide; rash’ > Burunge *fala* ‘hide’; Asa *fulo* ‘hide’; Ma’a *-fwáli* ‘to scratch, to itch’, *ufwá* ‘rash’. Ehret 1980:150. East Chadic **pulVl-* ‘shell’ > Tumak *puləl* ‘shell’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:188, no. 831, **ful-* ‘hide, husk’.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$p^h$*el-* ‘skin, hide’: Greek πέλμα ‘sole (of foot, of shoe)’, πελλο-ράφος ‘sewing skins together’ (ῥάπτω ‘to sew together’); Latin *pellis* ‘skin, hide’; Gothic **filleins* ‘made of leather’, *faura-filli* ‘foreskin’; Old Icelandic *fjall*, *fell* ‘skin, hide’; Swedish *fjäll* ‘skin, hide’; Old English *fell* ‘skin, hide, fur’, *fellen* ‘made of skins’, *filmen*, *fylmen* ‘film, thin skin, foreskin’; Old Frisian *fel* ‘skin, hide’, *filmene* ‘membrane on the eye, foreskin’; Old Saxon *fel* ‘skin’; Old High German *fel* ‘skin’ (New High German *Fell*), *fillīn* ‘made of skins’; Lithuanian *plėvẽ* ‘membrane’; Russian *pleva* [плева] ‘membrane, film, coat’. Pokorny 1959:803—804 **pelə-*, **plē-* ‘skin, hide’; Walde 1927—1932.II:58—59 **pel-*; Mann 1984—1987:916—917 **peln-* ‘skin, membrane, film’; Watkins 1985:48 **pel-* and 2000:63 **pel-* ‘skin, hide’ (suffixed form **pel-no-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:227—228 *$p^*[^h]$*el-H-* ~ *$p^*[^h]$*l-eH-* (root *$p^*[^h]$*el-) and 1995.I:197 *$p^*h$*el-H-* ~ *$p^*h$*l-eH-* (root *$p^*h$*el-) ‘skin’; Mallory—Adams 1997:268—269 **péln-* ‘animal skin, hide’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:499—500; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:877; Hofmann 1966:260; Boisacq 1950:763 **pel-*; Beekes 2010.II:1168 **pel* -;De Vaan 2008:455; Ernout—Meillet 1979:493—494; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:275—276 **pel-*; Orël 2003:97 Proto-Germanic **fellan*, 97 **fellīnaz*, 97 **felmaz*; Kroonen 2013:135 Proto-Germanic **fella-* ‘membrane, skin, hide’; Feist 1939:152 **pel-*; Lehmann 1986:115—116 **pel-*; De Vries 1977:123; Onions 1966:349 **pello-* : **pelno-* and 356; Klein 1971:277 **pel-* and 281; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:103; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:192 **pello-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:209; Derksen 2015:366; Smoczyński 2007.1:474; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:620.

C. (?) Altaic: Proto-Turkic **el-tiri* ‘skin of kid or lamb’ > Turkish (dial.) *elteri* ‘skin of kid or lamb’; Turkmenian (dial.) *elter*, *elteri* ‘skin of kid or lamb’; Uighur *älterä* ‘skin of kid or lamb’; Tatar *iltĭr* ‘skin of kid or lamb’; Kazakh *eltĭrĭ* ‘skin of kid or lamb’; Noghay *eltiri* ‘skin of kid or lamb’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1153—1154 **p‘i̯ole* ‘blanket, skin (as covering)’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also include putative Tungus, Mongolian, and Japanese cognates with meanings like ‘(vb.) to dress, to soften, to tan (leather); (n.) blanket, sleeping bag, cloak’. These have not been included here since the semantics appear to be too divergent to support the Altaic etymology as written.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin, hide. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:252—253, no. 60.

132. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^hid$- (~ *$p^hed$-):
(vb.) *$p^hid$- ‘to tear, to pluck, to pull; to tear off, to pluck off, to pull off; to tear out, to pluck out, to pull out’;
(n.) *$p^hid$-*a* ‘the act of pulling, tearing, plucking’

A. Proto-Afrasian **fed*- ‘to tear, to pluck, to pull; to tear off, to pluck off, to pull off; to tear out, to pluck out, to pull out’: Egyptian *fdỉ* ‘to pluck (flowers), to pull up (plants), to uproot, to pull out (hair), to remove’, *fdq* ‘to sever, to divide, to part’. Hannig 1995:308 and 309; Faulkner 1962:99; Gardiner 1957:567; Erman—Grapow 1921:58. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *feḍig* (< **fedik’*-) ‘to split, to separate’. Reinisch 1895:76—77. Highland East Cushitic **fed*- ‘to tear (cloth)’ > Burji *feedi*- ‘to tear (cloth)’. Hudson 1989:149. Orël—Stolbova 1995:179, no. 790, **fed*- ‘to tear’, no. 791, **fediḳ*- ‘to split’. Different etymology in Ehret 1995:100, no. 69, **fad*- ‘to draw out, to pull out’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *piṭuṅku* (*piṭuṅki*-) ‘to pull out or off, to pluck up, to extort, to break through an obstruction, to vex, to give trouble’, *piṭuṅkal* ‘pulling out, extortion, annoyance’; Malayalam *piṭuṅṅuka* ‘to pull out, to extort, to vex’, *piṭaruka* ‘to be plucked up’, *piṭarttuka* ‘to root up, to open a boil’; Toda *pïṛy*- (*pïṛs*-) ‘(boil) opens’, *pïṛc*- (*pïṛč*-) ‘to open (a boil)’; Kannaḍa *piḍaga*, *piḍagu*, *piḍugu* ‘trouble, affliction, disease’; Telugu *puḍuku* ‘to pluck off, to nip off, to squeeze, to press’; Kui *pṛunga*- (*pṛungi*-) ‘to be snapped, broken off, plucked’, *pṛupka*- (< **pṛuk-p*-; *pṛukt*-) ‘to snap, to break off, to pluck’, *brunga* (*brungi*-) ‘to be plucked out’, *brupka* (< **bruk-p*-; *brukt*-) ‘to pluck, to pluck out, to pull out’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:368, no. 4152.

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.).

133. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^hil^y$- (~ *$p^hel^y$-):
(vb.) *$p^hil^y$- ‘to split, to cleave’;
(n.) *$p^hil^y$-*a* ‘split, crack’

A. Proto-Afrasian **fil*- ‘to split, to cleave’: [Proto-Semitic **pal-ag*- ‘to split, to cleave, to divide’ > Hebrew *pālaγ* [פָּלַג] ‘to split, to cleave, to divide’, *peleγ* [פֶּלֶג] ‘canal, channel’; Arabic *falağa* ‘to split, to cleave’; Phoenician *plg* ‘to divide’; Ugaritic *plg* ‘canal, stream’; Akkadian *palgu* ‘canal’; Ḥarsūsi *felēg* ‘water-course’; Mehri *fəlēg* ‘stream, water-course’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *fɔ́lɔ́g* ‘to split open, to make a hole in (tin, barrel, rock)’, *félég* ‘oasis’ (Eastern dialect = ‘stream’); Geez / Ethiopic *falaga* [ፈለገ] ‘to flow, to cause to flow in torrents, to dig out, to hollow out, to divide, to split, to hew, to prepare, to arrange’, *falag* [ፈለግ] ‘river, brook, valley’, *fəlug* [ፍሉግ] ‘hollow, hollowed, dug out, divided, prepared, ready, arranged’; Tigre *fäläg* ‘ravine’; Tigrinya *fäläg* ‘riverbed’; Amharic *fäläg* ‘stream’

(Geez loan). Klein 1987:508; Leslau 1987:159; Murtonen 1989:340. Proto-Semitic **pal-ay-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Arabic *faliya* ‘to be cut off’; Aramaic *pəlā* ‘to split, to cut open’; Geez / Ethiopic *falaya* [ፈለየ] ‘to separate, to divide, to distinguish’; Tigrinya *fäläyä* ‘to separate’; Tigre *fäla* ‘to separate’. Leslau 1987:161. Proto-Semitic **pal-aḥ-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Hebrew *pālaḥ* [פָּלַח] ‘to cleave’; Arabic *falaḥa* ‘to split, to cleave, to plow, to till’. Klein 1987:509; Murtonen 1989:340. Proto-Semitic **pal-am-* ‘to split, to divide’ > Arabic (Daṯina) *falam* ‘to notch, to indent’; Geez / Ethiopic *falama* [ፈለመ] ‘to split, to divide, to strike the first blow (in combat), to be the first to do something’; Tigre *fälma* ‘to break to pieces’; Tigrinya *fällämä* ‘to begin’; Amharic *fällämä* ‘to strike the first blow, to initiate an action’. Leslau 1987:159. Proto-Semitic **pal-ak’-* ‘to split, to cleave, to break forth’ > Akkadian *palāḳu* ‘to kill’; Arabic *falaḳa* ‘to split, to cleave; to burst, to break (dawn)’; Sabaean *flḳ* ‘system of irrigation by dispersion of water by means of inflow cuts’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *fɔ̄lɔ́ḳ* ‘to split, to crack’; Tigrinya *fälḳäḳä* ‘to split up, to crack up’; Tigre *fələḳ* ‘division’; Harari *fäläḳa* ‘to hit the head with a stone or stick so that blood comes out or the head swells’; Amharic *fäläḳḳäḳä* ‘to split, to break loose’; Gurage (Wolane) *fəläḳäḳä* ‘to card wool by splitting’. Leslau 1963:62 and 1979:232. Proto-Semitic **pal-at’-* ‘to separate’ > Hebrew *pālaṭ* [פָּלַט] ‘to escape’; Phoenician *plṭ* ‘to escape’; Geez / Ethiopic *falaṭa* [ፈለጠ] ‘to separate’; Harari *fäläṭa* ‘to split wood with an ax’; Argobba *fälläṭa* ‘to split’; Amharic *fälläṭä* ‘to split’; Gurage *fäläṭä* ‘to split wood with an ax’. Klein 1987:509; Leslau 1963:63, 1979:232, and 1987:161; Murtonen 1989:340—341. Proto-Semitic **pal-as$^{y}$-* ‘to break open or through’ > Hebrew *pālaš* [פָּלַשׁ] ‘to break open or through’; Akkadian *palāšu* ‘to dig a hole’. Klein 1987:512. Proto-Semitic **pal-al-* ‘to separate, to divide’ > Arabic *falla* ‘to dent, to notch, to blunt; to break; to flee, to run away’; Hebrew *pālal* [פָּלַל] ‘to arbitrate, to judge’; Akkadian *palālu* ‘to have rights, to secure someone’s rights’; Sabaean *fll* ‘to cut channels’; Mehri *fəl* ‘to make off, to get away’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *fell* ‘to make off, to get away, to run away’; Geez / Ethiopic (reduplicated) *falfala* [ፈልፈለ] ‘to break out, to burst, to gush’; Tigre *fäläla* ‘to sprout forth, to break through’; Tigrinya *fälfälä* ‘to break, to make a hole’; Amharic *fäläffälä* ‘to shell (peas, beans), to gush out’; Harari *filäfäla* ‘to detach a piece from the main bunch (bananas, corn), to shell, to pick up grains one by one from the stock’; Gurage *fəläfälä* ‘to shell, to hatch out, to make a hole by scratching’. Klein 1987:511; Leslau 1987:158—159. Proto-Semitic **pal-aʕ-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Arabic *falaʿa* ‘to split, to cleave, to rend, to tear asunder’, *falʿ*, *filʿ* ‘crack, split, crevice, fissure, cleft, rift’.] Berber: Tuareg *əfli*, *əfləh* ‘to be split; to split, to crack’, *səfli*, *zəfləh* ‘to cause to split’; Siwa *əfli* ‘to be split’; Mzab *fəl* ‘to pierce; to be pierced’; Kabyle *flu* ‘to pierce’. Highland East Cushitic **fil-dˀ-* ‘to separate, to comb’ > Gedeo / Darasa *fil-*, *fi’l-* ‘to comb’, *fila* ‘comb’; Sidamo *fil-* ‘to choose the best ensete fibers’. Hudson

1989:43. Proto-Southern Cushitic *_ful-_ ‘to bore a hole’ > Iraqw _ful-_ ‘to bore a hole’. Ehret 1980:322. Ehret 1995:105, no. 81, *_fil-_ ‘to cut a hole or cavity in’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:191, no. 845, *_fVl-_ ‘to divide, to pierce’. Note: The Semitic forms are phonologically ambiguous — they may belong either here or with Proto-Afrasian *_pal-_ ‘to split, to cleave’ (cf. Orël—Stolbova 1995:416, no. 1938, *_pal-_ ‘to cut, to divide’).

B. Dravidian: Tamil _piḷ_ (_piḷv-_, _piṇṭ-_; _piḻp-_, _piṭṭ-_) ‘to burst open, to be rent or cut, to be broken to pieces, to disagree; to cleave asunder, to divide, to crush’, _piḷa_ ‘to be split, cleaved, rent, cracked, disunited; to split, to cleave, to rend, to tear apart, to part asunder, to pierce’; Malayalam _piḻaruka_ ‘to burst asunder, to split, to cleave’, _piḷarkka_, _piḻakka_ ‘to split, to cleave, to rend’, _peḷikka_ ‘to burst, to split, to disembowel (fish)’; Tuḷu _puḻevu_ ‘a crack’; Kui _plinga_ (_plingi-_) ‘to be split, burst, cracked’; Parji _pil-_ ‘to crack’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:371—372, no. 4194.

C. [Proto-Kartvelian *_plet-_/*_plit-_ ‘to pull, tear, or rip apart’: Georgian _plet-_, _plit-_ ‘to pull, tear, or rip apart’; Laz _plat-_ ‘to get worn out; to tear to pieces’; Svan _pet-_, _pt-_ ‘to pluck (wool)’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:358 *_plet-_/*_plit-_; Fähnrich 2007:437 *_plet-_/*_plit-_; Klimov 1998:202 *_plet-_ : *_plit-_ : *_plt-_ ‘to wear out’.] Note: The Kartvelian material may belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic *_pʰal-_ (~ *_pʰəl-_) ‘(vb.) to split, to cleave; (n.) split, crack’.

D. [Proto-Indo-European *_(s)pʰel-_/*_(s)pʰol-_/*_(s)pʰl̥-_, *_(s)pʰl-_ (plus various extensions) ‘to split, to cleave’: Sanskrit _phálati_ ‘to split, to cleave’, _spháṭati_ (< *_sphalt-_) ‘to burst, to expand’; Kashmiri _phalun_ ‘to be split’, _phālawun_ ‘to split, to cleave’; Marathi _phāḷṇẽ_ ‘to tear’; Old Icelandic _flá_ ‘to flay’, _flaska_ ‘to split’, _flakna_ ‘to flake off, to split’; Old English _flēan_ ‘to flay’; Dutch _vlaen_ ‘to flay’; Old High German _spaltan_ ‘to split, to cleave’ (New High German _spalten_); Lithuanian _plýšti_ ‘to split, to break, to burst’. Rix 1998a:525 *_(s)pelH-_ ‘to split (off), to cleave’, 525 *_(s)pelt-_ ‘to split’; Pokorny 1959:834 *_plē-_, *_plə-_ ‘to split off’, 835 *_plēk̂-_, *_pləḱ-_, *_plēiḱ-_, *_plīḱ-_ ‘to tear off’, 985—987 *_(s)p(h)el-_ ‘to split off’, 937 *_(s)p(h)elg-_ ‘to split’; Walde 1927—1932.II:93 *_plēi-_, *_pləi-_, *_plī-_, II:98—99 *_plēk̂-_, *_pləḱ-_, *_plēiḱ-_, *_plīḱ-_, II:677—679 *_(s)p(h)el-_, II:680 *_sp(h)elg-_; Mann 1984—1987:949 *_pleiḱs-_ (*_pleisḱ-_), 1270 *_sphălt-_ ‘to bang, to burst’; Mallory—Adams 1997:567 *_pleḱ-_ ‘to break, to tear off’; Watkins 1985:52 *_plēk-_ (*_pleik-_) ‘to tear’, 63 *_spel-_ ‘to split, to tear off’ and 2000:68 *_plē-(i)k-_ (also *_pleik-_) ‘to tear’ (oldest form *_pleə̯₁-(i)ḱ-_), 2000:82 *_spel-_ ‘to split, to break off’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:393; Orël 2003:361; De Vries 1977:127, 128, and 129; Onions 1966:361; Klein 1971:285; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:718—719; Kluge—Seebold 1989:682; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:625.] Note: The Indo-European material may belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic *_pʰal-_ (~ *_pʰəl-_) ‘(vb.) to split, to cleave; (n.) split, crack’.

E. Proto-Uralic **pilʸɜ-* ‘to split, to cleave’: Votyak / Udmurt *pil'-* ‘to cut asunder, to split, to divide’; Zyrian / Komi *pel'-* ‘(a) part’, *pel'-* ‘to come off, to get loose, to crack off, to be split off’, *pel'em* ‘splinter, small piece of wood, small board’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *filimia*, *fil'imiˀa* ‘little bit, fragment’. Collinder 1955:49, 1960:408 **pil'ɜ-*, and 1977:67; Rédei 1986—1988:389 **poδ'ɜ*. But, note Dolgopolsky’s comment (2008, no. 1711): “hardly from FU **poδ'ɜ* [= **poźV*] … because of its vowel”. Dolgopolsky reconstructs Proto-Finno-Ugrian **peĺV* ‘to split, to divide, to crush’. It is Collinder’s reconstruction that is followed here.

F. Proto-Eskimo **pilaɣ-* ‘to butcher’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *pilaɣ-* ‘to butcher’; Central Alaskan Yupik *pilaɣ-* ‘to slit, to cut into, to butcher’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *pilaɣ-* ‘to cut, to perform surgery’; Central Siberian Yupik *pilaɣ-* ‘to slit up, to butcher’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *pilak-* ‘to butcher’; North Alaskan Inuit *pilʸak-* ‘to butcher’; Western Canadian Inuit *pilak-* ‘to butcher’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pilak-* ‘to butcher’; Greenlandic Inuit *pilaɣ-* ‘to butcher’. Cf. Aleut (Atkan) *hilɣi-* ‘to dig (for roots, etc.), to dig out (fox — its den)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:262. Proto-Eskimo **pilaɣtuʀ-* ‘to cut up’: Central Alaskan Yupik *pilaxtuʀ-* ‘to undergo or perform surgery’; Central Siberian Yupik *pilaxtuʀ-* ‘to cut repeatedly, to saw’; [Seward Peninsula Inuit *pilaaqtuq-* ‘to cut up (meat)’]; North Alaskan Inuit *pilʸaktuq-* ‘to perform surgery on’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pilattu(q)-* ‘to cut up, to operate on’; Greenlandic Inuit *pilattuʀ-* ‘to cut or saw up, to operate on’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:262. Proto-Inuit **pilaun* ‘knife for butchering’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *pilaun* ‘large knife used for butchering’; North Alaskan Inuit *pilʸaun* ‘knife for butchering’; Western Canadian Inuit *pilaun* ‘knife for butchering’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pilauti* ‘hunting knife, lancet’; Greenlandic Inuit (East Greenlandic) *pilaalaq* ‘knife’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:262.

Buck 1949:9.27 split (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:230—231, no. 35; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1711, **ṗeL[i]yV* ‘to split, to separate’; Brunner 1969:22, no. 38; Möller 1911:196—197; Hakola 2000:140, no. 612; Fortescue 1998:156.

134. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰin-* (~ **pʰen-*):
(vb.) **pʰin-* ‘to break’;
(n.) **pʰin-a* ‘break’

A. Proto-Afrasian **fin-* ‘to break’: Semitic: Arabic *fanaḫa* ‘to bruise a bone without breaking it; to subdue, to overcome, to humiliate’. Berber: Kabyle *ʃfunnəḫ* ‘to beat’. West Chadic **fin-H-* ‘to break’ > Kulere *fiŋy-* ‘to break’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:182, no. 804, **finaḫ-* ‘to break’.

B. Dravidian: Parji *pin-* ‘to be broken’, *pinip-* (*pinit-*) ‘to break (tr.)’; Gadba (Ollari and Salur) *pun-* ‘to be broken’, (Ollari) *punup-* (*punut-*), (Salur) *punk-* (*punt-*) ‘to break (tr.)’; Gondi *pinkānā* ‘to break up (of stiff things like hard bread or sweets), to chew’; Brahui *pinning* ‘to be broken’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:373, no. 4206.

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.).

135. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰir-* (~ **pʰer-*):
(vb.) **pʰir-* ‘to ask, to request, to entreat, to beseech, to pray’;
(n.) **pʰir-a* ‘request, entreaty, prayer’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **fir-* ‘to pray, to ask for (something)’ > Iraqw *fìrim-* ‘to pray, to ask for (something)’; Burunge *firim-* ‘to pray, to ask for (something)’; Alagwa *fìrim-* ‘to pray, to ask for (something)’; Ma’a *-fi* ‘to perform (a ceremony)’. Ehret 1980:151.

B. Proto-Indo-European **pʰerkʰ-/*pʰorkʰ-/*pʰr̥kʰ-*, **pʰrekʰ-/*pʰrokʰ-/*pʰr̥kʰ-* ‘to ask, to request’: Sanskrit *pṛcchāti* ‘to ask, to question, to interrogate, to inquire about’, *praśná-ḥ* ‘question, inquiry, query’; Avestan *pərəsaiti* ‘to ask, to question’, *frašna-* ‘question’; Armenian *harçanem* ‘to ask’, *harç* ‘question’; Latin *poscō* (< **porc-scō*) ‘to ask, to request’, *prex* ‘request, entreaty’, *precor*, *-ārī* ‘to beg, to entreat, to request, to pray, to invoke’; Umbrian *persklum* ‘prayer’; Middle Welsh (3rd sg.) *arch-af* ‘to ask’, *arch* ‘request’; Gothic *fraihnan* ‘to question’; Old Icelandic *fregna* ‘to ask’, *frétt* ‘inquiry’; Swedish (dial.) *frega* ‘to ask’; Old English *gefrāgian* ‘to learn by asking’, *fricgan* ‘to ask, to inquire, to question’, *frignan* ‘to ask, to inquire’, *freht*, *friht* ‘divination’; Old Frisian *frēgia* ‘to ask’, *frēge* ‘question’; Old Saxon *frāgōn* ‘to ask’; Old High German *frāgēn*, *frāhēn* ‘to ask’ (New High German *fragen*), *frāga* ‘question’ (New High German *Frage*), *forsca* ‘inquiry’; Lithuanian *peršù*, *prašýti* ‘to ask, to beg’; Old Church Slavic *prositi* ‘to ask’; Tocharian A *prak-*, *pärk-*, B *prek-*, *pärk-* ‘to ask’. Rix 1998a:442—443 **prek̂-* ‘to ask’; Pokorny 1959:821—822 **perk̂-*, **prek̂-*, **pr̥k̂-*, **pr̥k̂-skō* ‘to ask, to request’; Walde 1927—1932.II:44 **perek̂-* (**perk̂-*, **prek̂-*, **pr̥k̂-*); Mann 1984—1987:924 **perk̂skō*, 985 **prek̂-* ‘to ask, to petition’, 992—993 **prok̂ō*, *-i̯ō*; **prok̂-* ‘(vb.) to beg, to ask; (n.) question’, 1001 **pr̥k̂s-*, **pr̥k̂smn-* ‘question’, 1001 **pr̥k̂skō* ‘to ask, to beg, to beseech’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:176, I:237, I:241 **p[ʰ]erk̂[ʰ]-*, **p[ʰ]rek̂[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:152, I:206, I:208, I:209 **pʰerk̂ʰ-*, **pʰrek̂ʰ-* ‘to ask’; Watkins 1985:53 **prek-* and 2000:69 **prek-* ‘to ask, to entreat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:33 **perk̂-* ‘to ask, to ask for’; De Vaan 2008:483; Ernout—Meillet 1979:525—526 and 534; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:346—347; Adams 1999:371—372 **prek̂-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:386; Orël 2003:112—113 Proto-Germanic **freɣnanan* ~ **frexnanan*; Kroonen 2013:153 Proto-Germanic

**frēgō-* ‘question’, 154 **frehnan-* ‘to announce; rumor’, and 162 **furskō-* ‘inquiry’; Lehmann 1986:122—123 **per-k̂-*, **pre-k̂-*; Feist 1939:161—162 **perek̂-*; De Vries 1977:140—141 and 142; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:214 **prek̂-*, **pr̥k̂-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:229; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:329; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:647; Smoczyński 2007.1:464—465 **preḱ-*/**pr̥ḱ-*.

C. Proto-Altaic **pʰĭru-* ‘to pray, to bless’: Proto-Tungus **pirugē-* ‘to pray’ > Manchu *firu-* ‘to curse, to implore, to pray’; Evenki *hirugē-* ‘to pray’; Lamut / Even *hirge-* ‘to pray’; Negidal *χīγē-* ‘to pray’; Solon *irugē-* ‘to pray’. Proto-Mongolian **hirüɣe-* ‘(vb.) to pray, to bless; (n.) blessing, benediction’ > Written Mongolian *irüge-* ‘to bless, to pray’, *irügel* ‘blessing, benediction’; Middle Mongolian *hirüʔer* ‘blessing, benediction’; Khalkha *yörō̄-* ‘to bless’; Kalmyk *yörēl* ‘blessing, benediction’; Ordos *örō̄-* ‘to bless’, *örō̄l* ‘blessing, benediction’; Buriat (Alar) *yürō̄-* ‘to bless’, *ürō̄r* ‘blessing, benediction’. Poppe 1955:97—98. Poppe 1960:12, 60, 116, 127; Street 1974:23 **pirü-* ‘to pray, to ask’, **pirü-ge-* ‘to bless, to wish well’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:111—125, no. 373, Proto-Altaic **pʻir/u/*; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1144—1145 **pʻĭru* ‘to pray, to bless’.

Buck 1949:18.31 ask (question, inquire); 18.35 ask, request; 22.17 pray; 22.23 bless. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.III:111—125, no. 373, **pʻirḳʌ* ‘to ask, to request’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1765, **ṗiRo-(Ḳæ)* ‘to ask’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:258, no. 67.

136. Proto-Nostratic root **pʰutʰ-* (~ **pʰotʰ-*):
(vb.) **pʰutʰ-* ‘to vomit’;
(n.) **pʰutʰ-a* ‘vomit’

A. Proto-Afrasian **fut-* ‘to vomit’: West Chadic **fut-* ‘to vomit’ > Sura *fuut* ‘to vomit’; Angas *fut* ‘to vomit’; Ankwe *fuut* ‘to vomit’; Mupun *fuut* ‘to vomit’. Cushitic: Werizoid **fat-* (< **fut-*) ‘to vomit’ > Gawwada (reduplicated) *fač-fat-* ‘to vomit’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:189, no. 837, **fut-* ‘to vomit’.

B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *putʷrnā* (*puttras*) ‘to vomit’; Malto *putre* ‘to vomit’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:378, no. 4276.

Buck 1949:4.57 vomit (vb.).

137. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **pʰutʰ-a* ‘hole, opening’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **fut-* ‘hole, opening, vulva’: Proto-Semitic **put-* ‘vulva’ > Hebrew *pōθ* ‘vulva’ [פֹּת] (a hapax legomenon in the Bible). Klein 1987:535—536. Lowland East Cushitic **fut-* ‘vulva, anus’ > Somali *futo* ‘vulva’; Galla / Oromo *futee* ‘anus’. West Chadic **fut-* ‘vulva’ > Angas *fut* ‘vulva’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:189, no. 836, **fut-* ‘hole, vulva’.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$p^hut^h$- ‘vulva’: Indo-Aryan *$p(h)utta$- ‘vulva’ > Prakrit *puttara*- ‘vulva’; Kashmiri *pŭtᵘ* ‘part of the body behind the pudenda’; Kumaunī *putī* ‘vulva’, *phutī*, *phuddī* ‘vulva of a small girl’; Nepali *puti* ‘vulva’, *putu* ‘vulva of a young woman’. Proto-Germanic *$fuðiz$ ‘vagina’ > Old Icelandic *fuð*- ‘vagina’; Norwegian *fud* ‘vagina, anus, backside’; Swedish *fod* ‘backside’; Middle High German *vut* (*vude*- in compounds) ‘vulva’, *vüdel* ‘girl’. Pokorny 1959:848—849 *$pŭ$-, *$peu̯ə$- ‘to stink, to smell bad’; Walde 1927—1932.II:82 *pū-, *$pŭ$-; Mann 1984—1987:1013 *putā, -$i̯ə$ ‘vulva; little girl; chick; youngster’; Rietz 1867.I:158; Turner 1966—1969.I:471; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:303—304. Kroonen 2013:162 Proto-Germanic *$fuþi$- ‘vagina’ (“no further etymology”). Different etymology in Orël 2003:116 (Proto-Germanic *$fuđiz$) and De Vries 1977:145—146.

C. Proto-Eskimo *putu ‘hole’: Central Alaskan Yupik *putu* ‘leather piece on skin boot with hole for bootlace’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *putu* ‘loop; hole, incision’; Central Siberian Yupik *putu* ‘hole made at edge of skin for running rope for stretching and drying’; Sirenik *puta* ‘hole’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *putu* ‘hole through something’; North Alaskan Inuit *putu* ‘hole through something’; Western Canadian Inuit *putu* ‘hole through something’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *putu* ‘hole through something’; Greenlandic Inuit *putu* ‘hole through something’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:269—270. Proto-Inuit *putžuq ‘hole worn in something’ > North Alaskan Inuit *pužžuq* ‘hole worn in boot sole’, (Nunamiut) *putžuq* ‘to be worn out, to have holes’; Greenlandic Inuit *puššuq* ‘hole worn (e.g., in boot sole)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:270.

Buck 1949:12.85 hole.

138. Proto-Nostratic root *$p^huw$- (~ *$p^how$-):
(vb.) *$p^huw$- ‘to puff, to blow, to exhale; to puff up, to inflate’;
(n.) *$p^huw$-*a* ‘a puff, the act of blowing, breath’

A. Proto-Afrasian *$fuw$- (> *$fiw$- in Chadic) ‘(vb.) to puff, to blow, to exhale; to puff up, to inflate; (n.) a puff, the act of blowing, breath’: Proto-Semitic *$paw$-$aħ$- ‘to exhale, to blow’ > Hebrew *pūaḥ* [פּוּחַ] ‘to breathe, to blow’, (hif.) *hē-fiaḥ* ‘to blow, to break wind’, *pūḥāʔ* ‘breath, wind’; Aramaic *pūaḥ* ‘to breathe, to blow’; Arabic *fāḥa* ‘to diffuse an aroma, to exhale a pleasant odor’, *fawḥa* ‘fragrant emanation, breath of fragrance’, *fawwāḥ* ‘exhaling, diffusing (fragrance)’. Arabic *fāḫa* ‘to spread an odor, to emit a scent; to blow (wind); to break wind’. Klein 1987:496; Murtonen 1989:336—337. Proto-Southern Cushitic *$fook'$- ‘to catch one’s breath’ > Asa *$fuʔit$*- ‘to catch one’s breath’; Ma’a *-fufu* ‘to catch one’s breath’; Dahalo *$fook'$*- ‘to catch one’s breath’. Ehret 1980:151. West Chadic *$f[i]w[a]ħ$- ‘to blow’ > Boklos *$fuʔ$* ‘to blow’; Sha *fyah* ‘to blow’; Dafo-

Butura *fuʔ* ‘to blow’. Central Chadic **fiyaH-* ‘to smell’ > Mandara *ʔifiyaʔa* ‘to smell’. East Chadic **pVwaH-* > **pwaH-* ‘to blow’ > Tumak *po* ‘to blow’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:184, no. 813, **fiwaḥ-* ‘to smell, to blow’ and 184—185, no. 814, **fiwaq-* ‘to blow’.

B. Dravidian: Malayalam *pūcci* ‘a fart’; Toda *piːx ïḍ-* (*ïṭ-*) ‘to fart silently’; Kannaḍa *pūsu* ‘to fart’; Tuḷu *pūpuni* ‘to fart’, *pūki* ‘a fart’; Koraga *pūmpu* ‘to fart’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:385, no. 4354.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **pu-* ‘to swell, to puff up, to inflate’: Georgian *puv-* ‘to rise (dough)’; Mingrelian *pu-* ‘to boil, to seethe’; Laz *pu-* ‘to boil, to seethe’; Svan *pw-*: *lipwe* ‘to boil’, *lipūli* ‘to blow at somebody or something’, *pūl* ‘whiff (puff)’. Fähnrich 1994:236 and 2007:443 **pu-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:361 **pu-*; Klimov 1964:192 **pu-* and 1998:206 **pu-* ‘to inflate, to rise’.

D. Proto-Indo-European **pʰŭ-* ‘to puff, to puff up, to blow’: Sanskrit *phŭt-karoti* ‘to puff, to blow’, *phupphusa-ḥ* ‘the lungs’, *phulla-ḥ* ‘expanded, blown (of flowers); puffed up (cheeks)’, *phulláti* ‘to expand, to open (as a flower)’; Oriya *phulibā* ‘to swell, to expand’; Pashto *pū*, *pūk* ‘a puff, a blast, the act of blowing’; Greek φῦσα ‘bellows’, φῡσάω ‘to blow, to puff’; Armenian *pʰukʰ* ‘breath, puff’; Lithuanian *pučiù*, *pũsti* ‘to blow, to puff’. Rix 1998a:433 (?) **peu̯t-* ‘to blow up, to inflate’; Pokorny 1959:846—848 **pŭ-*, **peu-*, **pou-*, **phu-* ‘to blow up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:79—81 **pŭ-*, **peu-*, **pou-*, **phu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1012 **pŭskō* (**phŭskō*) ‘to puff, to swell, to blow, to blow up, to well up, to erupt, to froth forth’, 1012 **pŭskos*, *-ā* (**phŭsk-*) ‘puff, froth, fizz, swell, bulge, bubble, bladder’, 1012 **pŭslos* (**phŭslo-*), *-is*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* ‘puff, blow, fizz, gush, vacuum, air-space, bladder’, 1012—1013 **pŭsō* (**phŭsō*), *-i̯ō* ‘to fizz, to froth, to puff, to blow, to swell’, 1013 **pŭṭi̯ō* (**phŭṭi̯ō*) ‘to blow, to puff’, 1014 **putlos* (**phutlo-*) ‘fizzy, frothy, puffy, windy, airy, vacuous’, 1014 **pŭtos* (**phŭt-*), *-i̯os*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* ‘puff, blow, gust’, 1015 **putros* (**phutros*) ‘blow, gust, gale, fury’; Watkins 1985:53 **pŭ-* (also **phŭ-*) and 2000:69 **pŭ-* (also **phŭ-*) ‘to blow, to swell’; Mallory—Adams 1997:72 **p(h)eu-* ‘to blow, to swell’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:398; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1236 **p(h)u-s-*; Beekes 2010.II:1599—1600; Hofmann 1966:407; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1055—1057; Boisacq 1950:1042—1043 **pheu-*, **phŭ-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:4928; Derksen 2015:373; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:677—67.

E. Proto-Uralic **puwɜ-* ‘to blow’: Hungarian *fúj-*, *fú-*/*fuv-* ‘to blow’; Mordvin *puva-* ‘to blow’; Cheremis / Mari *pue-* ‘to blow’; Vogul / Mansi *puw-* ‘to blow’; Ostyak / Xanty *pŏg-* (Southern *pŏw-*) ‘to blow’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *pu-* ‘to blow’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *füala-*, *füaru-* (derivative) ‘to blow’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hatanga) *fueŋa-*, (Baiha) *fuasa-* (derivative) ‘to blow’; Selkup Samoyed *puua-*, *puuwa-*, *puuŋa-* ‘to blow’; Kamassian *püʔ-* ‘to blow’. Collinder 1955:12 and 1977:33; Rédei 1986—1988:411 **puwɜ-*; Décsy 1990:107 **puva* ‘to blow’; Sammallahti

1988:547 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **puwi-* ‘to blow’; Janhunen 1977b:128—129.

F. Proto-Eskimo: *puvə-* ‘to swell’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *puɣə-* ‘to swell’; Central Alaskan Yupik *puvə-* ‘to swell’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *puvə-* ‘to swell’; Central Siberian Yupik *puuvə-* [*puufqə-* ‘to become swollen in the face’]; Sirenik *puvə-* ‘to swell’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *puit-* ‘to be swollen’, *puvžak-* ‘to have a swelling’; North Alaskan Inuit *puvɨt-* ‘to be swollen’, *puviq-* ‘to inflate, to be inflated’; Western Canadian Inuit *puvit-* ‘to become swollen’, *puviq-* ‘to inflate’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *puviq-* ‘to be inflated, to swell (from putrefaction)’; Greenlandic Inuit *pui(k)* ‘swelling, tumor’, *puiʁ-* ‘to inflate, to bulge, to swell (sail)’. Cf. Aleut *hum-* ‘to inflate, to swell’, *humta-* ‘to be swollen’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:270. Proto-Inuit **puvak* ‘lung’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *puwak* ‘lung’; North Alaskan Inuit *puvak* ‘lung’; Western Canadian Inuit *puvak* ‘lung’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *puvak* ‘lung’; Greenlandic Inuit *puak* ‘lung’. Cf. Aleut *humɣi-X* ‘lung’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:270. Proto-Eskimo **puvlaɣ* or **puvlaʁ* ‘bubble or air in something’: Naukan Siberian Yupik *puvlaq* ‘gas’; Seward Peninsula Yupik *puvlak* ‘air in something, bubble’; Western Canadian Inuit *puvlak* ‘bubble’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pullaq* ‘bubble, air pressure’; Greenlandic Inuit *puɬɬaɣ-* ‘to inflate, to be inflated’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:271. Proto-Inuit **puvala-* ‘to be fat’ > North Alaskan Inuit *puvala-* ‘to be fat and round’; Western Canadian Inuit *puvala-* ‘to be fat’; Greenlandic Inuit *puala-* ‘to be fat’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:270. Proto-Inuit **puviʁaq* ‘ball or balloon-like thing’ > North Alaskan Inuit *puviʁaq* ‘balloon, swim bladder’; Western Canadian Inuit *puviʁaq* ‘ball’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *puviʁaq* ‘small rubber balloon’; Greenlandic Inuit [*puiʁaašaq*, *puaašaq* ‘water-filled swelling’]. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:270. Proto-Inuit **puvliq-* ‘to swell up’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *puvliq-* ‘to become swollen with air’; North Alaskan Inuit *puvliq-* ‘to swell up’; Western Canadian Inuit *puvliq-* ‘to swell up’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *pulli(q)-* ‘to swell up’; Greenlandic Inuit *puɬɬiʁ-* ‘to swell up (after a blow)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:271.

Buck 1949:4.51 breathe; breath; 4.64 break wind, fart (vb.); 10.38 blow (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:229—230, no. 34; Hakola 2000:146, no. 641; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1673, **puħV* ‘to blow’; Fortescue 1998:157.

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| p’- | p’- | p- | p’- | p’- | p- | p- | p- |
| -p’- | -p’- | -pp-/-v- | -p’- | -p’- | -p- | -p- | -p-/ -pp- |

139. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **p’ap’-a* ‘old man, old woman’:

A. Proto-Kartvelian **p’ap’-* ‘grandfather’: Georgian *p’ap’-i*, *p’ap’-a* ‘grandfather’; Mingrelian *p’ap’-ul-i*, *p’ap’-u* ‘great grandfather’; Laz *p’ap’ul-i*, *p’ap’-u* ‘grandfather’. Fähnrich 1994:221 and 2007:329 **ṗaṗ-*; Klimov 1964:152 **ṗaṗal-* and 1998:147—148 **ṗaṗa-* ‘grandfather’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:271 **ṗaṗ-*.
B. Proto-Indo-European (f.) **p’ăp’aA* > **p’ăp’ā* ‘old woman’: (?) Oscan *babu* ‘old priestess’; Russian *bába* [баба] ‘(peasant) woman, old woman’; Czech *bába* ‘woman’; Serbo-Croatian *baba* ‘old woman, midwife’. Mann 1984—1987:49 **bābā* ‘old woman’. Note: These forms are phonologically ambiguous.

Buck 1949:2.31ff. words for family relationship, p. 94 **papa*, **appa*, **baba* ‘father’ or ‘old man’; 2.35 father.

140. Proto-Nostratic root **p’ul-* (~ **p’ol-*):
(vb.) **p’ul-* ‘to swell’;
(n.) **p’ul-a* ‘swelling, hump, lump, bulge’; (adj.) ‘swollen, round, bulbous’

A. Proto-Afrasian **p’ul-* ‘to swell’, (reduplicated) **p’ul-p’ul-* ‘(vb.) to swell; (adj.) swollen, round’: Omotic: Welamo *p’up’ule* ‘egg’; Dache *ɓuɓule* ‘egg’; Dorze *ɓu:ɓulé* ‘egg’; Oyda *ɓuɓule* ‘egg’; Male *ɓu:la* ‘egg’; Kachama *p’up’ule* ‘egg’; Koyra *ɓuɓu:le* ‘egg’; Gidicho *ɓuɓu:le* ‘egg’; Zergula *buɓıle* ‘egg’; Zayse *buɓıle* ‘egg’. Omotic loan in Burji *bulbul-ée* ~ *bubul-ée* ‘egg’. Sasse 1982:43. Ehret 1995:116, no. 109, **p’ul-* ‘shell’. Ehret considers the Omotic forms cited above to be loans from East Cushitic — he reconstructs Proto-East Cushitic **b’ulb’ul-* ‘shell’ (> Yaaku *bolboli* ‘egg’; Somali *bulbul* ‘thick hair’). Assuming semantic development as in Lithuanian *paũtas* ‘egg’ from the same root found in Lithuanian *pũsti* ‘to blow, to swell up’ and Latvian *pūte* ‘blister, pustule’.
B. Proto-Indo-European **p’ul-*, **p’ol-* ‘swollen, round’, (reduplicated) **p’ulp’ul-*, **p’olp’ol-* (dissimilated to **p’ump’ul-*, **p’omp’ol-*; **p’omp’ul-*): Sanskrit *buli-ḥ* ‘buttocks, vulva’; Greek βολβός ‘a bulb’, (reduplicated) βομβυλίς ‘bubble’; Latin *bulla* ‘a round swelling’, *bulbus* ‘a bulb; an

onion’ (Greek loan); East Frisian *pol* ‘plump’; Armenian *bołk* ‘radish’; Lithuanian *bulìs*, *bùlė*, *bulẽ* ‘buttocks’. Pokorny 1959:103 **bol-* ‘node, bulb’; Walde 1927—1932.II:111—112 **bol-*, **bul-*; Mann 1984—1987:53 **bombos* ‘lump, bulge’, 55 **bubul-* ‘knot, knob’, 56 **bul-* ‘bulge, buttocks’, 56 **bŭ̆lō* ‘to thrust, to cram, to bulge’, 57 **bumbul-* (**buməl-*) ‘swelling; bulge, fat bottle or pot’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:439—440; Boisacq 1950:126 **bol-*, **bulbul-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:183—184; Frisk 1970—1973.I:249—250; Hofmann 1966:37; Prellwitz 1905:80; Beekes 2010.I:225; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:122 **bol-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:78; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:63—64; Smoczyński 2007.1:80.

C. Proto-Altaic **pula-* (~ *-o-*) ‘to swell’: Proto-Tungus **pul-* ‘hump; swelling, convexity’ > Evenki *hulin* ‘hump’, *hulka* ‘swelling, convexity’; Lamut / Even *hu̯lə̣n* ‘hump’; Orok *pulu* ‘swelling, convexity’. Proto-Mongolian **bula-* ‘lump, swelling’ > Mongolian *bulu* ‘bump on the body, the thick end of a marrow bone’, *bulduru* ‘bump, lump, wen, swelling; hillock, knoll’, *bultai-* ‘to stick out, to appear, to show slightly’; Khalkha *bulū*, *buldrū* ‘swelling, lump’; Buriat *bula*, *bulū* ‘swelling, lump’; Kalmyk *bulə* ‘swelling, lump’; Dagur *bol* ‘swelling, lump’. Mongolian loans in Manchu *bulžan* ‘growth on the skin’, *bultaχūn* ‘prominent, obvious, bulging’, *bultaχūri* ‘bulging out (especially the eyes)’, *bultari* ‘sticking out, swollen’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1108—1109 **pula* (~ *-o-*) ‘to swell’.

Buck 1949:4.48 egg.

141. Proto-Nostratic root **p’ul$^{y}$-* (~ **p’ol$^{y}$-*):
(vb.) **p’ul$^{y}$-* ‘to blow about; to give off smoke, vapor, steam’;
(n.) **p’ul$^{y}$-a* ‘mist, fog, haze; smoke, steam; cloud’

A. Dravidian: Toda *piḻmozm* (*z* = [d͡z]) ‘mist in valleys or on hills’; Koḍagu *pu·ḷï* ‘mist on mountains’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:386, 4375.
B. Kartvelian: Mingrelian *p’ula* ‘steam’; Laz *p’ula*, (Atinuri) *p’ulera* ‘cloud’.
C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *puj-* ‘to blow’. Nikolaeva 2006:367.
D. Proto-Eskimo **puyuʁ* ‘smoke’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *puyuq* ‘smoke’; Central Alaskan Yupik *puyuq* ‘smoke’, *puyuXtə-* ‘to smoke (fish)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *puyuq* ‘smoke’; Central Siberian Yupik *puyuq* ‘smoke’; Sirenik *puyəX* ‘soot, smoke’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *puyuq* ‘steam’; North Alaskan Inuit *puyuq* ‘smoke from chimney’, *puyuq-* ‘to smoke, to make smoke’, *puyuuq-* ‘to smoke (fire or chimney)’; Western Canadian Inuit *puyuq* ‘smoke’, *puyuq-* ‘to give off smoke’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *puyuq-* ‘to give off steam’, *puyuq* ‘water vapor, tobacco smoke, puffball (mushroom)’; Greenlandic Inuit *puyuq* ‘smoke, steam, mist’, *puyuʁ-*, *puyuuʁ-* ‘to give off smoke or steam; to be infected by a dead person’, (North Greenlandic / Polar Eskimo) *puyuq-* ‘to smoke

(pipe)'. Aleut *huyuX* 'smoke, steam'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:272. Proto-Yupik **puyuqə-* 'to be smoked or sooty' > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *puyuqə-* 'to smoke (fish)'; Central Alaskan Yupik *puyuqə-* 'to be smoked (food); to be full of smoke (clothes)'; Central Siberian Yupik *puyuqə-*, *puyuXqə-* 'to become sooty'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:272. Proto-Inuit **puyuʀaq* or **puyuʀak* 'frost smoke (snowy mist)' > North Alaskan Inuit *puyuala-*, *putcuala-* 'to make steam or smoke'; Western Canadian Inuit *puyuaʀyuk* 'kind of weather when powder snow in the air is like smoke'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *puyuʀaq-* 'to be a light mist', (Itivimmiut) *puyuʀaq*, *puyuqqiq* 'light mist'; Greenlandic Inuit *puyuʀak* 'frost smoke', *puyuʀaɣ-* 'to be mist from the sea, to be frost smoke', *puyuʀalak*, *puyualak* 'dust', *puyu(ʀ)ala-* 'to be dusty'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:272.

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **pujæ-* 'smoke or steam' (?): Chukchi [*pujʔepuj*] 'soot'; Koryak *puje-* 'to bake; to cook bear meat in a pit over heated stones', *pujepuj* 'meat cooked in a pit over heated stones'; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Western) *pojaz* 'to steam', *pojakaz* 'to take a steam bath', *pojatez* 'to give off steam', (Eastern) *kimpxejc* 'to smoke'. Fortescue 2005:218.

Buck 1949:1.73 cloud; 1.74 mist (fog, haze). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:179—180, no. 13, **bilwe* 'cloud'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 198, **biLuʔê* (= **biḽuʔê* ?) 'cloud'. The Uralic forms cited by Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky are too divergent phonologically and should not be included here; the same objection applies to the Turkic forms they cite, which Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:382) derive from Proto-Altaic **bŭlu* [~ *-a*, *-o*] 'cloud'.

142. Proto-Nostratic root **p'ut'-* (~ **p'ot'-*):
(vb.) **p'ut'-* 'to cut, tear, break, or pull off or apart';
(n.) **p'ut'-a* 'cut-off, pulled-off, torn-off, or broken-off piece or part'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **bat'-* 'to cut, tear, break, or pull off or apart' (with numerous extensions): Arabic *baṭara* 'to split, to cleave, to cut open (tumors)'. D. Cohen 1970— :61. Arabic *baṭṭa* 'to cut open'. D. Cohen 1970— :59—60. Geez / Ethiopic *boṭala* [ቦጠለ] 'to cut'; Amharic *bäṭṭälä* 'to be torn, to be uprooted'. D. Cohen 1970— :60; Leslau 1987:113. Arabic *baṭaša* 'to attack with violence, to bear down on, to fall upon someone; to knock out; to hit, to strike; to land with a thud (on)'; Aramaic *bəṭaš* 'to stamp'; Syriac *buṭšəθā* 'striking with the heals'; Geez / Ethiopic *baṭasa* [ቦጠሰ] 'to break, to detach, to cut off'; Tigrinya *bäṭṭäsä* 'to break by pulling'; Amharic *bäṭṭäsä* 'to break a string or the like, to detach (a button), to snip (thread)', *bəṭṭäš* 'cut-off piece, strip of paper, clipping, scrap (of cloth)'; Harari *bäṭäsa* 'to break by pulling'; Gafat *biṭṭäsä* 'to break by pulling'; Argobba *beṭṭäsa* 'to break by pulling'; Gurage (Zway)

*bäṭäsä* ‘to break off by pulling, to tear a string by pulling’. D. Cohen 1970— :61; Leslau 1963:48, 1979:166, and 1987:114. Amharic *bäṭṭäḳä* ‘to cut apart’, *boč̣č̣äḳä* ‘to tear’, *boč̣ač̣č̣äḳä* ‘to tear to shreds’. D. Cohen 1970— :60—61. Geez / Ethiopic *baṭḥa* [**በጥሐ**] ‘to make an incision, to make gashes, to scarify, to scratch open, to cut with a scalpel’, *bəṭḥat* [**ብጥሐት**] ‘incision, a cutting up’; Amharic *bäṭṭä* ‘to make an incision, to scarify’. D. Cohen 1970— :59; Leslau 1987:113.

B. Dravidian: Kolami *put-* (*putt-*) ‘to cut in pieces, to pluck (flower), to break (rope)’; Naikṛi *put-* ‘to cut, to pluck’; Naiki (of Chanda) *put-* ‘to be cut, to break (intr.)’, *putuk-* ‘to cut to pieces’; Kuṛux *pudᵘgnā* (*pudgas*) ‘to pluck out (hair, etc.), to strip (fowl) by plucking’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:378, no. 4277.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **p’ut’-wn̰-* ‘to pluck (poultry)’: Georgian *p’ut’(n)-* ‘to pluck (poultry)’; Mingrelian *p’ut’on-* ‘to pluck (poultry)’. Klimov 1964: 154 **ṗuṭwn̰-* and 1998:152 **ṗuṭ-wn-* ‘to pluck (poultry)’; Fähnrich 2007: 335 **ṗuṭ-*.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *putinmu-* ‘to divide in two’, *putil* ‘piece (of fish); half; middle’. Nikolaeva 2006:372.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.).

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| d- | d- | t- | d- | $d^h$- | t- | d- | t- |
| -d- | -d- | -ṭ(ṭ)- | -d- | -$d^h$- | -t- | -d- | -ð- |

143. Proto-Nostratic relational marker **da-* (~ **də-*) ‘along with, together with, in addition to’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **da*, **di* ‘along with, together with, in addition to’: Berber: Kabyle *d*, *yid*, *id-* ‘with, together with, and’; Tamazight (Ayt Ndhir) *d* ‘with, and’; Tuareg *d*, *əd* ‘and, with together with’; Nefusa *əd*, *did* ‘and, with’; Ghadames *əd*, *did* ‘and, with’; Zenaga *əd*, *id*, *d* ‘and with’; Mzab *əd*, *did* ‘and, with’.. Central Cushitic: Bilin comitative case suffix *-dī* ‘together with’; Quara *-dī* ‘together with’. Reinisch 1887:93; Appleyard 2006:23—24. Highland East Cushitic: Burji *-ddi* locative suffix (with absolute case) in, for example, *miná-ddi* ‘in the house’. Sasse 1982:54. Proto-Chadic **də-* ‘with, and’ > Hausa *dà* ‘with; and; by, by means of; regarding, with respect to, in relation to; at, in during; than’; Kulere *tu*; Bade *də*; Tera *ndə*; Gidar *di*; Mokulu *ti*; Kanakuru *də*. Newman 1977:34. Note: Diakonoff (1988:61) reconstructs comitative-dative case endings **-dV*, **-Vd* for Proto-Afrasian on the basis of evidence from Cushitic (Agaw) and Berber-Libyan.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **da* ‘and’: Georgian *da* ‘and’; Mingrelian *do*, *ndo* ‘and’; Laz *do* ‘and’. Klimov 1964:68—69 **da* and 1998:35—36 **da* ‘and’; Schmidt 1962:103; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:97—98 **da*; Fähnrich 2007:120—121 **da*.

C. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite, Neo-Elamite *da* (also *-da* in *-be-da*, *e-da*, *ku-da*, etc.) ‘also, too, as well, likewise; so, therefore, hence, consequently, accordingly; thereby, thereupon’. Note also: Middle Elamite, Neo-Elamite *tak* ‘also’ (< *da-* ‘also’ + *a-ak* ‘and’).

D. Proto-Indo-European **-$d^h$e*, **-$d^h$i* suffixed particle: Sanskrit *sa-há* (Vedic *sa-dha*) ‘with’, *i-há* ‘here’ (Prakrit *i-dha*), *kú-ha* ‘where?’, *á-dhi* ‘above, over, from, in’; Avestan *iδa* ‘here’, *kudā* ‘where?’; Greek locative particle -θι, in, for example, οἴκο-θι ‘at home’, πό-θι ‘where?’; Old Church Slavic *kъ-de* ‘where?’, *sь-de* ‘here’. Burrow 1973:281; Brugmann 1904:454—455 **-dhe* and **-dhi*; Fortson 2010:119 **-dhi* and **-dhe*.

E. Proto-Altaic dative-locative particle **da*: Tungus: Manchu dative-locative suffix *-de*. The locative suffix is *-du* in other Tungus languages. Common Mongolian dative-locative suffix **-da* > Mongolian *-da*; Dagur *-da*; Khalkha *-dɒ*; Buriat *-da*; Kalmyk *-dɒ*; Moghol *-du*; Ordos *-du*; Monguor *-du*. Poppe 1955:195—199. Regarding the *-du* variant, Greenberg

(2000:156) notes: “It seems probable that the vowel here has been influenced by the dative-allative *ru*…” Common Turkic (except Yakut) locative suffix *-da*/*-dä* > Old Turkic locative-ablative suffix *-dA*; Chagatay locative suffix *-DA*; Turkish locative suffix *-DA*; Azerbaijani locative suffix *-dA*; Turkmenian locative suffix *-dA*; Tatar locative suffix *-DA*; Bashkir locative suffix *-DA*; Kazakh locative suffix *-DA*; Noghay locative suffix *-DA*; Kirghiz locative suffix *-DA*; Uzbek locative suffix *-Dȧ*; Uighur locative suffix *-DA*. Turkish *da*, *de* (also *ta*, *te*) ‘and, also, but’. Menges 1968b:110.

F. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan instrumental case marker **-tæ* and the suffix **-tæ* in the comitative 1 case marker **kæ- -tæ* ‘together with’ (both class 1). Fortescue 2005:426. Perhaps also Proto-Chukotian **to* ‘and’ > Koryak *to* ‘and’; Alyutor *tu* (Palana *to*) ‘and’. Fortescue 2005:288.

Sumerian *da* ‘with, together with, along with, besides’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:212—214, no. 59, **da* locative particle, I:214—215, no. 60, **daHʌ* intensifying and conjoining particle; Bomhard 1996a:135—136; Greenberg 2000:155—157; Doglopolsky 2008, no. 508, **d[E]H$_1$a* ‘with, together with’ and no. 579, **d[oy]a* (> **da*) ‘place’.

144. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **da-* ‘mother, sister’; (reduplicated) (n.) **da-da-* ‘mother, sister’ (nursery words):

A. Proto-Afrasian **dad(a)-* ‘mother’: West Chadic **dad-* ‘mother, sister’ > Ngizim *dàadá* term of reference or address used with one’s mother, term of reference or address used with an older sister or person with whom one is close and is of approximately the age of an older sister. Central Chadic **dad-* ‘mother’ > Gisiga *dada* ‘mother’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:141, no. 612, **dad-* ‘mother’.

B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *daḍḍe* ‘a sow’; Parji *ḍaḍḍa* ‘female of animals and birds’; Gondi *ḍaḍḍa* ‘female of animals’; Malto *ḍadi* ‘the female of quadrupeds’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:264, no. 3044.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **ded(a)-* ‘mother’: Old Georgian *deday* ‘mother’; Mingrelian *dida* ‘mother’; Laz *dida* ‘old woman, grandmother’; Svan *dede* ‘mother, mommy’, *dädw* ‘female’ (Svan *di* and *dija* ‘mother, mommy’ are loans from Mingrelian). Klimov 1964:71—72 **deda-* (Klimov compares Indo-European **dhē-dh[ē]* stem used to designate various relatives, cf. Gk. τήθη ‘grandmother’, τηθίς ‘aunt’) and 1998:38 **deda-* ‘mother’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:105—106 **ded-*; Fähnrich 1994:220 and 2007:128—129 **ded-*. Proto-Kartvelian **da-* ‘sister’: Georgian *da* ‘sister’; Mingrelian *da* ‘sister’; Laz *da* ‘sister’; Svan *dä-j* ‘sister’. Klimov 1964:69 **da-* and 1998:36 **da-* ‘sister’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:97 **da-*; Schmidt 1962:103; Fähnrich 2007:119—120 **da-*. Proto-Kartvelian **da-*

*did-* ‘elder sister’: Georgian *mdad-*, *mdade-* ‘virgin, maiden’; Laz *dad-* ‘aunt, stepmother’. Klimov 1964:69—70 **da-did-* and 1998:36 **da-did-* ‘elder sister’.

Buck 1949:2.36 mother.

145. Proto-Nostratic root **dab-* (~ **dəb-*):
(vb.) **dab-* ‘to make fast, to join together, to fit together, to fasten (together)’;
(n.) **dab-a* ‘joining, fitting, fastening’

A. Proto-Afrasian **dab-* ‘to stick together, to join together’: Proto-Semitic **dab-ak’-* ‘to stick together, to join together, to adhere’ > Hebrew *dāβaḳ* [דָּבַק] ‘to adhere, to cling to’, *deβeḳ* [דֶּבֶק] ‘joining, soldering’; Aramaic *dəβaḳ* ‘to stick together, to join’; Arabic *dabiḳa* ‘to stick, to adhere’. Klein 1987:113; Murtonen 1989:143; D. Cohen 1970— :211—212. Proto-Semitic **dab-al-* ‘to stick together, to unite’ > Arabic *dabala* ‘to bring together, to gather, to unite’; Geez / Ethiopic *dabala* [ደበለ] ‘to bring together, to gather, to make braids, to plait’; Harari *däbäla* to add, to put together, to include’; Tigre *däbbäla* ‘to stick together’; Amharic *däbbälä* ‘to double, to unite, to add’; Gurage *däbälä* ‘to add, to join, to unite’. D. Cohen 1970— :209—210; Leslau 1963:52—53, 1979:195—196, and 1987:120. Cushitic: Proto-Sam **dab-* ‘to plait’ > Rendille *dab-i* ‘to plait’; Boni *tob*/*toba* ‘to plait’. Heine 1978:55. Proto-Southern Cushitic **daba* ‘hand’ > Iraqw *dawa* ‘hand, arm’; Burunge *daba* ‘hand, arm’; Alagwa *daba* ‘hand, arm’; Dahalo *d̲áβa* ‘hand’, *d̲áwat̲t̲e* (< **d̲áβa-wat̲t̲e*) ‘five’. Ehret 1980:162.

B. Proto-Indo-European **d$^{h}$ab$^{h}$-* ‘to fit together’: Armenian *darbin* (< **d$^{h}$ab$^{h}$rino-*) ‘smith’; Latin *faber* ‘skillful’; Gothic *ga-daban* ‘to be fitting, to happen’; Old Icelandic *dafna* ‘to thrive’; Old English *gedæftan*, *dæftan* ‘to make smooth; to put in order, to arrange’, *gedæfte* ‘gentle, meek’, *gedafnian* ‘to be fitting or becoming’, *gedafen* ‘(adj.) suitable, fitting; (n.) due, right, what is fitting’, *gedēfe* ‘fitting, seemly; gentle, meek’; Dutch *deftig* ‘proper, noble’; Lithuanian *dabìnti* ‘to adorn, to decorate’; Old Church Slavic *dobrъ* ‘good’, *doba* ‘opportunity’. Pokorny 1959:233—234 **dhabh-* ‘to fix, to suit’; Walde 1927—1932.I:824—825 **dhabh-*; Mann 1984—1987:175 **dhabh-* ‘fitting; fit, able; joint’; Watkins 1985:12—13 **dhabh-* and 2000:17 **dhabh-* ‘to fit together’; Mallory—Adams 1997:139 **dhabhros* ‘craftsman’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:208; De Vaan 2008:197; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:436—437; Orël 2003:66 Proto-Germanic **đaƀanan*, 66 **đaƀnōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:86 Proto-Germanic **daban-* ‘to fit’; Feist 1939:176 **dhabh-*; Lehmann 1986:138—139 **dhabh-* ‘fitting, applicable’; De Vries 1977:71; Onions 1966:241 and 252; Klein 1971:188 and 198 **dhabh-* ‘to become, to be suitable’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:79; Derksen 2015:110 **d$^{h}$ab$^{h}$-*.

Sumerian *dab* ‘to grasp, to seize, to take; to pack; to bind, to fasten (together); to hold’, *dab*$_5$ ‘to catch, to seize, to capture; to take; to grasp; to pack; to bind; to hold tightly’. Semantic development as in Gothic *fahan* ‘to capture, to seize’, Old Icelandic *fá* ‘to grasp with the hands, to get hold of’, Old English *fēgan* ‘to join, to unite’, all from the same stem found, for example, in Greek πήγνῡμι ‘to make fast, to join, to fasten together’ (cf. Lehmann 1986:102).

Buck 1949:9.42 artisan, craftsman; 9.943 fitting, suitable; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of. Brunner 1969:75, no. 407; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:262—264, no. 71.

146. Proto-Nostratic root **dag-* (~ **dəg-*):
(vb.) *dag-* ‘to put, to place, to put in place; to be put in place, to be stable, to be firmly established’;
(n.) **dag-a* ‘place’

A. Proto-Afrasian **d[a]g-* ‘(vb.) to put, to place, to put in place; to be put in place, to be stable, to be firmly established; (n.) place’: Semitic: Arabic *dağana* ‘to remain, to stay, to abide; to get used to, to become accustomed to, to become habituated; to become tame, domesticated’. Tigre *dəgge* ‘village, somewhat large settlement’. Egyptian *dgȝ* ‘to plant, to stick; to build, to construct, to install’; Coptic *tōōče* [ⲧⲱⲱⲥⲉ] ‘to join, to attach, to plant; to be fixed, joined’. Hannig 1995:989; Erman—Grapow 1921:217 and 1926—1963.5:499; Černý 1976:207; Vycichl 1983:227. Berber: Ahaggar *ədəh* (pl. *idəggən*) ‘place’; Zenaga *əžgən* ‘to put’. East Cushitic: Proto-Boni **deg-* ‘to settle down’.

B. (?) Proto-Dravidian **taṅk-* ~ **takk-* ‘to be put in place, to be stable, to be firmly established; to stay, to abide, to remain’: Tamil *taṅku* (*taṅki-*) ‘(vb.) to stay, to abide, to remain, to be stable, to be firmly established, to be retained in the mind, to exist, to halt, to wait, to delay; to be obstructed, reserved, or kept back; (n.) staying, stopping’, *taṅkal* ‘stopping, halting, resting, delay, halting, place, persistence, stability’, *takku* (*takki-*) ‘to come, to stay; to become permanent, lasting (as a possession or acquisition); to be retained’, *takkam* ‘stability’; Malayalam *taṅṅuka* ‘to stop, to come into possession, to be there, to be arrested in the midst of progress’, *taṅṅal* ‘rest, shelter’, *taṅṅika* ‘to delay, to stop’, *takkuka* ‘to be obtained’, *tañcuka* ‘to stop, to remain’, *tañcam* ‘being at rest, posture’; Kota *taŋg-* (*taŋgy-*) ‘to spend time in a place away from home’; Toda *tok-* (*toky-*) ‘to last long (money, situation), (child) to live long’; Kannaḍa *taṅgu* ‘(vb.) to stop, to stay, to tarry, to sojourn, to lodge; (n.) stoppage, halt, a day’s journey’, *dakka* ‘(vb.) to accrue to, to be obtained, to fall to one’s share, to come into and remain in one’s possession, to remain, to be preserved; (n.) acquirement, attainment, possession, property’; Tuḷu *dakkati* ‘possession, control, appropriation, digest’, *dakkāvoṇuni* ‘to retain or digest anything

eaten, to misappropriate successfully, to take charge', *daksāvuni* 'to bring into another's possession', *daksuni* 'to be retained or digested (as food, medicine, etc.), to be misappropriated successfully'; Telugu *takku* 'to remain, to be left, to be excepted or omitted', *takkina* 'remaining, other', *dakku*, *ḍakku* 'to remain, to be left as a balance or residue, to be saved or spared'; Kolami *tak-* (*takt-*) 'to live (in a place), to remain, to stay (for example, silent)'; Naikṛi *tak-* 'to stay, to remain'; Gondi *taggānā* 'to wear well (of clothes), to remain in one's service (of servants)', *tagg-* 'to stay, to last'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:260—261, no. 3014.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **deg/*dg-* 'to stand': Georgian *deg-/dg-* 'to stand', *dg-om-a* 'to put, to place, to set; to stand', *a-dg-il* 'place'; Mingrelian *dg-* 'to stand'; Laz *dg-* 'to stand'. Klimov 1964:70; **dg-* and 1998:38 **deg-* : **dg-* 'to stand' (Klimov includes Svan *g-* 'to stand'); Schmidt 1962:104—105; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:104—105 **deg/*dg-*; Fähnrich 1994: 231 and 2007:127—128 **deg/*dg-*. Proto-Kartvelian **dgam-/*dgm-* 'to put, to place, to set; to stand': Georgian *dgam-/dgm-* 'to put, to place, to set'; Mingrelian *dgum-*, *dgəm-* 'to put, to place, to set'; Laz *dgim-* 'to put, to place, to set'. Klimov 1964:71 **dgam-/*dgm-* and 1998:37 **dg-am-* : **dg-m-* 'to put, to stand' (Klimov includes Svan *gem-* : *gm-* 'to put'); Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:104—105 **deg-/*dg-*. Proto-Kartvelian **dg-en-* 'to put, to place, to set': Georgian *dgen-/dgin-* 'to put, to place, to set'; Mingrelian *dgin-* 'to put, to place, to set'; Laz *dgin-* 'to put, to place, to set'. Klimov 1964:71 **dg-in-* and 1998:37 **dg-en-* : **dg-in-* 'to put'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:104—105 **deg-/*dg-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European **$d^heg^h$-om-*, **$d^hg^h$-om-* 'earth, land, ground; human being': Sanskrit (**$d^hg^{yh}$-om-* > **dźham-* > **ḍẓham-* > **ṭṣam-* >) *kṣam-* 'earth, ground'; Greek χθών (< **$d^hg^h$-ŏm-* through metathesis of the initial consonant group) 'earth, ground; a particular land or country', χαμαί 'on the ground'; Albanian *dhe* 'earth, land'; Latin *humus* 'earth, ground, soil', *homō* 'human being, man'; Gothic *guma* 'man'; Old Icelandic *gumi* 'man' (poetic), *brúð-gumi* 'bridegroom'; Swedish *brudgum* 'bridegroom'; Old English *guma* 'man, hero', *brȳd-guma* 'bridegroom'; Old Frisian *goma* 'man', *breid-goma* 'bridegroom'; Old Saxon *gumo*, *gomo* 'human being, man', *brūdi-gomo* 'bridegroom', Dutch *bruidegom* 'bridegroom'; Old High German *gomo* 'human being, man', *gomman*, *gom(m)en*, *gamman*, *goum(m)an* 'man', *brūti-gomo* 'bridegroom' (New High German *Bräutigam*); Old Irish *dú* 'place', *duine* 'person'; Old Church Slavic *zemlja* 'earth'; Old Lithuanian *žmuõ* 'human being, person'; Tocharian A *tkaṃ*, B *kem* 'earth, ground'; Hittite *te-(e-)kán* 'earth, ground', *da-ga-(a-)an* 'to the ground'; Luwian *ti-ya-am-mi-iš* 'earth'; Hieroglyphic Luwian *takami-* 'earth, land'. The unextended stem **$d^hog^h$-* may be preserved in Hittite (dat.-loc.) *ta-ki-ya* as in *ta-ki-ya … ta-ki-ya* 'in this place … in that place', literally, 'this one here … that one there' (not, then, connected with *da-* 'two' as suggested by Kronasser 1966.I:210). Pokorny 1959:414—416

*ĝhǒem-*, **ĝhǒom-* ‘earth, ground’; Walde 1927—1932.I:662—664 **ĝhǒem-*, **ĝhǒom-*; Mann 1984—1987:414 **ĝhem-* (**ĝhəm-*, **ĝhm̥-*) ‘ground, earth; on the ground, on (to, in) the ground, down’; Watkins 1984:14 **dhghŏm-* ‘earth’, **(dh)ghm̥-on-* ‘earthling’ and 2000:20 **dhghem-* ‘earth’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:475 **d[ʰ]eĝ[ʰ]om-*, II:877, and 1995.I:396, I:720 **dʰ(e)ĝʰom-* ‘earth; human, person’; Burrow 1973:82 **dheĝhom-*, **dhĝhom-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:174 **dhéĝhōm* ‘earth’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:288—289; Sturtevant 1951:59, §81, and 62, §84, Indo-Hittite **d‘eg‘-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1071 and II:1098—1099 **dheĝhŏm-*; Boisacq 1950:1049—1050 and 1060 **ĝđhŏm-*; Hofmann 1966:412 Greek χαμαί < **ĝhₑmaí*, **ĝđhĕm-*, **ĝđhŏm-*, **ĝđhm-* and 419 **dheghóm-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1245 **ghᵒm-* and II:1258—1259 **dheghom-*, **(dh)ghom-*; Beekes 2010.II:1612—1613 **dʰǵʰem-* and II:1632—1633 **dʰǵʰem-* : **dʰeǵʰ-m-*, **dʰǵʰom-*; De Vaan 2008:287—288 and 292; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:654—655 and I:664—665 **ĝhđem-*, **ĝhem-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:297—298 and 302; Smoczyński 2007.1:790—791; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1320; Kroonen 2013:195 Proto-Germanic **guman-* ‘man’ (< **dʰǵʰm-on-*); Orël 1998:80—81 and 2003:146 Proto-Germanic **ƺumōn*; Lehmann 1986:163 **dh(e)ĝh-em-*; Feist 1939:225—226 **ĝhdhem-* or **dh(e)ĝhom-*; De Vries 1977:194; Onions 1966:117; Klein 1971:94—95 and 324; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:97—98 **gh(ə)mon*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:103—104; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:506—507 **dheĝhŏm-*, **dhĝhŏm-*; Adams 1999:192 **dʰ(e)ĝʰom-* ‘earth, ground’; Kloekhorst 2008b:858—862 **dʰeǵʰ-m-*; Derksen 2008: 542 **dʰǵʰ-em-* and 2015:521—522 **dʰǵʰ-m-on-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:86—99 **dʰeĝʰ-om-*, **dʰĝʰ-ém-*, **dʰĝʰ-m-ʹ-*, **ĝʰ-m̥m-*. Semantic development from ‘place, site’ > ‘earth, land, ground’ as in Hungarian *táj* cited below. According to Klimov (1991:332), the following Kartvelian forms represent early borrowings from Indo-European: Proto-Kartvelian **diγwam* ~ **diγom* ‘black earth’ > Georgian (dial.) *dil(l)γvam* ‘black earth’, (toponym) *Diγom* a region inside Tbilisi, occupying the so-called “Diγomian Field”, Svan *diγwam* ‘black earth’. See also Fähnrich 2007:134 **diγwam-*.

E. Uralic: Proto-Ugrian **taγɜ* (**takɜ*) ‘place, site’ > (?) Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *tăγį*, (Upper Demyanka) *tăχə*, (Obdorsk) *tăχa* ‘place, site’; (?) Hungarian *táj* ‘region, tract, country, land’. Rédei 1986—1988:892 **taγɜ* (**takɜ*).

Sumerian *dag* ‘residence, dwelling place’.

Buck 1949:1.21 earth, land; 7.11 dwell; 9.44 build; 12.11 place (sb.); 12.12 put (place, set, lay); 12.15 stand (vb., intr.); 12.16 remain, stay, wait. Bomhard 1996a:209—210, no. 608; Blažek 1992b:131—132, no. 5.

147. Proto-Nostratic root **daɢ-* (~ **dəɢ-*):

(vb.) **daɢ-* ‘to glitter, to shine, to burn’;
(n.) **daɢ-a* ‘day’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **dag-dag-* ‘early morning’ > Geez / Ethiopic *dagdaga* [ደግደገ] ‘to be early in the morning, to get up early in the morning’, *dagadag* [ደገደግ], *dagdag* [ደግደግ], *dagdāg* [ደግዳግ], *dagdig* [ደግዲግ] ‘early morning’; Amharic *dägäddägä* ‘to get up early in the morning, to hasten off’ (Geez loan). D. Cohen 1970— :218; Leslau 1987: 125.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *taka-tak-en̲al*, *taka-takav-en̲al* onomatopoeic expression of dazzling, glowing, glittering; Kota *dag dag in-* (*id̲-*) ‘(flame) to burn brightly’, *dagdagn* ‘with a good light’; Kannaḍa *daggane* ‘with a blaze’; Tuḷu *dagadaga*, *dagabaga* ‘brightly’, *dagga*, *dagganè* ‘(to blaze) suddenly’; Telugu *dagadaga* ‘glitter’, *dagadagam-anu* ‘to glitter, to shine’; Kuṛux *dagnā* ‘to light, to set fire to (tr.)’, *dagrnā* ‘to catch fire, to be burned’; Malto *dagdagre* ‘to glitter, to shine’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:259, no. 2998.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **deɢ-* ‘day’: Georgian *dγ-e* ‘day’, *dγ-e-n-del-i* ‘today’; Mingrelian *dγ-a* ‘day’; Laz *dγ-a* ‘day’; Svan *la-deγ* ‘day’, *an-dγ-a-n-er-i* ‘today’. Schmidt 1962:105—106 **daγ-* or **deγ-*; Klimov 1964:75—76 **dγe-* and 1998:43—44 **dɣe-* ‘day’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:108 **deγ-*; Fähnrich 2007:131—132 **deγ-*.
D. Proto-Indo-European **d$^{h}$og$^{h}$-o-* ‘day’: Proto-Germanic **daγaz* ‘day’ > Gothic *dags* ‘day’; Old Icelandic *dagr* ‘day’; Swedish *dag* ‘day’; Norwegian *dag* ‘day’; Danish *dag* ‘day’; Old English *dæg* ‘day’; Old Frisian *dei* ‘day’; Old Saxon *dag* ‘day’; Old High German *tag*, *tac* ‘day’ (New High German *Tag*). Feist 1939:113—114 **dhegh-* or **dheg$^{u}$h-*; Lehmann 1986:86—87 **dheg$^{w}$h-* ‘to burn’; Kroonen 2013:86—87 Proto-Germanic **daga-* ‘day’ (< **d$^{h}$oǵ$^{h}$-o-*); Orël 2003:66 Proto-Germanic **đaʒaz*; Onions 1966:246 **dhegh-* ‘to burn’; Klein 1971:192 **dheg$^{w}$h-*, **dhog$^{w}$h-* ‘to burn’; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:71—72; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:766 **dheg$^{u}$h-*, **dhŏg$^{u}$h-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:718 **dheg$^{u}$h-* ‘to burn’; De Vries 1962:71—72 **dhegh-* or **dheg$^{u}$h-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:97—98. Puhvel (1987:315—318) has convincingly argued that the Proto-Indo-European word for ‘yesterday’, which he reconstructs as **dhĝhyes-* (> Sanskrit *hyás* ‘yesterday’; Greek χθές ‘yesterday’), belongs here as well (see also Beekes 2010.II:1632). Puhvel reconstructs Proto-Indo-European **dhoĝho-* as the source of the Germanic words for ‘day’.

Sumerian *dadag* ‘clear, shining, bright, radiant, brilliant, luminous’, *dág* ‘shining, bright, clear’.

Buck 1949:14.41 day. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:221, no. 70, **dıga* ‘bright, light’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:270—271, no. 82.

148. Proto-Nostratic root **dal-* (~ **dəl-*):
(vb.) **dal-* ‘to cut, to prick, to pierce, to gash, to notch, to gouge, to wound’;
(n.) **dal-a* ‘gash, notch, strike, split’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **dalaaʕ-* ‘to gash, to notch’ > Burunge *delaʿ-* ‘to gash, to notch’; K’wadza *dalaʾ-* ‘to shoot (with an arrow)’. Ehret 1980:345.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tallu* (*talli-*) ‘to beat, to crush’; Malayalam *tallu* ‘a blow, stroke, beating’, *talluka* ‘to strike, to beat’; Telugu *talgu* ‘to strike’; Gondi *talg-* ‘to strike, to hit the mark’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:270, no. 3105.

C. Proto-Indo-European **dʰel-bʰ-/*dʰol-bʰ-/*dʰl̥-bʰ-* ‘to dig, to hollow out’: Old English *delfan* ‘to dig, to burrow’, *gedelf* ‘digging, trench’; Old Frisian *delva* ‘to dig’; Old Saxon *(bi)delƀan* ‘to dig’; Dutch *delven* ‘to dig’; Middle High German *(bi)telben* ‘to dig’; Slovenian *dléto* (< **delbt-*) ‘chisel’; Russian *dolbat'* [долбать], *dolbit'* [долбить] ‘to chisel, to hollow out’. Rix 1998a:124 **dʰelbʰ-* ‘to dig, to hollow out’; Pokorny 1959:246 **dhelbh-* ‘to dig’; Walde 1927—1932.I:866—867 **dhelbh-*; Mann 1984—1987:181 **dhelbhō* ‘to dig, to gouge’, 192 **dhl̥bh-* ‘hollow’, 196 **dholbh-* ‘to dig’; Watkins 1985:13 **dhelbh-* and 2000:18 **dhelbh-* ‘to dig, to excavate’; Mallory—Adams 1997:159 **dhelbh-* ‘to dig’; Orël 2003:70 Proto-Germanic **đelƀanan*, 70 **đelƀaz* ~ **đelƀan*; Kroonen 2013:92 Proto-Germanic **delban-* ‘to dig, to delve’; Onions 1966:254; Klein 1971: 200. Proto-Indo-European **dʰel-gʰ-/*dʰol-gʰ-/*dʰl̥-gʰ-* ‘to gash, to wound’: Old Icelandic *dolg* ‘enmity’; Old English *dolg* ‘wound, scar’; Old Frisian *dolg* ‘wound’; Low German *daljen*, *dalgen* ‘to slay’; Middle Dutch *dolk* ‘wound’; Old High German *tolc*, *tolg*, *dolg* ‘wound’. Walde 1927—1932.I:866 **dhelgh-*; Pokorny 1959:247 **dhelgh-*, **dhelg-* (?) ‘to hit’; Mann 1984—1987:192 **dhl̥ghō* (? **dhl̥gu̯h-*) ‘to stab, to wound, to burn, to smart’; Orël 2003:67 Proto-Germanic **đalǯōjanan*, 78 **đulǯan*; De Vries 1977:78—79. Proto-Indo-European **dʰel-k’-/*dʰol-k’-/*dʰl̥-k’-* ‘(vb.) to prick, to pierce; (n.) sharp object’: Old Icelandic *dálkr* ‘pin, dagger’; Old English *dalc* ‘brooch, bracelet’; New High German *Dolch* ‘dagger’; Old Irish *delg* ‘thorn, spike, pin, brooch’; Lithuanian *dal̃gis* ‘scythe’, *dilgùs* ‘spiky, stinging’, *dìlgė* ‘nettle’. But not Latin *falx* ‘sickle, scythe’. Pokorny 1959:247 **dhelg-* ‘to stab; needle’; Walde 1927—1932.I:865—866 **dhelg-*; Mann 1984—1987:182 **dhelg-*, **dholg-*, **dhl̥g-* ‘spiky; spike, pin, brooch’, 196 **dholgos*, *-i̯os*, *-i̯ə* ‘brooch, spit, dagger’; Mallory—Adams 1997:424 **dhelg-* ‘to sting, to pierce’ and 428 (?) **dhelg-* ‘pin’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:137 **dhelg-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:149; De Vries 1977:72; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:74—75; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:81; Smoczyński 2007.1:91.

D. Proto-Altaic **dĕlpʰi-* ‘to split, to burst’: Proto-Tungus **delpe-* ‘to split’ > Evenki *delpe-rge-*, *delpe-m-* ‘to split’; Lamut / Even *depčerge-* ‘to split’; Solon *delpe-* ‘to split’. Proto-Mongolian **delbe-* ‘to split or crack open, to

burst, to break' > Mongolian *delbere-* 'to burst or crack asunder, to go to pieces, to split, to break; to explode', *delberkei* 'split, cracked; crack, cleft, crevice, fissure, hole'; Khalkha *delbere-* 'to burst, to break through'; Buriat *delber-*, *delbel-* 'to burst, to break through'; Kalmyk *delwl̥-* 'to burst, to break through'; Ordos *delbel-* 'to burst, to break through'. Poppe 1960:44; Street 1974:11 **delpe* 'asunder, to pieces' in **delpe-le-* 'to split, to burst'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:471 **dĕlp'i* 'to burst, to break'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also include Proto-Turkic **deĺ-* 'to make holes' and Proto-Japanese **timpə-* 'to become worn down, out'.

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **tala-* 'to beat': Chukchi *tala-* 'to beat (frozen meat), to pulverize (bones)', *tala-jwə-* 'to hit, to beat'; Kerek *ta(a)la-* 'to pound, to beat'; Koryak *tala-* 'to hit, to pound (with a hammer)', *talanaŋ* 'hammer'; Alyutor *tala-* 'to beat, to strike'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *tala-s* 'to beat, to strike, to crush, to forge (metal)', *k-tala-ʔan* 'blacksmith', (Sedanka) *tala-* 'to beat', (Western) *tlez-* 'to pulverize', *talaan* 'forged, shoed (horse)', *talal(k)nan* 'hammer'. Fortescue 2005:276.

Sumerian *dála* 'thorn, needle'.

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.); 8.22 dig; 9.21 strike (hit, beat). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:268—269, no. 79; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 527, **dæLbV* 'to gouge, to dig, to cut through'.

149. Proto-Nostratic root **dal-* (~ **dəl-*):
(vb.) **dal-* 'to stir up, to disturb, to roil (water), to agitate; to be disturbed, confused, agitated, troubled';
(n.) **dal-a* 'disturbance, agitation'
Note also:
(vb.) **dul-* 'to disturb, to perplex, to bewilder, to confuse, to ruffle, to upset, to baffle, to stir up trouble, to agitate; to be disturbed, perplexed, bewildered, confused, ruffled, upset, baffled, troubled, agitated' (> 'to drive someone crazy, mad, insane; to be crazy, mad, insane; to be dumb, stupid');
(n.) **dul-a* 'confusion, disturbance, trouble, agitation, perplexity' (> 'madness, craziness, insanity; stupidity')

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **dal-ax-* 'to stir up, to disturb, to roil (water), to agitate' > Akkadian *dalāḫu* 'to stir up, to roil (water), to blur (eyes); to disturb; to become muddied, roiled, blurred; to be or become troubled, confused, embarrassed', *diliḫtu* 'disturbed condition, confusion, distress', *dalḫu* 'disturbed, blurred, muddy, cloudy, confused'; Hebrew *dālaḥ* [דָּלַח] 'to trouble, to make turbid'; Syriac *dəlaḥ* 'to trouble, to disturb'; Harari *däläḥa* 'to sin, to err, to go astray, to miss the way'; Gurage (Masqan, Gogot) *dälla*, (Wolane, Zway) *däla* 'to make a mistake, to be mistaken, to

err, to lose the way, to miss the way'. D. Cohen 1970— :264; Murtonen 1989:150; Klein 1987:125; Leslau 1963:56 and 1979:205.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *tallaṇa*, *tallaṛa* 'agitation, amazement, alarm, fear, grief', *tallaṇisu* 'to be or become agitated from fear or amazement, to be troubled, alarmed, anxious', *taḷḷaṅka* 'embarrassment, fear, etc.'; Tuḷu *tallaṇa* 'wavering, vexed'; Telugu *tallaḍamu* 'agitation, commotion, anxiety, turmoil', *tallaḍincu*, *tallaḍillu*, *tallaḍakuḍucu*, *tallaḍa-paḍu* 'to be agitated or in a state of turmoil, commotion or anxiety', *tallaḍapāṭu* 'agitation, turmoil, commotion', *tallaḍa-peṭṭu* 'to throw into a state of turmoil, agitation, or anxiety'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:70, no. 3104.

C. Proto-Eskimo **tala(t)-* ('to be confused, disturbed, disoriented' >) 'to be drunk, tipsy; to act crazy': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *tala-*, *talatə-* 'to be drunk, to act crazy'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *talat-* 'to be asphyxiated (by gas vapors or when eating something intoxicating)'; Northwest Greenlandic *talakkat-* 'to be careless, untidy'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:327.

Buck 1949:16.33 anxiety; 17.23 insane, mad, crazy. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I: 216—217, no. 62, **dalq/u/* 'wave'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 526, **dalqa|U* 'wave'.

150. Proto-Nostratic root **dal$^{y}$-* (~ **dəl$^{y}$-*):
(vb.) **dal$^{y}$-* 'to oppress, to harass, to weaken, to tire';
(n.) **dal$^{y}$-a* 'tiredness, weakness, exhaustion, weariness'; (adj.) 'oppressed, tired, weary, weak, exhausted'

A. Proto-Afrasian **dal-* 'to oppress, to harass, to weaken, to tire': Proto-Semitic **dal-al-* 'to oppress, to weaken', **dall-* 'weak, small, inferior' > Akkadian *dallu* 'small, inferior', *dullulu* 'to oppress', *dullulu* 'wronged, oppressed'; Hebrew *dal* [דַּל] 'low, weak, poor, thin', **dālal* [דָּלַל] 'to be or become small'; Phoenician *dl* 'poor'; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *dəlal* 'to be poor'; Ugaritic *dl* 'poor'; Soqoṭri *delel* 'to humiliate'. D. Cohen 1970— :265—266; Klein 1987:125—126; Murtonen 1989:149; Tomback 1978:72. Proto-Semitic **dal-ap-* 'to be exhausted, weary, sleepless' > Akkadian *dalāpu* 'to be or stay awake, to be sleepless, to work ceaselessly, to continue (work) into the night, to drag on, to linger on; to keep someone awake, to harass', *dalpu* 'awake, alert; weary-eyed from watching; harassed', *diliptu* 'sleeplessness, trouble', *dullupu* 'to keep (someone) awake, to harass', *dulpu* 'sleeplessness (as a disease)'; Ugaritic *dlp* 'to be exhausted'. D. Cohen 1970— :267—268. Lowland East Cushitic **dal-* 'to be tired' > Somali *daal-* 'to be tired'. Omotic **dall-* 'to become meager' > Kefa *dalli-* 'to become meager'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:147, no. 637, **dal-* 'to be weak, to be tired'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *taḷar* ‘to droop, to faint; to grow weary, enfeebled, infirm, or decrepit; to grow slack, to become relaxed (as a tie or grasp), to become flabby from age, to suffer, to lose one’s vitality’, *taḷar* ‘slackening’, *taḷarcci*, *taḷartti* ‘slackness, looseness, flexibility, weakness, infirmity, faintness, languor, depression, laziness, remissness’, *taḷarvu* ‘growing slack, relaxing, faintness, weakness, depression, sorrow’, *taḷarttu* (*taḷartti-*) ‘to loosen (tr.)’; *taḷataḷa* ‘to become loose (as a cloth worn upon the person)’; Malayalam *taḷaruka* ‘to relax, to slacken, to be allayed, to grow faint, to grow weary’, *taḷarcca* ‘slackness, weariness, faintness’, *taḷarkka*, *taḷarttuka* ‘to moderate, to abate’; Kota *taḷa·r-* (*taḷa·ry-*) ‘to take rest’; Koḍagu *taḷe-* (*taḷev-*, *taḷand-*) ‘to become weak’, *taḷat-* (*taḷati-*) ‘to make weak, to exhaust’; Tuḷu *taḷabaḷa*, *taḷamaḷa* ‘exhaustion, weariness’, *daḷabaḷa*, *daḷaṅkè* ‘loose’; Malto *talqro* ‘tender, delicate, weak’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:272, no. 3127.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 4.91 tired, weary.

151. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **daq$^{h}$-a* ‘male of certain animals: billy-goat, ram’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *takar* ‘sheep, ram, goat, male of certain animals (*yāḷi*, elephant, shark)’; Malayalam *takaran* ‘huge, powerful (as a man, bear, etc.)’; Kannaḍa *tagar*, *ṭagaru*, *ṭagara*, *ṭegaru* ‘ram’; Tuḷu *tagaru*, *ṭagarụ* ‘ram’; Telugu *tagaramu*, *tagaru* ‘ram’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:259, no. 3000; Krishnamurti 2003:12 **tak-ar* ‘ram’.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **daq-* ‘goat’ (> **dq-* in Georgian, Mingrelian, and Laz through syncope; final *-a* in these languages is suffixal): Mingrelian *tx-a* ‘goat’ (initial *d* > *t* through regressive voicing assimilation); Laz *tx-a* ‘goat’; Georgian *tx-a* ‘goat’; Svan *daqəl* ‘goat’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:102 **daq-*; Klimov 1964:77 **dqa-* and 1998:80 **tqa-* ‘she-goat’; Schmidt 1962:116; Fähnrich 2007:125 **daq-*.

Buck 1949:3.25 sheep; 3.26 ram; 3.36 goat. Bomhard 1996a:227—228, no. 643.

152. Proto-Nostratic root **dar-* (~ **dər-*):
(vb.) **dar-* ‘to bend, to twist, to turn; to twist, wrap, or join together’;
(n.) **dar-a* ‘bend, turn, curve; that which bends, turns, winds, or twists: winding course or way’; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, crooked; wrapped, twisted, turned, or joined together’

A. Proto-Afrasian **dar-* ‘to wrap, to wind, to twist; to walk’: Proto-Semitic **dar-ag-* ‘to go, to walk, to move, to proceed; to wrap, to wind, to twist’ > Arabic *daraǧa* (*durūǧ*) ‘to go, to walk, to move, to proceed, to advance (slowly), to approach gradually, to follow a course; to go away, to leave, to

depart; to be past, bygone, over; to have passed away, to be extinct; to circulate, to be in circulation, to have currency; to grow up (child)', *daraǧa* (*darǧ*) 'to roll up, to roll together; to wrap, to wind, to twist'; Hebrew *maðrēγāh* [מַדְרֵגָה] 'step (cut in rocks), mountain path'; Akkadian *daraggu* 'path'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *dórǵ* 'to become used to walking for the first time', *edúrg* 'to wrap in white cloth, to enshroud', *edrég* 'to lead', *dérgét* 'step, coil of rope, layer'; Ḥarsūsi *dərōg* '(small animal) to begin to walk', *dərgēt* 'step; layer; coil of rope'; Tigre *därgägä* 'to make roll down, to roll away'. Ethiopian Semitic **dar-ag-* 'to twist, wrap, or join together' > Geez / Ethiopic *darga* [ደርገ] 'to be joined together, to be united', *darraga* [ደረገ] 'to join, to unite'; Tigre *därga* 'to mix'; Tigrinya *därägä* 'to join, to unite'; Amharic *därrägä* 'to become one, to be united, to be combined'. Murtonen 1989:153; D. Cohen 1970— :308—309; Leslau 1987:141—142. Proto-Semitic **dar-ab-* 'to bend, to fold' > Tigre *därräba* 'to fold'; Tigrinya *därräbä* 'to fold'; Amharic *därräbä* 'to fold'; Gurage *däräbä* 'to double'. D. Cohen 1970— :307; Leslau 1979:218. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **dar-dar-* 'to turn, to rotate' > Mehri *adárdər* 'to go around someone or something'. Berber: Tuareg *adərih* 'footprint on the ground'; Tawlemmet *adəriz* 'footprint'; Tamazight *ddirəz* 'to retreat, to go back, to go away', *sddirəz* 'to make retreat', *addirəz* 'withdrawal, retreat'; Ghadames *ədrəz* 'to stomp the feet, to dance', *dərrəz* 'men's dance', *ləmdraz* 'footprints on the ground'; Kabyle *adriz* 'track, trail'. Central Cushitic: Awngi / Awiya *dərdər-* 'to turn, to rotate'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:151, no. 656, **dar-* 'to run', 151, no. 657, **dar-* 'road', 174, no. 764, **dVr-dVr-* 'to turn, to rotate'; Ehret 1995:134, no. 151, **dir-* 'to step'.

B. Dravidian: Telugu *tari* 'churning', *tarikā̃ḍu* 'one who churns', *tar(u)cu*, *tracu* 'to churn'; Parji *terip-* (*terit-*) 'to churn'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:269, no. 3095. Tamil *ta<u>r</u>u* (*ta<u>r</u>uv-*, *ta<u>rr</u>-*) 'to wear tightly (as a cloth), to fasten'; Malayalam *ta<u>r</u>uka* 'to be tucked in before and behind', *ta<u>r</u>ayuka* 'to be fixed', *tā<u>r</u>u* 'wearing clothes tucked in'; Kannaḍa *ta<u>r</u>i* 'state of being joined, of being put in or down, fixed, or settled', *ta<u>r</u>u* (*tatt-*) 'to join, to approach, to engage in'; Tuḷu *tarapuni*, *tarpuni* 'to rivet, to fasten firmly; to be riveted, fixed'; Telugu *ta<u>r</u>upu* 'to join together, to amass (wealth)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:273, no. 3142.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **der-*/**dr-* 'to bend': **dr-ek'-* 'to bend (tr.)', **der-k'-* 'to bend, to stoop (intr.)': Georgian *drek'-*/*drik'-* 'to bend', *drk'u* 'crooked, bent'; Mingrelian *dirak'-*/*dirik'-*/*dirk'-* 'to bend'; Laz *drak'-*/*drik'-*/*druk'-* 'to bend'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:107 **der-*/**dr-*; Gamkrelidze 1967:711—712; Klimov 1964:74—75 **dreḳ-*/**driḳ-*/**derḳ-* and 1998: 39—40 **der-* : **dr-* 'to bend, to curve', 1998:42 **dr-eḳ-*/**dr-iḳ-*/**dr-ḳ-* 'to bend, to curve, to stoop'; Schmidt 1962:105; Gamkrelidze—Mačavariani 1982:89—92; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:261—262 and 1995.I:227—228 **der-k'-*, **dr-ek'-*; Fähnrich 2007:130—131 **der-*/**dr-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European **dʰer-gʰ-*/**dʰor-gʰ-*/**dʰr̥-gʰ-*, **dʰr-egʰ-*/**dʰr-ogʰ-*/**dʰr̥-gʰ-* ‘to turn’: Greek τρέχω ‘to run, to move quickly’, τροχός ‘wheel’, τροχιός ‘round’, τρόχος ‘a running course’; Armenian *darnam* (< **darjnam*) ‘to turn, to return’, *durgn* ‘a potter’s wheel’; Albanian *dredh* ‘to twist, to turn’; Old Irish *droch* ‘wheel’, *dreas* ‘turn, course’. Rix 1998a:127 **dʰerĝʰ-* ‘to turn’; Pokorny 1959:258 **dhereĝh-* ‘to turn’, 273 **dhregh-* ‘to run’; Walde 1927—1932.I:863 **dherĝh-*, **dhreĝh-*, I:874—875 **dhregh-*; Mann 1984—1987:203 **dhreĝhō* ‘to turn’, 206 **dhroĝhos*, *-ā* ‘turn, going, wheel’, 212 **dhr̥ĝh-* ‘turn’; Watkins 1985:15 **dhregh-* ‘to run’; Mallory—Adams 1997:491 **dhregh-* ‘to run’; Orël 1998:73; Beekes 2010.II:1506—1507 **dʰregʰ-*; Hofmann 1966:373 **dhregh-*; Boisacq 1950:983—984 **dhreĝh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1135—1136 **dhregh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:927—929.

Sumerian *dára* ‘a band’, *dára*, *dáru* ‘belt, girdle’.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.45 walk (vb.); 10.46 run; 12.22 join, unite. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:272—273, no. 84; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 570, **doRḳæ* (~ **doRgæ* ?) ‘to bend, to turn, to wrap’.

153. Proto-Nostratic root **dar-* (~ **dər-*):
(vb.) **dar-* ‘to pound, to break; to harm, to injure, to torment’;
(n.) **dar-a* ‘harm, injury’; (adj.) ‘harmful, malevolent’ (> ‘bad’ in Kartvelian and, within Indo-European, in Celtic)

A. Proto-Afrasian **dar-* ‘to pound, to break; to harm, to injure, to torment’: Proto-Semitic **dar-as-*, **dar-aš-* ‘to pound, to break; to harm, to injure, to torment’ > Arabic *darasa* ‘to wipe out, to blot out, to obliterate, to efface, to extinguish; to thresh (grain)’, *dāris* ‘effaced, obliterated; old, dilapidated, crumbling’, *dars* ‘effacement, obliteration, extinction’; Akkadian *darāsu*, *darāšu* ‘to trample upon, to throw over or back, to press hard, to treat harshly’, *durrusu* ‘to treat oppressively’; Gurage *därräsä* ‘to break off the edge, to destroy’; Tigre *därasäsa* ‘to crush’. D. Cohen 1970— :316 *drs/š*; Leslau 1979:221. Egyptian *dr* ‘to subdue (enemies); to expel, to drive out (people); to remove; to repress (a wrongdoer); to destroy (a place)’. Hannig 1995:983; Faulkner 1962:314—315; Gardiner 1957:602; Erman—Grapow 1921:215 and 1926—1963.5:473—474. Berber: Tuareg *adər* ‘to squeeze something strongly to force it from the bottom to the top, to be pressed’; Ghadames *adər* ‘to squeeze, to clench, to compress’; Mzab *adər* ‘to press, to squeeze, to weigh on’; Tamazight *adər* ‘to press on, to lower, to cover, to be pressed, to bury, to drive or thrust into the earth’, *adar* ‘burial, driving or thrusting in’; Kabyle *adər* ‘to descend’, *ssidər* ‘to lower, to make descend’; Zenaga *adər*, *dər* ‘to fall

down, to descend, to attack', *cidər* 'to make fall down, to make descend'. Highland East Cushitic **dar-* 'to break, to tear off' > Burji *dar-* 'to break (tr.)', *dar-ɗ-* 'to break (intr.)'; Gedeo / Darasa *dar-* 'to tear off'; Hadiyya *dareer-* 'to tear off'; Sidamo *dar-* 'to tear off'. Hudson 1989:31 and 149; Sasse 1982:53.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tarukku* (*tarukki-*) 'to pound, to break, to pierce, to injure, to torment'; Malayalam *tarakkuka* 'to remove the husk from rice'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:269, no. 3099; Krishnamurti 2003:8 **tar-V-* ''to churn'.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **dar-* 'bad, unfit': Georgian *dar-e-j*, *m-dar-e* 'bad, unfit', *u-dar-es-i* 'worse'; Svan *x-o-dr-a* 'worse', *x-o-dr-ām-d* 'worse', *dar-äl-a* 'bad, unfit', *ma-dr-ēn-e* 'worse'. Klimov 1998:37 **dar-* : **dr-* 'to be unfit, bad'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:101 **dar-*; Fähnrich 2007:124 **dar-*. Semantic development as in Old Icelandic *vándr* 'bad, wicked' < *vá* '(vb.) to harm, to hurt, to blame; (n.) woe, calamity, danger' or Welsh *gwaeth* 'worse', *gwaethaf* 'worst'; Breton *gwaz* 'worse'; Cornish *gwêth* 'worse', which are derived from the same stem found in Old Icelandic. Note also Old Irish *droch-*, *drog-* 'bad' from Proto-Indo-European **dʰr-ew-gʰ-* 'to hurt, to harm' cited below.

D. Proto-Indo-European **dʰr-ew-gʰ-* 'to hurt, to harm': Sanskrit *drúh-*, *dhrúk* 'injuring, hurting', *drúhyati* 'to hurt, to seek to harm, to be hostile to; to bear malice or hatred', *droha-ḥ* 'injury, mischief, harm, perfidy, treachery, wrong, offense'; Oriya *dhokā* 'injury, doubt, fear'; Hindi *dho* 'malice, injury', *dhok(h)ā* 'deceit, fear'; Gujarati *droh* 'malice'; Sindhi *ḍrohu* 'deceit'; Old Saxon *driogan* 'to deceive'; Old Frisian *(bi)driaga* 'to deceive'; Old High German *triugan* 'to deceive' (New High German *trügen*), *bitriogan* 'to deceive, to defraud' (New High German *betrügen*); New High German *Trug* 'deception, fraud; deceit'; Old Irish *droch-*, *drog-* 'bad'; Welsh *drwg* 'bad'; Breton *drouk*, *droug* 'bad'; Cornish *drog* 'bad'. Rix 1998a:137—138 **dʰreu̯gʰ-* 'to deceive'; Pokorny 1959:276 **dhreugh-* 'to deceive'; Walde 1927—1932.I:860 **dhereugh-*; Mann 1984—1987:207 **dhroughos* 'bad, evil, wizened; evil person or thing', 209 **dhrugh-* 'evil'; Morris Jones 1913:246; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:79—80 and 146; Kroonen 2013:102 Proto-Germanic **dreugan-* 'to mislead'; Orël 2003:75—76 Proto-Germanic **đreuɣanan*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:794 **dhreugh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:743. Proto-Indo-European **dʰr-u-bʰ-* 'to break, to shatter': Greek θρύπτω 'to break in pieces, to break small'. Rix 1998a:137 **dʰreu̯bʰ-* 'to break (in pieces), to smash, to shatter'; Pokorny 1959:274—275 **dhreu-* 'to crumble'; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:443—444 **dhru-bh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:688—689 **dhrubh-i̯ō*; Hofmann 1966:118 **dhreubh-*; Boisacq 1950:354 **dhrubh-*; Beekes 2010.I:560 **dʰrubʰ-ie/o-*. Proto-Indo-European **dʰr-ew-s-* 'to break, to shatter': Greek θραύω 'to break in pieces, to shatter'. Boisacq 1950:350—351; Hofmann 1966:117 **dhreus-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:680—681 **dhrēus-*; Chantraine 1968—

1980.I:439; Beekes 2010.I:553. Note: The unextended stem *$d^{h}er$- ‘to pound, to break; to harm, to injure’ is not attested.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.); 16.72 bad.

154. Proto-Nostratic root *_dar_- (~ *_dər_-):
(vb.) *_dar_- ‘to be or become dark’;
(n.) *_dar-a_ ‘dark spot, darkness’; (adj.) ‘dark, black’

A. Proto-Afrasian *_dar_- ‘dark, black’: Semitic: Arabic _darina_ ‘to be dirty, filthy’, _daran_ ‘dirt, filth’. D. Cohen 1970— :315. Proto-East Cushitic *_darʕ_- ‘soot, ashes’ > Burji _daar-aa_ ‘ashes’ (this may be a loan from Galla / Oromo); Galla / Oromo _daar-aa_ ‘ashes’; Konso _tar-a_ ‘ashes’; Mashile _tarʔ-a_ ‘ashes’; Gidole _tarɗ-at_ ‘ashes’; Dullay _tarʕ-o_ ‘ashes’. Sasse 1979:16 and 1982:51. For the semantics, cf. Gadba (Salur) _sirriŋ_ ‘soot, ashes’ from the same stem found in Gadba (Ollari) _siriŋg_ ‘black’, _sirŋaṭ_ ‘black, rusty’, (Salur) _siriŋgaṭi_ ‘black’, _siriŋ_ ‘charcoal, cinders’, all of which are related to, for example, Kolami _cirum_ ‘very dark’, _sindi_ ‘soot’, Parji _ciruŋ_ ‘charcoal’, etc. (for details, cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:222, no. 2552); note also Sirenik _taʁa_ ‘soot’, cited below.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$d^{h}er$-/*$d^{h}or$-/*$d^{h}r̥$- ‘(adj.) dark, dirty; (n.) dirt, filth’: Latin _fracēs_ ‘dregs of oil’; Macedonian δαρδαίνει· ‘to soil, to defile’; Middle Irish _derg_ ‘red’; Old Icelandic _dregg_ ‘dregs, lees’, _drit_ ‘dirt, excrement (of birds)’, _dríta_ ‘to ease oneself’; Old English _drōsne_ ‘dregs, dirt’, _deorc_ ‘dark’, _dærste_ ‘dregs, lees’, _drit_ ‘mud, dirt, dung’; Middle Dutch _drēte_ ‘dirt’ (Dutch _dreet_); Old High German _tarchannen_ ‘to hide something (in a dark place)’, _trousana_ ‘lees, dregs’; Middle High German _verterken_, _vertirken_ ‘to darken’; Lithuanian _dérgti_ ‘to become dirty’, _deřkti_ ‘to make dirty’, _dargùs_ ‘dirty, filthy’, _dargà_ ‘dirt, filth’. Pokorny 1959:251—252 *_dher-_, *_dherə-_ ‘dirt’, 256 *_dher-_, *_dhrei-d-_ ‘dirt’; Walde 1927—1932.I:854—856 *_dher-_, *_dherā-_, I:861—862 *_dher-_, *_dh(e)rei-d-_; Mann 1984—1987:185 *_dhergos_ (*_dhorg-_) ‘dark, discolored; grim, glum’, 199 *_dhorg-_ ‘murk, foulness; foul; to defile’, 201 *_dhrabhos_, *_-ā_, *_-om_, *_-esə_ ‘dross, filth’, 201 *_dhrābhos_, *_-i̯os_, *_-i̯ə_ ‘dross, filth’, 202 *_dhrăĝh-_ ‘scourings, waste, grounds’, 205 *_dhrĭd-_ ‘dirt, excrement’; Mallory—Adams 1997:170 *_dhregh-_ ‘dregs’; Watkins 1985:13—14 *_dher-_ and 2000:18 *_dher-_ ‘to make muddy; darkness’; De Vaan 2008:238; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:538—539; Ernout—Meillet 1979:251 *_dhregh-_; Orël 2003:76 Proto-Germanic *_đrītanan_; Kroonen 2013:103—104 Proto-Germanic *_drita-_ ‘shit, dirt’; De Vries 1977:82 and 84; Onions 1966:244 and 271; Klein 1971:216, 229, and 230; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:103; Smoczyński 2007.1:102.

C. Proto-Eskimo *_taʁəʁ(-)_ ‘(vb.) to be dark; (n.) darkness’: Central Alaskan Yupik (Nunivak) _taaləx_ ‘darkness’; Naukan Siberian Yupik _tažuq_

‘darkness’, *tažuʀ-* ‘to get dark’; Sirenik *taʀa* ‘soot’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *taaq* ‘darkness’, *taʀʀumi* ‘in the dark’, *taaqsi-* ‘to get dark’, *taʀʀaq* ‘shadow’; North Alaskan Inuit *taaq* ‘darkness; to be dark; (Nunamiut) to be black’, *taaqsi-* ‘to get dark’; Western Canadian Inuit *taaq* ‘darkness; to be dark’, *taaqsi-* ‘to get dark’, *taʀʀaq* ‘shadow’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *taaq* ‘darkness; to be dark, to make a shadow, to darken, to hide’, *taarsi-* ‘to be nightfall’, *taʀʀaq* ‘shadow’; Greenlandic Inuit *taaq* ‘darkness’, *taaʀ-* ‘to be dark’, *taaʀsi-* ‘to get dark’, *taʀšaq*, *taʀšak* ‘dark spot’, *taʀšaɣ-* ‘to lie in half-darkness, to have a dark shadow above it’. Cf. Atkan Aleut *taXt-* ‘to get dark’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:333. Proto-Eskimo **taʀəʀnəʀ* ‘darkness or dark thing’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *tannəq* ‘darkness’, *tannəʀ-* ‘to be dark’; Central Alaskan Yupik *tanɣəq* ‘darkness’, *taŋəʀ-* ‘to be dark’; Naukan Siberian Inuit *tanɣəq* ‘black thing’, *taɣnəʀaq* ‘shadow’; Central Siberian Yupik *taɣnəq* ‘darkness, dark thing’, *taɣnəʀ-* ‘to be black’; North Alaskan Inuit *taaʀniq* ‘darkness’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *taaʀniq* ‘darkness’; Greenlandic Inuit *taaʀniq* ‘darkness’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:333.

Sumerian *dar*, *dar-a*, *dar-dar* ‘colored; color’, $dar_4$ ‘dark, obscure’, $dara_4$ ‘dark, dark red’.

Buck 1949:15.88 dirty, soiled. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:266—267, no. 76.

155. Proto-Nostratic root *$dar^y$- (~ *$dər^y$-):
(vb.) *$dar^y$- ‘to swell, to enlarge’;
(n.) *$dar^y$-*a* ‘swelling, inflammation, blister, blotch, blemish; outgrowth, tumor’

A. Proto-Afrasian *dar- ‘(vb.) to swell, to enlarge; (n.) tumor, outgrowth’: Proto-Semitic *dar-an- ‘(vb.) to swell, to enlarge; (n.) tumor, outgrowth’ > Arabic *daran* ‘tubercle; tuberculosis’, *darana* ‘tubercle; small tumor, tumor, outgrowth, excrescence, tubercle, nodule’, *daranī* ‘tubercular, tuberculosis’, *darina* ‘to suffer from tuberculosis’; Tigre *därän* ‘cutaneous eruptions like blisters’. D. Cohen 1970— :315. Berber: Tuareg *tadrəmt* ‘psoriasis’; Tawlemmet *daram* ‘to have small cracks or scars appear on the skin (a pregnant woman or an obese person)’; Kabyle *əddrəm* ‘to deteriorate, to be old or wrinkled, to be chapped or cracked (skin)’, *sədrəm* ‘to make deteriorate, to grow old, to wrinkle’; Zenaga *ədrəm* ‘to spurt out, to gush forth’, *tədərmi* ‘resurgence’. Proto-Highland East Cushitic *darš- ‘to swell’ > Gedeo / Darasa *darš-* ‘to swell’; Hadiyya *dasš-* (< **darš-*) ‘to swell’; Kambata *darš-* ‘to swell’; Sidamo *darš-* ‘to swell (from a sting)’. Hudson 1989:147. Note: Ehret 1995:135, no. 150, reconstructs Proto-Afrasian **dar-* ‘to enlarge, to increase’ on the basis of different forms than those cited above.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *taṟumpu* (*taṟumpi-*) ‘to be scarred, bruised, marked; to become practiced, addicted’, *taṟumpu* ‘scar, cicatrice, bruise, weal, mark, impression, dent made in the skin, injury, blemish, stigma, defect in character’; Malayalam *taṟampu* ‘scar, callous spot (as from a writing style), wart’, *taṟampikka* ‘to grow callous’; Kota *taḷm* (oblique *taḷt-*) ‘swelling raised by a blow, weal’; Kui *dali* ‘an inflamed patch of skin, blotch’; Malto *ṭaḍa* ‘scar, spot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:271, no. 3118.

156. Proto-Nostratic root (?) **daw-* (~ **dəw-*):
(vb.) **daw-* ‘to sound, to resound, to make a noise’;
(n.) **daw-a* ‘sound, noise’

A. Proto-Afrasian **dVw-* ‘to sound, to resound, to make a noise’: Proto-Semitic **daw-al-* ‘to ring a bell’ > Geez / Ethiopic *dawwala* [ደወለ] ‘to ring a bell’, *dawal* [ደወል] ‘bell’; Tigre *däwwäla* ‘to ring a bell’, *däwäl* ‘bell’; Tigrinya *däwwälä* ‘to ring a bell’; Harari *däwäl* ‘bell’; Gurage *däwwälä* ‘to ring a bell’, *däwäl* ‘church bell’; Amharic *däwäl* ‘bell’. Leslau 1979:224 and 1987:145; D. Cohen 1970— :235—236. Proto-Semitic **daw-an-* ‘to ring a bell’ > Tigre *däwwäna* ‘to ring a bell’; Gurage *donä* ‘bell attached to the neck of a small child or cow’. Leslau 1979:211. Proto-Semitic **daw-ay-* ‘to sound, to resound’ > Arabic *dawā* ‘to sound, to drone, to echo, to resound’, *dawīy* ‘sound, noise, drone, roar, echo, thunder’; Arabic (Daṯina) *dawā* ‘to make a dull noise’. D. Cohen 1970— :234. Egyptian *ḏỉwt* (?), *dw-t* (?) ‘shriek, cry’, *dwꜣ-wt* ‘outcry, roar’, *dwỉ*, *dwy* ‘to call, to cry out’, *ḏwy*, *ḏwỉ* ‘to call (someone)’. Erman—Grapow 1921:212, 219 and 1926—1963.5:428, 5:550—551; Faulkner 1962:309 and 321; Gardiner 1957:602 and 603; Hannig 1995:970, 972, and 1001. Berber: Tamazight *dəwnən* ‘to talk to oneself, to speak in a monologue’; Tuareg *səddwənnət* ‘to converse with someone, to have a quiet conversation’, *ədəwənnə* ‘conversation’; Kabyle *dəwnnən*, *sdəwnnən* ‘to talk to oneself, to be delirious’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **dʰwen-*/**dʰwon-*/**dʰun-* ‘to sound, to resound, to make a noise’: Sanskrit *dhvánati* ‘to sound, to resound, to make a noise, to echo, to reverberate’, *dhúni-ḥ* ‘roaring, boisterous’; Old Icelandic *duna* ‘to boom, to roar’, *dynja* ‘to boom, to resound’, *dynr* ‘din, noise, clattering of hoofs’; Old English *dyne* ‘noise, loud sound’, *dynian* ‘to resound’; Old Saxon *dunian* ‘to make a loud noise’, *done* ‘loud noise’; Old High German *tuni* ‘loud noise’; Middle High German *tünen* ‘to roar, to rumble’; Lithuanian *dundėti* ‘to rumble, to roar, to thunder’. Rix 1998a:139 **dʰu̯en-* ‘to sound’; Pokorny 1959:277 **dhu̯en-*, **dhun-* ‘to sound, to drone’; Walde 1927—1932.I:869 **dhu̯en-*, **dhun-*; Mann 1984—1987:221 **dhundhur-* (**dhundhro-*) ‘rumble, roar, hum, din’, 222 **dhŭ̆nō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to rush, to roar, to resound’, 226 **dhu̯en-*, **dhu̯on-* ‘to resound’; Watkins 1985:15 **dhwen-* and 2000:20 **dhwen-* ‘to make a noise’; Mallory—Adams 1997:533—534 **dhu̯en-* ‘to sound’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:106—107 and II:118; Orël

2003:79 Proto-Germanic **đuniz*, 79 **đunjanan*; De Vries 1977:87 and 90; Onions 1966:269 **dhun-*; Klein 1971:214; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:110—111.

C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian (reduplicated) **tawtawat-* 'to bark' > Chukchi *tawtawat-* 'to bark', *tawtaw* 'barking'; Koryak *tavtawat-* 'to bark', *tavtaw* 'barking' (for *tawtaw* ?); Alyutor *totawat-* (Palana *tavtawat-*) 'to bark', *toto* 'barking'. Fortescue 2005:277. Note: Fortescue considers Kamchadal / Itelmen (Sedanka) *tawto-kes* 'to bark' to be a possible loan from Chukotian.

Sumerian $du_{12}$ 'to play (an instrument), to sing'.

Buck 1949:18.12 sing. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:265—266, no. 75.

157. Proto-Nostratic root **daw-* (~ **dəw-*):
(vb.) **daw-* 'to put, to place, to set; to set up, to establish; to do, to make';
(n.) **daw-a* 'work, labor; deed, act'

A. Proto-Kartvelian **dew-*/**dw-* 'to lay, to put, to place, to set, to lie': Georgian *dev-*/*dv-*/*d-* (1st sg. aorist *v-dev*, 3rd sg. aorist *dv-a*) 'to lay, to put, to place, to set, to lie'; Mingrelian *d(v)-* 'to lay, to put, to place, to set, to lie'; Laz *d(v)-* 'to lay, to put, to place, to set, to lie'; Svan *d-* (inf. *li-d-i*) 'to put something, to put on something from below; to shut the door; to throw somebody down while wrestling'. Klimov 1964:72—73 **d(w)-* and 1998:39 **dew-* : **dw-* 'to lie, to lay'; Schmidt 1962:104; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:260 and II:877 **dew-*/**dw-* and 1995.I:226, I:774, and I:801 **dew-*/**dw-* 'to lie; to lay, to put'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:106—107 **dew-*/**dw-*; Fähnrich 2007:130 **dew-*/**dw-*.

B. Proto-Indo-European **d$^h$ew-*/**d$^h$ow-*/**d$^h$u(w)-* 'to put, to place': Proto-Anatolian **duwa-* 'to put, to place' > Luwian (3rd sg. pret.) *du-ú-wa-at-ta* 'to put, to place', (3rd pl. pret.) *du-ú-wa-an-da*, (2nd sg. imptv.) *tu-u-wa-a*; Hieroglyphic Luwian *tuwa-* 'to put, to place'; Lycian (3rd sg. pres.) *tuweti* 'to put, to place', (3rd pl. pres.) *tuwẽti*, (3rd sg. pret.) *tuwete*. Melchert 1994a:194, 231, 241, 252, 262, 279 — Melchert reconstructs Proto-Anatolian **duwV-* 'to put, to place'; Kloekhorst 2008b:809.

C. (?) Uralic: Finno-Volgaic **tewe* 'work, deed' > Finnish *työ* 'work, labor; deed, act'; Estonian *töö* 'work'; Mordvin (Erza) *t'ev*, *t'äv*, (Moksha) *t'ev* 'work, thing'. Rédei 1986—1988:796 **tewe* 'work'.

Sumerian *dù* 'to do, to make; to build; to set up, to establish'.

Buck 1949:9.11 do, make; 9.12 work, labor, toil (sb.); 9.13 work, labor, toil (vb. intr.); 12.12 put (place, set, lay); 12.24 lie.

158. Proto-Nostratic root **daw-* (~ **dəw-*):
(vb.) **daw-* ‘to become deathly sick, to be ill; to die’;
(n.) **daw-a* ‘(deadly) disease, sickness; death’

A. Proto-Afrasian **daw-* ‘(vb.) to become sick, ill; to die; (n.) disease, sickness, death’: Proto-Semitic **daw-ay-* ‘to be ill, sick’ > Arabic *dawiya* ‘to be ill’, *dawā* ‘to treat (a patient, a disease), to be cured’, *dawan* ‘sickness, illness, disease, malady’; Hebrew *dāweh* [דָּוֶה] ‘sick’, *dəway* [דַּוַי] ‘illness’; Ugaritic *dw* ‘sick’, *mdw* ‘illness’; Ḥarsūsi *adēw* ‘to give medicine to someone’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *edōi* ‘to give someone medicine’; Mehri *adōwi* ‘to give medicine to’; Geez / Ethiopic *dawaya* [ደወየ], *dawya* [ደው·የ] ‘to be sick, ill, diseased; to fall sick; to suffer, to be sorrowful’, *dawāyi* ‘sick, ill’; Tigrinya *däwäyä* ‘to become sick’; Amharic *däwe* ‘disease, sickness’; Gurage *däwi* ‘medicine, remedy’ (Arabic loan). D. Cohen 1970— :231 **dwʔ/y*; Klein 1987:117; Leslau 1987:145; Murtonen 1989:145—146. Egyptian *dwꜣy-t* ‘death, destruction’, *dwꜣ-t* ‘netherworld’, *dwꜣ-tyw* ‘dwellers in the netherworld’. Faulkner 1962:310; Erman—Grapow 1921:212; Hannig 1995:971—972. Central Chadic **daʔVw-* ‘illness’ > Higi Nkafa *ḍəwa* ‘illness’; Kapiski *ḍawa* ‘illness’; Higi Futu *ḍawa* ‘illness’. East Chadic **dVw-* ‘weak’ > Kera *dewe* ‘weak’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:153, no. 666, **dawaʔ-/*dayaʔ-* ‘to be ill’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **dʰew-/*dʰow-/*dʰu-* ‘to pass away, to die’: Gothic *dauþs* ‘dead’, *dauþus* ‘death’; Old Icelandic *deyja* ‘to die’, *dauði* ‘death’, *dauðr* ‘dead’; Swedish *död* ‘death’, *dö* ‘to die’; Danish *død* ‘death’, *dø* ‘to die’; Norwegian *daud* ‘death’, *døya* ‘to die’; Old English *dēaþ* ‘death’; Old Frisian *dāth* ‘death’; Old Saxon *dōian* ‘to die’, *dōth* ‘death’; Dutch *dood* ‘death’; Old High German *touwan* ‘to die’ (Middle High German *töuwen*), *tōten*, *tōden* ‘to kill’ (New High German *töten*), *tōd* ‘death’ (New High German *Tod*); Latin *fūnus* ‘funeral, burial, corpse, death’; Old Irish *díth* ‘end, death’. Rix 1998a:128—129 **dʰeu̯-* ‘to run; to hasten, to hurry (up)’; Pokorny 1959:260—261 **dheu-*, **dhu̯-ēi-* ‘to pass away’; Walde 1927—1932.I:835 **dheu-*; Mann 1984—1987:201 **dhōu̯i̯ō*, **dhəu-* ‘to strangle, to die’; Watkins 1985:14 **dheu-* ‘to become exhausted, to die’ and 2000:19 **dheu-* (also **dheuə-*) ‘to die’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:475 **d[ʰ]eu̯-* and 1995.I:396 and I:415 **dʰeu-* ‘to disappear, to die’; Mallory—Adams 1997:150 **dheu-* ‘to die’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:262; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:568 **dheu-* ‘to pass away, to die’; De Vaan 2008:251; Orël 2003:70 Proto-Germanic **đauþaz* ~ **đauþus*, 70 **đawjanan*, 72 **đewanan*; Kroonen 2013:90 Proto-Germanic **daujan-* ‘to die’ and 91 **dauþu-* ‘death’; Feist 1939:118; Lehmann 1986:89—90 **dhew-* ‘to die’; De Vries 1977:74—75 and 76; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:126—127; Onions 1966:247 and 266; Klein 1971:193 and 212; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:67—68; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:780 **dheu̯-*, **dhou̯-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:731.

Buck 1949:4.75 die; dead; death; 4.84 sick, sickness. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:273, no. 85; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 578, **dVw[V]yV* ‘to be ill/weak, to die’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:224—225, no. 76, **dʌwʌ*.

159. Proto-Nostratic root **day-* (~ **dəy-*):
(vb.) **day-* ‘to throw, to cast, to put, to place’;
(n.) **day-a* ‘act, deed’

A. Proto-Afrasian **dVy-* (**day-* ?) ‘to throw, to cast, to put, to place’: Proto-Semitic **day-* (**wa-day-*, **na-day-*) ‘to cast, to throw, to put, to place’ > Hebrew *yāðāh* [יָדָה] ‘to throw, to cast’; Akkadian *nadū* (Old Akkadian *nadāʔum*) ‘to cast (down), to lay (down), to throw; (stative) to lie, to be situated’; Geez / Ethiopic *wadaya* [ወደየ] ‘to put, to put in, to add, to put on (adornments), to put under, to place, to set, to throw, to cast’; Tigre *wäda* ‘to put, to make’; Tigrinya *wädäyä* ‘to put’. D. Cohen 1970— :499—501; Klein 1987:254; Leslau 1987:605; Militarëv 2010:72. Egyptian *wdỉ*, *wdy* ‘to lay, to put, to place, to set, to thrust, to throw, to push, to shoot’, *ndỉ* ‘to overthrow, to put down’. Hannig 1995:226—227 and 446; Faulkner 1962:72; Erman—Grapow 1921:42—43 and 1926—1963.1:384—387; Gardiner 1957:563. Central Chadic: Logone *de-he* ‘to put’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:155, no. 673, **day-* ‘to put’; Takács 2011a:77 and 78.
B. Elamo-Dravidian: Elamite *da-* ‘to put, to place, to deposit’.
C. Proto-Indo-European (**dʰeyC-* >) **dʰēC-*, (**dʰeyV-* >) **dʰeyV-* ‘to set, to lay, to put, to place’: Sanskrit (reduplicated) *dá-dhā-ti* ‘to put, to place, to set, to lay (in or on); to appoint, to establish, to constitute’; Avestan *daδāiti* ‘to give, to put, to create, to place’; Old Persian *dā-* ‘to put, to make, to create’ (imperfect *a-dadā*); Greek (reduplicated) τί-θη-μι ‘to set, to put, to place’; Latin *faciō* ‘to make, to do’ (perfect *fēcī* ‘did’); Oscan *fakiiad* (= Latin *faciat*) ‘to do, to make, to perform’; Umbrian *façia* ‘to do, to perform, to sacrifice, to offer, to place’; Gothic *-dēþs* ‘deed’ in: *gadēþs* ‘deed’, *missadēþs* ‘misdeed, transgression’, *wailadēþs* ‘well-doing’; Old Icelandic *dáð* ‘deed’; Swedish *dåd* ‘deed’; Norwegian *daad* ‘deed’; Danish *daad* ‘deed’; Old English *dōn* ‘to do, to act, to make’, *dæd* ‘action, deed’; Old Frisian *dua(n)* ‘to do’, *dēd(e)* ‘act, deed’; Old Saxon *dōn* ‘to do’, *dād* ‘act, deed’; Dutch *daad* ‘act, deed’, *doen* ‘to do’; Old High German *tuo(a)n* ‘to do’ (New High German *tun*), *tāt* ‘act, deed’ (New High German *Tat*); Lithuanian *dėti* ‘to lay, to put, to place’; Old Church Slavic *děti* ‘to put, to place’; Russian *detʹ* [деть] ‘to put, to do’; Ukrainian *díty* ‘to put’; Slovenian *dẹ́ti* ‘to put’; Polish *dzieje się* ‘to occur’; Upper Sorbian *dźeć* ‘to put’; Lower Sorbian (1st sg.) *źeju* ‘to do’; Tocharian A *tā-*, *tās-*, *täs-*, *tas-*, *cas-*, B *tās-*, *täs-*, *tes-*, *tätt-* ‘to put, to place, to set’; Hittite (1st sg. pres.) *te-(iḫ-)ḫi*, *ti-iḫ-ḫi* ‘to put, to place’, (2nd sg. pres.) *da-it-ti*, *ta-it-ti*, (3rd sg. pres.) *da-a-i*, (1st pl. pres.) *ti-i-ya-u-e-ni*, (2nd pl. pres.) *da-a-it-te-ni*, *ta-a-it-te-ni*, (3rd pl. pres.) *ti-i-ya-an-zi*, (1st sg. pret.) *te-iḫ-ḫu-un*, (2nd sg.

pret.) *da-(a-)iš*, *da-iš-ta*, (3rd sg. pret.) *da-(a-)iš*, (1st pl. pret.) *da-i-u-en*, *da-i-ú-en*, *ti-ya-u-en*, (3rd pl. pret.) *da-a-ir*, *da-(a-)i-(e-)ir*; Luwian (3rd pl. pres.) *ti-ya-an-ti* ‘to put, to place’ (cf. Kronasser 1966:539 and 589—590); Lycian (3rd sg.) *tadi* ‘to put’. Rix 1998a:117—119 *$d^heh_1$- ‘to set, to put, to place’; Pokorny 1959:235—239 *dhē- ‘to set, to put, to place’; Walde 1927—1932.I:826—829 *dhē-; Mann 1984—1987:178 *dhedhō, -i̯ō ‘to put, to set’, 180 *dhēi̯ō, *dhēmi ‘to put, to lay’, 182 *dhēmi ‘to set’, 187 *dhētis, -os, -om, -us ‘setting, placing; deed, fact, fixture’, 189 *dhətos ‘placed’, 190 *dhĭdhēmi ‘to set, to put’; Watkins 1985:13 *dhē- (contracted from *dhei̯-) and 2000:17 *dhē- ‘to set, to put’ (contracted from *$dhei̯_1$-); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:159 *$d[^h]eH_1$-, I:203 *d[ʰ]eH- > *d[ʰ]ē-, I:208, I:210, I:224 *d[ʰ]eH-/*d[ʰ]H̥- and 1995.I:137 *$d^heH_1$- ‘to put, to place’, I:175 *$d^heH$- > *$d^hē$-, I:179, I:180, I:186, I:193 *$d^heH$-/*$d^hH̥$-, I:702, and I:710; Mallory—Adams 1997:472 *$dheh_1$- ‘to put, to place’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:14—15; Boisacq 1950:969—970 *dhē-, *dhə-, *dhō-; Hofmann 1966:365—366 *dhē-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:116—117 *$dhei̯_1$-, *$dhi̯_1$-; Beekes 2010.II:1482—1483 *$d^heh_1$-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:897—898; De Vaan 2008:198—199; Ernout—Meillet 1979:209—213 *dhē-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:440—444 *dhē-; Orël 2003:72 Proto-Germanic *đēđiz, 73 *đōnan; Kroonen 2013:92 Proto-Germanic *dēdi- ‘deed, action’ and 98 *dōn- ‘to do’; De Vries 1977:71; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:95; Feist 1939:178, 362, and 543; Lehmann 1986:136; Onions 1966:250 and 279—280 *dhō-, *dhē-, *dhə-; Klein 1971:196 *dhē- and 223 *dhō-; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:68—69 and 81; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:771 and 796—797 *dhē-, *dhō-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:722 and 744—745; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:494—495 *dhē-; Adams 1999:283—286 *$d^heh_1$- ‘to put, to place’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:91—92; Smoczyński 2007.1:104—106; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:99—117 *$d^heh_1$- and 117—118 *$d^heh_1k$-. Note that *-i/y- appears throughout the paradigm in Hittite (cf. J. Friedrich 1960.I:101—102; Hoffner—Melchert 2008:223—224; Kloekhorst 2008b:806—809; Sturtevant 1951:135—136, §238a; Held—Schmalstieg—Gertz 1988:42—43, §§4.200—4.202).

D. Etruscan *te*- ‘to put, to place’ (preterite *tece*).

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *tækjkə- ‘to make or do’: Chukchi *tejkə*- ‘to make, to do, to build’; Kerek *tajkə*- ‘to make, to do, to build’; Koryak *tejkə*- ‘to make, to do, to act’; Alyutor *tekə*- ‘to make, to do’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *skə-s* ‘to make, to do, to build’. Fortescue 2005:278.

Buck 1949:12.12 put (place, set, lay). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:224, no. 75, *dʌʕʌ ‘to lay’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 497, *diʕê (~ *dVHU) ‘to put, to place’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:261—262, no. 70.

160. Proto-Nostratic root *day- (~ *dəy-):

(vb.) **day-* ‘to look at, to consider, to examine’;
(n.) **day-a* ‘judgment, examination, consideration’

A. Proto-Afrasian **day-*, **dey-* ‘to look at, to consider, to examine’: Proto-Semitic **day-an-* ‘to judge’ > Hebrew *dīn* [דִּין] ‘to judge’; Akkadian *dānu* ‘to judge, to render judgment’, *dīnu* ‘decision, verdict, judgment, punishment’, *dayyānu* ‘a judge’; Arabic *dāna* ‘to condemn, to pass judgment’, *dīn* ‘judgment, sentence’ (Aramaic loan); Qataban *dyn* ‘judgment, punishment’; Syriac *dīnā* ‘judgment’; Ugaritic *dyn* ‘to judge’; Geez / Ethiopic *dayyana* [ደየነ] ‘to judge, to sentence, to punish, to condemn, to convict, to damn’, *dayn* [ደይን] ‘judgment, damnation, condemnation, doom’, *dayyāni* [ደያኒ] ‘judge’; Tigrinya *däyyänä* ‘to condemn’, (with metathesis) *danäyä* ‘to pass judgment’, *dayna*, *dañña* ‘judge’; Tigre *dayna*, *danya* ‘mediator’, *(tə)dana* ‘to accept a verdict’; Amharic *dañña* ‘to arbitrate, to judge’, *dañña* ‘a judge’; Harari *dañña* ‘a judge’; Gurage *dañña* ‘to judge’. D. Cohen 1970— :253—255; Klein 1987:122; Leslau 1979:216 and 1987:146; Murtonen 1989:147—148. Proto-East Cushitic **dey-*/**doy-* ‘to look at’ > Somali *day-* ‘to examine’; Boni *day-* ‘to try, to test’; Arbore *doy-* ‘to see’; Elmolo *dɔy-* ‘to regard’; Galla / Oromo *doy-aa* ‘observation’, *dooy-aa* ‘spy’; Konso *tooy-* ‘to see’; Hadiyya *do-* ‘to lurk, to spy’; Harso *tay-* ‘to find’; Yaaku *tey-* ‘to find, to get’. Sasse 1979:16; Hudson 1989:141. Proto-Southern Cushitic **daa-* ‘to look at’ > K’wadza *daʾam-* ‘to watch, to gaze’; Ma’a *-dáʾa* ‘to look for’; Dahalo *d̲aawat̲-* ‘to look after’. Ehret 1980:162.
B. Proto-Indo-European **dʰey-A-*/**dʰoy-A-*/**dʰi-A-* (> **dʰī-*), **dʰyeA-* [**dʰyaA-*] (> **dʰyā-*) ‘to look at, to fix one’s eyes on’: Sanskrit *dī́dheti* ‘to perceive, to think, to reflect, to wish’, *dhyā́yati* ‘to think, to contemplate’, *dhyāna-ḥ* ‘meditation, contemplation’; Pāḷi *jhāna-* ‘meditative absorption’; Avestan *dā(y)-* ‘to see’, *daēman-* ‘eye’; Greek σῆμα (Doric σᾶμα) ‘sign, mark, token’. Rix 1998a:123 **dʰeḭH-* ‘to contemplate, to fix one’s eyes on’; Pokorny 1959:243 **dheḭə-*, **dhi̯ā-*, **dhī-* ‘to see, to look’; Walde 1927—1932.I:831—832 **dheḭā-*, **dhī-*; Mann 1984—1987:190 **dhī-* (**dhīs-*) ‘thought, knowledge, reason’, **dhi̯ā-*, **dhi̯ām-* ‘sign, mark, note’; Watkins 1985:13 **dheiə-* (variant form **dhyā-* [< **dhyaə̯-*]) and 2000:18 **dheiə-* ‘to see, to look’ (variant [metathesized] form **dhyeə̯₂-*, colored to **dhyaə̯₂-*, contracted to **dhyā-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:45 and II:115 **dheḭā-*; Hofmann 1966:310—311 **dhāi-* (**dhaḭā-*), **dhǐ-*; Boisacq 1950:861 Greek σῆμα < **dhi̯ā-mn̥*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:998; Frisk 1970—1973.II:695—696; Beekes 2010.II:1323 **dʰiéh₂-mn-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:120 **dʰeḭH-*.

Buck 1949:15.52 look (vb.), look at; 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 21.16 judge (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:264—265, no. 74; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 507, **di[h]a* ‘to look at’.

161. Proto-Nostratic root **day-* (~ **dəy-*):
(vb.) **day-* ‘to take, to bring, to convey’;
(n.) **day-a* ‘leader, guide’

A. Proto-Afrasian **d[a]y-* ‘to convey, to bring, to lead’: Proto-Semitic **day-* (**ha-day-*, **ʔa-day-*) ‘to convey, to bring, to lead’ > Arabic *ʔadā* ‘to convey, to take, to bring, to lead, to steer, to channel’, *hadā* ‘to lead (someone) on the right way, to guide (someone on a course)’; Akkadian *adū* ‘leader’; Hebrew *hāðāh* [הָדָה] ‘to stretch out the hand’; Syriac *ʔadi* ‘to carry’, *haddī* ‘to lead, to direct’; Palmyrene *hdy* ‘guide’; Sabaean *hdy* ‘to lead, to guide’. D. Cohen 1970— :8—9 and 374—375; Klein 1987:140.
B. Proto-Dravidian **ta-*, **tā-*, **tay-* ‘to bring’: Tamil *taru* (*tār-*; imptv. *tā*; past *tant-*) ‘to give to 1st or 2nd person’, *taruvi* ‘to cause to bring’; Malayalam *taruka*, *tarika* (*tār-*; *tā*; *tann-*) ‘to give to 1st or 2nd person’, *taruvikka* ‘to cause to give’; Kannaḍa *tar*, *tār* (*tā*; *tand-*) ‘to lead or conduct near, to bring; to give’; Telugu *teccu* (*tē*, *tēr-*) ‘to bring, to get, to cause to produce, to create’; Koṇḍa *ta-* ‘to bring’; Pengo *ta-* (*tat-*) ‘to bring’; Maṇḍa *ta-* ‘to bring’; Kui *tapa* (*tat-*) ‘to bring; bringing’; Kuwi *taʔ-* (*tat-*) ‘to bring’; Brahui *tining* (*tir-*) ‘to give’, *hatining*, *hatiring*, *hataring*, *hating* ‘to bring, to give birth to, to think of doing something, to attempt, to intend’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:269, no. 3098; Zvelebil 1970:58 **ta-*, **tā-*, **tay-* ‘to bring’ (?); Krishnamurti 2003:384—385 **taH-*/**taH-r-* ‘to give to 1st or 2nd person’. Kuṛux *tainā* (*taïyyas*), *tēynā* (*tēyyas*) ‘to send, to carry newly married girl out of village’; Malto *teye* ‘to send’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:299, no. 3418.
C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *teː-* ‘to give, to show’. Nikolaeva 2006:427.

Sumerian *dé*, *de*$_6$, *di* ‘to bring’.

Buck 1949:10.62 bring; 10.64 lead (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:275, no. 88.

162. Proto-Nostratic root **did-* (~ **ded-*):
(vb.) **did-* ‘to swell, to rise’;
(n.) **did-a* ‘prominence, protuberance’; (adj.) ‘swollen, raised’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *tiṭṭu* ‘rising ground, bank, elevation, hillock, sandbank, wall separating elephant stables’, *tiṭṭi* ‘raised ground’, *tiṭṭai* ‘rising ground, bank, elevation, raised floor’, *tiṭar*, *tiṭal* ‘rising ground, bank, elevation, island, rubbish heap, prominence, protuberance’, *tiṭaṟu* ‘mound’; Malayalam *tiṭṭa* ‘raised ground, hillock, shoal, raised seat (as in a veranda)’, *tiṭṭu* ‘mound, shoal’, *tiṇṭu* ‘earthen wall, bank, shoal’; Kota *tiṭ* ‘hill’; Toda *tïṭ* ‘mountain’; Kannaḍa *tiṭṭa* ‘mass, quantity, number’, *tiṭṭu*, *tiṭṭe* ‘rising ground, hillock’, *diḍḍa*, *diḍḍu* ‘eminence, elevation, hillock’,

*dīṇṭu* ‘rising ground, hillock’; Tuḷu *diḍḍu* ‘elevated ground, mound’; Telugu *tiṭṭa* ‘heap, mound’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:279, no. 3221.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **did-* (‘swollen’ >) ‘big, large, great’: Georgian *did-i* ‘big, large’, *did-ad-i* ‘grandiose’, *did-r-o-a* ‘high tide’; Mingrelian *did-i* ‘big, large’; Laz *did-i* ‘big, large’, *did-o* ‘very’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:109 **did-*; Klimov 1964:73 **did-* and 1998:40 **did-* ‘big, large’ Fähnrich 2007:132 **did-*.

C. (?) Indo-European: Lithuanian *dìdis*, *dìdelis* ‘big, large, great’, *didókas* ‘quite large’, *didýbė* ‘haughtiness’, *didžiaĩ*, *dìdžiai* ‘very (much)’; Latvian *dižs* ‘big, large, great’. Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:93; Smoczyński 2007.1:108 **d(e)ih$_2$-d$^h$e-*.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain; hill; 12.55 large, big (great). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:219, no. 66, **didʌ* ‘big’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 501, **didV* ‘large, big’.

163. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dig-a* ‘fish’:

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **dag-* ‘fish’ > Hebrew *dāγ* [דָּג] ‘fish’, *dāγāh* [דָּגָה] ‘fish’, *dawwāγ* [דַּוָּג] ‘fisherman’; Ugaritic *dg* ‘fish’, *dgy* ‘fisherman’. Klein 1987:114; D. Cohen 1970— :216; Murtonen 1989:144; Militarëv 2010: 69.

B. Proto-Indo-European **d$^h$g$^h$uH-* (> **d$^h$g$^h$ū-*) ‘fish’: Greek ἰχθῦς ‘fish’; Armenian *ju-kn* ‘fish’; Lithuanian *žuvìs* ‘fish’; Latvian *zuvs* ‘fish’. Pokorny 1959:416—417 **ĝhðū-* (or **ĝhi̯ū-* ?) ‘fish’; Walde 1927—1932.I:664 **ĝhðū-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:536 **d[$^h$]ĝ[$^h$]ū-* and 1995.I:453 and I:765 **d$^h$ĝ$^h$ū-* ‘fish’; Watkins 1985:14 **dhghū-* and 2000:20 **dhghū-* ‘fish’; Mallory—Adams 1997:205 **dhĝhuh$_x$-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:745—746; Boisacq 1950:387; Beekes 2010.I:606—607 **dǵ$^h$uH*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:474; Hofmann 1966:127; Prellwitz 1905:201; Smoczyński 2007.1:793—794; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1323; Derksen 2015:523.

C. Proto-Altaic **di̯agi* (~ *-i̯o-*) ‘fish’: Proto-Mongolian **ǯiga-* ‘fish’ > Written Mongolian *ǯiγasu(n)* ‘fish’; Dagur *ǯaγas* ‘fish’; Khalkha *ʒagas* ‘fish’; Monguor *ʑaɢasə* ‘fish’; Buriat *zagaha(n)* ‘fish’; Ordos *ǯaɢasu* ‘fish’; Kalmyk *zaγъsn̥* ‘fish’. Poppe 1955:34 and 117. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:477 **di̯agi* (~ *-i̯o-*) ‘fish’.

Buck 1949:3.65 fish. Dolgopolsky 1998:61—62, no. 74, **doTgiHU* ‘fish’ and 2008, no. 575, **doTgiʔû* ‘fish’; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:219, no. 67, **diga* ‘fish’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:269, no. 80.

164. Proto-Nostratic root **diɢ-* (~ **deɢ-*):
(vb.) **diɢ-* ‘to be confused, puzzled, perplexed’;
(n.) **diɢ-a* ‘confusion, perplexity’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *dgm* ‘to be unconscious; to be confused; to be speechless’. Hannig 1995:989; Faulkner 1962:317; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:500.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *tikai* ‘to be taken aback, confused, perplexed, bewildered, astonished, amazed’, *tikai*, *tikaippu* ‘amazement’; Toda *tïx-* (*tïxθ-*) ‘to take to heels, to bolt away’, *tïxf-* (*tïxt-*) ‘to make (buffaloes) stand in a swamp (that is, confused and unable to run away) before they are caught and killed at a funeral’ (only used in narratives); Kannaḍa *tikkalu* ‘state of being confused or deranged in mind’; Telugu *tikamaka* ‘intricacy, confusion, perplexity’, *tikamaka-goma*, *tikamakal-āḍu* ‘to be puzzled, perplexed, confused’, *tikka-goma* ‘to become mad’, *tikka* ‘madness, craziness; mad, crazy’, *tikkaṭamakkaṭa* ‘confusion, perplexity’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:278, no. 3207.
C. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated) **didɢ-* (< **di-diɢ-*) ‘to speak in a confused manner, to murmur’: Georgian *didγ-* ‘to speak in a confused manner, to murmur’; Mingrelian *dγirdγ-* ‘to speak in a confused manner, to murmur’; Svan *ddγ-* (*li-ddγ-ən-e*) ‘to mumble, to murmur, to mutter’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:110 **didγ-*; Klimov 1998:40 **didɣ-in-* ‘to mumble, to mutter’; Fähnrich 2007:132—133 **didγ-*.

(?) Sumerian *dig* ‘to converse, to speak’.

165. Proto-Nostratic root **dilʸ-* (~ **delʸ-*):
(vb.) **dilʸ-* ‘to shine, to be or become bright’;
(n.) **dilʸ-a* ‘daylight, morning’

A. Afrasian: Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **del-* ‘daylight’ > Iraqw *delo* ‘day (as opposed to night)’; K’wadza *deles-* ‘yellow’ (plural ?); Asa *dili?i* ‘red’. Ehret 1980:346.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *teḷi* ‘to become clear, limpid (as water by settling of sediment), serene (as the mind); to be bright (as the countenance), to become white; to disappear (as famine, epidemic); to become obvious, evident; to consider, to investigate, to understand’, *teḷir* ‘to shine, to sparkle’; Malayalam *teḷi* ‘cleanness, brightness’, *teḷivu* ‘clearness, brightness, perspicuity, proof’, *teḷiyuka* ‘to become clear, to brighten up, to please, to be decided (a matter)’; Kannaḍa *tiḷi*, *taḷi* ‘to become clear, pellucid, pure, bright; to brighten up; to be exhilarated or pleased; to be calmed; to cease (as sleep, a swoon); to come to light; to be or become plain or known; to know, to perceive, to learn’; Telugu *teli* ‘white, pure’. Krishnamurti 2003:14 **teḷ-V-* ‘to become clear’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:300—301, no. 3433.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **dila* ‘morning’: Georgian *dila* ‘morning’; Svan *ʒinär* ‘morning’. Schmidt 1962:105.

D. Proto-Indo-European *$d^hel$- ‘to be shining, bright’: Old Icelandic *Dellingr* name of the father of the sun; Old English *deall* ‘proud (of), exulting (in), resplendent (with)’; Middle High German *ge-telle* ‘pretty’; Middle Irish *dellrad* ‘brilliance, radiance’. Pokorny 1959:246 **dhel*- ‘to light’; Walde 1927—1932.I:865 **dhel*-; De Vries 1977:72 and 75.

Sumerian *dil-bad* ‘(vb.) to shine, to be radiant, to gleam; (adj.) shining, bright’.

Buck 1949:14.44 morning. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:219—220, no. 68, **dila* ‘sunlight’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:273—274, no. 86; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 521, **d[i]l̄a* (= **d[i]ḷa* ?) ‘sunshine, daylight, bright’.

166. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dim-a* ‘raised or elevated place’; (adj.) ‘raised, elevated’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **dim*- ‘(adj.) raised, elevated; (n.) raised or elevated place’: Proto-Semitic **dim-t*- ‘raised or elevated place’ > Akkadian *dimtu* (also *dintu*, *dindu*) ‘tower, siege tower, fortified area, district’ (though *dimtu* was used primarily to refer to towers of all kinds, it could also be used to denote any fortified area); Ugaritic *dmt* ‘district, borough’. D. Cohen 1970— :269—270. (Akkadian loan in Sumerian *dim* ‘tower, district’.) Egyptian *dmy* ‘town, quarter, abode, vicinity, quay’; Coptic (Sahidic) *time* [ⲧⲙⲉ, ⲧⲓⲙⲉ] ‘village’. Hannig 1995:979; Faulkner 1962:318; Erman—Grapow 1921:214 and 1926—1963.5:455—456; Gardiner 1957:602; Vycichl 1983:215; Černý 1976:187. Orël—Stolbova 1995:162—163, no. 709, **dim*- ‘dwelling, place’.
B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *dimmi* ‘an eminence, elevated spot’, *temar* ‘rising ground, hillock’, *dimba* ‘bank of a river’; Telugu *dimma* ‘any elevation or eminence, mound’; Parji *demma* ‘elevated ground’; Kuwi *damaka* ‘flat ground on top of a mountain’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:281, no. 3239.
C. Proto-Indo-European *$d^hm̥b^h$- ‘burial mound, kurgan’: Greek ταφή ‘burial, burial-place’, τάφος ‘funeral, burial, the act of burying; burial mound, tomb’, τάφρος ‘ditch, trench’, θάπτω ‘to honor with funeral rites, to bury, to inter’; Armenian *damban*, *dambaran* ‘grave, tomb’; Romanian *dîmb*, *dâmb* ‘hillock, hill, raised ground’ (< Dacian). Pokorny 1959:248—249 (**dhembh*-), **dhm̥bh*- ‘to bury’; Mann 1984—1987:193 **dhm̥bh*- ‘tomb’; Mallory—Adams 1997:243 **dhm̥bhos* ‘grave’; Boisacq 1950:334 and 946; Beekes 2010.I:534 and II:1456; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:423; Hofmann 1966:111; Frisk 1970—1973.I:653—654; Meillet 1936:142.

Buck 1949:4.78 bury (the dead); 19.15 city, town.

167. Proto-Nostratic root *$diq^h$- (~ *$deq^h$-):
(vb.) *$diq^h$- ‘to crush, to pound or tamp (earth), to mold or knead (clay)’;
(n.) *$diq^h$-*a* ‘earth, clay, mud’

A. Proto-Afrasian **dik-* ‘to beat, to crush, to pound or tamp (earth), to mold or knead (clay)’: Proto-Semitic **dak-ak-* ‘to mix, to crush, to flatten’ > Arabic *dakka* ‘to make flat, level, or even; to smooth, to level, to ram, to stamp, to tamp (earth, the ground, a road); to press down, to beat down, to weigh down; to demolish, to devastate, to destroy, to ruin; to mix, to mingle; to be crushed, to be leveled’, *dakk* ‘level ground; devastation, destruction, ruin’; Hebrew **dāχaχ* [דָּכַךְ] ‘to crush, to bruise, to oppress, to depress’; Ugaritic *dk* ‘to pound, to mix’; Akkadian *dakāku* ‘to crush’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *dekk* ‘to bump (against); to bang a hole in; to pounce’; Mehri *dək* ‘to pounce, to jump upon, to knock’; Ḥarsūsi *dek* ‘to spring upon someone or something’. D. Cohen 1970— :257; Klein 1987:124; Zammit 2002:176. Proto-Semitic **dak-al-* ‘to knead clay; to tread, to tread down’ > Arabic *dakala* ‘to knead clay; to tread down’, *dakala-t* ‘thin clay or loam’. D. Cohen 1970— :258. Proto-Semitic **dak-aʔ-* ‘to crush’ > Hebrew *dāχāʔ* [דָּכָא] ‘to crush, to be crushed’, *dakkāʔ* [דַּכָּא] ‘dust (as pulverized)’. D. Cohen 1970— :256; Murtonen 1989:148; Klein 1987:124. Hebrew **dāχāh* [דָּכָה] ‘to crush, to be crushed’. D. Cohen 1970— :257; Klein 1987:124. Proto-Semitic **da/wa/k-* ‘to pound, to crush’ > Arabic *dāka* ‘to grind, to pound’; Hebrew *dūχ* [דּוּךְ] ‘to pound, to beat (in a mortar)’; Akkadian *dāku* ‘to beat (off or down), to break, to kill’. D. Cohen 1970— :234; Klein 1987:117; Murtonen 1989:146. Proto-Chadic **dək-* ‘to beat, to pound’ > Karekare *duku* ‘to beat’; Ngizim *tə̀kú* ‘to kill; to put out a fire; to kick (cow, donkey); to rain, to beat down, to splash down (liquids)’; Guduf *dəgə* ‘to beat, to pound (in a mortar)’. North Omotic: Bench / Gimira *dekn* ‘to hit’. Ehret 1995:128, no. 132, **dik-* ‘to pound’. Different etymology in Orël—Stolbova 1995:146, no. 633, **dak-* /**duk-* ‘to beat, to pound’.

B. Dravidian: Koṇḍa *tig-* ‘to press down hard, to lay pressure on’; Pengo *tig-* (*tikt-*) ‘to push’; Maṇḍa *tig-* ‘to push’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:278, no. 3205.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **diq-* ‘earth, clay, mud’: Old Georgian *tiq-a* (< **diq-a* through regressive voicing assimilation) ‘earth, clay, mud’ (Modern Georgian *tix-a*); Mingrelian *dix-a*, *dex-a* ‘soil, ground, earth’; Laz *dix-a* ‘earth’. Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:877 **diqa-* and 1995.I:774 **diqa-* ‘clay’; Klimov 1964:94—95 **tiqa* and 1998:72 **tiqa* ‘soil, clay’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:111—112 **diq-*; Fähnrich 2007:135 **diq-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European (**diqʰ-* > [with progressive voicing assimilation] **dig-* >) **dʰigʰ-* (secondary full-grade forms: **dʰeygʰ-*, **dʰoygʰ-*) ‘(vb.) to pound, to mold (clay), to knead (dough); (n.) clay’: Sanskrit *déhmi* ‘to smear, to anoint, to plaster’, *dehī́* ‘mound, bank, surrounding wall’; Avestan *daēza-* ‘wall (originally made of clay or mud bricks)’; Greek τεῖχος ‘a wall, especially a wall around a city’, τοῖχος ‘the wall of a house or court’; Latin (with nasal infix) *fingō* ‘to shape, to fashion, to form, to mold’, *figūra* ‘form, shape, figure, size’, *figulus* ‘a worker in clay, a

potter'; Oscan *feíhúss* 'walls'; Gothic *digan* 'to knead, to form out of clay', *daigs* 'dough'; Old Icelandic *deig* 'dough', *deigja* 'to make soft, to weaken', *deigr* 'soft (of metal)', *digr* 'big, stout, thick', *digna* 'to become moist, to lose temper (of steel), to lose heart'; Swedish *deg* 'dough'; Norwegian *deig* 'dough'; Danish *deig* 'dough'; Old English *dāg* 'dough'; Old Frisian *deeg* 'dough'; Middle Low German *dēch* 'dough' (Dutch *deeg*); Old High German *teic* 'dough' (New High German *Teig*); Lithuanian *dýžti* 'to beat soundly'; Old Church Slavic *ižd̨o*, *zьdati* 'to build', *zьdъ* 'wall'; Ukrainian *d'ižá* 'baker's trough'; Armenian *dizanem* 'to collect, to put together'; Tocharian A *tsek-*, B *tsik-* 'to fashion, to shape, to build'. Rix 1998a:121—122 *$d^{h}e_{i}\hat{g}^{h}$- 'to shape, to mold, to knead'; Pokorny 1959:244—245 **dheiĝh-* 'to knead clay'; Walde 1927—1932.I:833—834 **dheiĝh-*; Mann 1984—1987:180 **dheiĝh-* '(vb.) to shape, to earth up; (n.) form, wall', 191 **dhiĝh-*, 195 **dhoiĝhos*, *-om*, *-is*, *-iə* 'shape, mold; shaper'; Watkins 1985:13 **dheigh-* and 2000:18 **dheigh-* 'to form, to build'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:412, II:702, II:884 *$d[^{h}]e_{i}\hat{g}[^{h}]$- 'clay', 1995.I:360, I:612, I:780 *$d^{h}eiĝ^{h}$- '(vb.) to mix clay, to mold; (n.) clay structure, clay wall; clay, material for pottery making'; Mallory—Adams 1997:649 **dheiĝh-* 'to work clay, to smear; to build up'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:62 and II:65; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1098—1099; Boisacq 1950:940—950 **dheiĝh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:865—866; Hofmann 1966:356; Beekes 2010.II:1458—1459 *$d^{h}eiǵ^{h}$-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:235—236 **dheiǵh-*; De Vaan 2008:221—222; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:501—502 **dheiĝh-*; Orël 2003:66—67 Proto-Germanic **đaiƶaz*, 72 **đīƶraz*, 72 **đīƶanan*; Kroonen 2013:87 Proto-Germanic **daiga-* 'dough'; Feist 1939:114 and 118; Lehmann 1986:87 and 90; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:100—101; De Vries 1977:74—75 and 76; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:775—776; Kluge—Seebold 1989:725 **dheiǵh-*; Onions 1966:286 **dheigh-*, **dhoigh-*, **dhigh-* 'to smear, to knead, to form of clay'; Klein 1971:227 **dheiĝh-*, **dhoiĝh-*, **dhiĝh-*; Adams 1999:738—739; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:530—531 **dhiĝh-*, **dheiĝh-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:98; Smoczyński 2007.1:117; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:118—119 *$d^{h}e_{i}\hat{g}^{h}$-.

Sumerian *dih* '(vb.) to press, to push; (n.) (stone) slab for molding clay, stone'.

Buck 1949:1.214 mud; 5.54 knead; 5.56 grind; 7.27 wall; 9.73 clay. Bomhard 1996a:209—211, no. 608; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 551, **dEqV* 'earth'. Fähnrich (1994:254) compares Sumerian *dih* '(stone) slab for molding clay, stone' with the Kartvelian forms cited above.

168. Proto-Nostratic root **diy-* (~ **dey-*):
(vb.) **diy-* 'to suck, to suckle';
(n.) **diy-a* 'breast, teat, nipple'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **dayd-* (> **dadd-* in Hebrew and Aramaic) ‘teat, women’s breast’ > Arabic (Ḥaḍramut) *dayd* ‘(married woman’s) breast; (cow’s) udder’; Hebrew *dað* [דַּד] ‘breast, teat, nipple’; Aramaic *dað* ‘teat’; Ugaritic *ḏd* ‘breast’. D. Cohen 1970— :222 and 252; Klein 1987:115; Murtonen 1989:145. Semantic development as in Greek θηλή ‘teat, nipple’, cited below. Perhaps also Arabic *dāda* ‘governess, dry nurse, nurse’, if from **dayd-* rather than from Proto-Afrasian **dad-* ‘mother’ as proposed by Orël—Stolbova 1995:141. Diakonoff 1992:84 **dḭ-dḭ-* (> *dayd-*, *dadd-*) ‘teat, woman’s breast’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **dʰĕ(i/y)-*/**dʰŏ(i/y)-* ‘to suck, to suckle’: Sanskrit *dháyati* ‘to suck, to drink’, (causative) *dhāpáyate* ‘to give suck, to nourish’, *dhā́yas-* ‘nourishing, refreshing’, *dhenú-ḥ* ‘milk’, *dhātrī́* ‘nurse’, *dhāyú-ḥ* ‘voracious’, Ossetic *däïn*, *däyun* ‘to suck’; Greek θῆσθαι ‘to suckle’, θηλάζω ‘to suckle’, θηλή ‘teat, nipple’, θῆλυς ‘female’, (Hesychius) θήνιον· ‘milk’; Armenian *diem* ‘to suck’; Albanian *djathë* ‘cheese’; Latin *fēlō* (also *fellō*) ‘to suckle, to suck’, *fēmina* ‘a female, a woman’, *fīlia* ‘daughter’, *fīlius* ‘son’; Old Irish *denaid* ‘to suck’, *díth* ‘sucked’; Gothic *daddjan* ‘to suckle’; Old Swedish *dæggia* ‘to suckle’; Old High German *tāen* ‘to suckle’; Low German (Westphalian) *daiern* ‘to raise on milk’; Old English *dēon* ‘to suck’, *delu* ‘nipple (of breast)’, *diend* ‘suckling’; Old Prussian *dadan* ‘milk’; Latvian *dêju*, *dêt* ‘to suck’, *dēls* ‘son’; Old Church Slavic *dojǫ*, *dojiti* ‘to suckle; to milk’, *dětь* ‘child’, *děva*, *děvica* ‘maiden, young girl’; Serbo-Croatian *dòjiti* ‘to suckle’, *dojka* ‘breast’; Hittite (reduplicated) **titiya-* ‘to suckle’, participle (nom. sg.) *ti-ta-an-za* ‘sucking’, *teta(n)-*, *tita(n)-* ‘breast, teat’; Luwian (dat.-loc. sg.) *ti-i-ta-ni* ‘breast, teat’, (nom. sg.) *ti-ta-i-(im-)me-iš* epithet of ‘mother’ (< ‘nurturing’); Lycian *tideimi-* ‘child, son’ (< ‘nurtured’). Rix 1998a:120 **dʰeh₁(i̯)-* ‘to suck (mother’s milk)’; Pokorny 1959:241—242 **dhē(i)-* ‘to suck, to suckle’; Walde 1927—1932.I:829—831 **dhēi-*; Mann 1984—1987:178 **dhedh-* ‘nurse’, 178 **dhēdh-* (hypocorism of a relative), 178 **dhedhlō* ‘to suck’, 180 **dhēi̯ō* ‘to suckle, to milk; to suck at the breast’, 181—182 **dhĕlis*, *-i̯os*, *-i̯ə* ‘sucking; suckling; teat’, 187 **dhētis*, *-i̯ə* ‘suckling; suckling animal’, 191 *dhin i̯ō* ‘to suckle, to nourish; to suck’, 195—196 **dhoin-*, *-us* ‘milch; milking cow’, 196 **dhoi̯ō* (**dhoiu̯ō*) ‘to suckle, to milk; to suck’; Watkins 1985:13 **dhē(i)-* (contracted from **dheə̯(i)-*) and 2000:18 **dhē(i)-* ‘to suck’ (contracted from **dheə̯₁(i)-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:556 **dheh₁(i)-* ‘to suck’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:570 **d[ʰ]eH(i)-* and 1995.I:487 **dʰeH(i)-* ‘to suckle, to nurse, to give milk’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:93, II:99, and II:114; Boisacq 1950:344 and 345 **dhē(i)-*; Hofmann 1966:115 **dhēi-*, **dhĭ̄-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:670, I:671, and I:673—674; Beekes 2010.I:546 **dʰeh₁-*, I:546—547, and I:548 **dʰeh₁-i-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:475—476 **dhē-*, **dhə-*, **dhēi-*, I:476—477 **dhē(i)-*, and I:496—497 **dhī-*; De Vaan 2008:210; Ernout—Meillet 1979:224 and 234; Huld 1984:52—53;

Orël 1998:67 and 2003:72 Proto-Germanic **đējanan*, 72 **đīōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:87 Proto-Germanic **dajjan-* ‘to suckle’; Feist 1939:112—113; Lehmann 1986:86 **dhē(y)-*. Some of the Indo-European forms cited above may ultimately go back to Proto-Nostratic (n.) **da-* ‘mother, sister’, (reduplicated) (n.) **da-da-* ‘mother, sister’ (nursery words).

Buck 1949:4.41 breast (of a woman); 5.16 suck (vb.). Bomhard 1996a:205.

169. Proto-Nostratic root **dow-*, **doy-*:
(vb.) **dow-*, **doy-* ‘to slacken, to slow down; to grow weary, weak, faint’;
(n.) **dow-a*, **doy-a* ‘slackness, slowness, laxity, weariness, fatigue’; (adj.) ‘slow, slack, lax, weary’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **daw/y-ax-* ‘to be or become weak, dizzy, faint’ > Arabic *dāḫa* ‘to conquer, to subjugate; to resign oneself, to humble oneself; to be or become dizzy, to have a feeling of dizziness; to fall ill, to be sick, to feel nausea’, *dawḫa* ‘vertigo, dizziness; coma; nausea’; Mehri *dəyōx* ‘to be or become dizzy’, *dōyəx* ‘dizzy’; Ḥarsūsi *deyōx* ‘to faint, to be dizzy, to be drunk’; Tigre *doḫa* ‘to drop from exhaustion’. D. Cohen 1970— :233—234 *dw/yḫ. Proto-Semitic **daw/y-ak'-* ‘to relax’ > Arabic *dāḳa* ‘to make rickety, to relax’. D. Cohen 1970— :238 *dw/yq. Proto-Semitic **daw/y-am-* ‘to take a long time; to be quiet, calm’ > Arabic *dāma* ‘to last, to continue, to go on, to endure, to remain; to persevere, to persist; to stagnate’, *dawm* ‘continuance, permanence, duration, ever-lasting’; Sabaean *dwm* ‘lasting, permanent’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *dēm* ‘to have lasted a long time; (rain) to come from everywhere’, *médím* ‘always’; Mehri *adyēm* ‘to stay on in the one place’, *dōyəm* ‘permanently living in the same place’; Ḥarsūsi *adīm* ‘to stay a long time in one place’; Akkadian *dāmu* ‘to be giddy, to stagger, to fumble’; Hebrew *dūmāh* [דּוּמָה] ‘silence’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *dūm* ‘to speak in a low voice, to be suspicious’. D. Cohen 1970— :236—237 *dw/ym; Klein 1989:118.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *toy* ‘to languish, to pine, to grow weak, to be weary, to be fatigued, to fail in energy, to droop, to faint, to flag, to become slack; to be loose, supple, yielding; to bend through weakness or lack of support’, *toyyal* ‘fainting, languishing, despondency, affliction’, *toyvu* ‘laxity, looseness (as of a rope), faintness’, *tuyaṅku* (*tuyaṅki-*) ‘(vb.) to slacken, to relax; (n.) fatigue, loss of strength or courage, misconception, confusion, sorrow, distraction’, *tuyakkam* ‘fatigue, loss of strength or courage’, *tuyavu* ‘mental distraction, perturbation’, *tuyar* ‘(vb.) to grieve, to sorrow, to lament; (n.) affliction, grief, sorrow’, *tuyaraṭi* ‘fatigue, fainting, drooping, grief’, *tuyaram* ‘sorrow, grief, calamity, trouble, pity’; Malayalam *tuyar*, *tuyaram* ‘calamity, grief, pity’, *tuyaruka* ‘to grieve’, *tuyarkka* ‘to afflict’; Telugu *dosãgu*, *dosavu* ‘calamity’; Brahui *tusing*, *tusēnging* ‘to faint, to become unconscious’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:308, no. 3513.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **dowr-* ‘slow, calm, serene, leisurely flowing’: Georgian *m-dovr-e*, *m-dovr-i*, *m-dor-e* ‘slow, calm, serene, leisurely flowing’; Svan *dwer-i* (< **dwer-* < **dwewr-* < **döwr-* < **dowr-*) ‘slow, calm, serene, leisurely flowing’. Fähnrich 2007:236 **dowr-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European **dʰow-ks-*/**dʰu-ks-* ‘to be weary’: Sanskrit *dhukṣate* (only attested with *sam-*: *saṁdhukṣate*) ‘to be weary’ (also ‘to kindle; to live’); Bengali *dhokhā*, *dhõkā* ‘to pant, to be weary’; Middle High German *tuschen* ‘to be quiet’. Mann 1984—1987:217 **dhuksos* ‘blow, breath, sigh, groan’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:106; Turner 1966.I:390, no. 6821.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 14.22 slow (adj.).

170. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dub-a* ‘back, hind part’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **dub-* ‘back, hind part’: Proto-Semitic **dub-ur-* ‘back, hind part’ > Arabic *dubr*, *dubur* ‘rump, backside, buttocks, posterior; rear part, rear, hind part; back; last part, end, tail’, (denominative) *dabara* ‘to turn one’s back’; Ḥarsūsi *adēber* ‘to turn away (from)’; Mehri *adōbər* ‘to turn the back’; Neo-Aramaic (Mandaic) *dibra* ‘back, tail’; Hebrew (inf.) *dabber* [דַּבֵּר] ‘to turn the back, to turn away’, *dəβīr* [דְּבִיר] ‘hinder or western part of the Temple, sanctuary, the Holy of Holies’; Geez / Ethiopic *tadabara* [ተደበረ] ‘to lie on one’s back’; Tigrinya *(tä)däbärä* ‘to be inclined’; Tigre *(tə)däbära* ‘to be placed on the side (in order to be killed)’. D. Cohen 1970— :212; Murtonen 1989:143—144; Klein 1987:113—114; Leslau 1987:121. Proto-East Cushitic **dab-*/**dib-*/**dub-* (also **dibb-*/**dubb-*) ‘back, tail’ > Somali *dib* ‘short tail of goat, etc.’, *dab-o* ‘tail’; Bayso *deb-e* ‘tail’; Rendille *dub* ‘tail’; Boni *tib* ‘tail’; Elmolo *dup* ‘bushy end of animal’s tail’; Dasenech *dum* ‘bushy end of animal’s tail’; Galla / Oromo *dub-a* and *duub-a* (depending on the dialect) ‘behind’; Gawwada *tup-* ‘behind, after’; Alaba *dubb-o* ‘tail’; Konso *tup-a* ‘behind’, *tup-p-aa* ‘upper back’; Harso *tup-* ‘behind, after’; Gollango *tup-* ‘behind, after’. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **dubb-* ‘tail; after, behind’ > Burji *dubbá-kka* ‘younger brother’, literally, ‘he who is behind’; Gedeo / Darasa *duba* ‘tail of sheep’; Hadiyya *dubb-o* ‘behind’. Hudson 1989:237; Sasse 1979:16 and 1982:57. Central Chadic: Matakan *dəɓa* ‘back’; Mofu *dùbá* ‘back’; Gisiga *duba* ‘back’; Gidar *debokó* ‘back’; Musgoy *dúwǫŋ* ‘back’; Musgu *dəbạ* ‘back’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:6—7. Orël—Stolbova 1995: 167, no. 731, **dub-* ‘back, tail’; Ehret 1995:125, no. 119, **dab-*/**dib-* ‘back; to come or be behind’ and 134, no. 146, **dup'-* ‘lower back’.

B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **tuppɜ* ‘back, backbone’ > (?) Cheremis / Mari *tup* ‘back’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *tị̈bị̈r*, (Kazan) *tâbâr* ‘back, backbone’; (?) Hungarian (dial.) *top* ‘the thick part of a pig’s leg or ham’, (dial.) *tomp* ‘the outer skin of cattle’, *tompor* ‘buttock, haunch’ (the *-m-* is secondary). Rédei 1986—1988:538.

C. Altaic: Manchu-Tungus: Evenki *duwukī* ‘pelvis, pelvic bone, lower back, rump (of a horse or a reindeer)’; Udihe *deuxi* ‘pelvis, pelvic bone’; Written Manchu *du* ‘thigh, thighbone, femur’.

Buck 1949:4.18 tail; 4.19 back. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 499, **dub[ʔ]V* ‘back, hinder part, tail’.

171. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dud-a* ‘tip, point’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *tuṭi* ‘lip’; Malayalam *coṭi* ‘lip’; Kota *tuc* ‘lip’; Kannaḍa *tuṭi*, *toḍi* ‘lip’; Tuḷu *duḍi* ‘lip, snout of an animal’; Koraga *toṇḍi* ‘lip’; Gondi *ṭoṭi* ‘lip’, *toḍḍi* ‘mouth, face’; Kui *ṭōḍa* ‘lip’; Malto *toro* ‘mouth’, *toto* ‘beak’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:288, no. 3296. Semantic development from ‘tip, point’ to ‘beak, snout’ to ‘mouth’ to ‘lip’ as in Czech *ret* ‘lip’ in view of Russian *rot* [рот] ‘mouth’, Serbo-Croatian *rt* ‘promontory’, and Old Church Slavic *rъtъ* ‘peak’. Malayalam *tottu* ‘nipple’; Kannaḍa *toṭṭu* ‘nipple, point’; Tuḷu *toṭṭu* ‘nipple of a breast’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:307, no. 3488. Semantic development as in Svan *dudūl* ‘breast, nipple’. Note also Proto-Dravidian **tut-* ‘tip, point, end’ (assuming progressive assimilation from earlier **tuṭ-*, which is partially preserved in the reduplicated form **tuṭṭa-tut-* found in Kannaḍa and Telugu): Tamil *tuti* ‘point, sharp edge’; Kannaḍa *tudi* ‘end, point, top, tip, extremity’, (reduplicated) *tuṭṭatudi*, *tuttatudi* ‘the very point or end’; Tuḷu *tudi* ‘point, end, extremity, top’; Telugu *tuda* ‘end, extremity, tip’, *tudi* ‘termination, end’, (reduplicated) *tuṭṭatuda* ‘the very end or extremity’; Malto *tota* ‘point, pointed’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:290, no. 3314.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **dud-* ‘tip point’: Georgian *dud-* ‘tip, point; comb, crest (of a bird)’ (Zan loan); Mingrelian *dud-i* ‘head’; Laz *dud-i* ‘crown, top of head; top, summit, peak; tip, point’; Svan *dudūl* ‘breast, nipple’. Klimov 1964:75 **dud-* and 1998:42—43 **dud-* ‘tip’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:113 **dud-*; Fähnrich 2007:137 **dud-*.

(?) Sumerian *du-du-ru* ‘high (mountain)’.

Buck 1949:4.24 mouth; 4.25 lip. Bomhard 1996a:227, no. 642.

172. Proto-Nostratic root **dul-* (~ **dol-*):
(vb.) **dul-* ‘to burn, to be bright, to warm, to heat up’;
(n.) **dul-a* ‘heat, warmth, fire’

A. Proto-Dravidian (**tuly-* >) **tuḷ-* ‘to shine, to sparkle, to glitter, to be bright’: Tamil *tuḷaṅku* (*tuḷaṅki-*) ‘to shine; to be bright, luminous; to radiate’, *tuḷumpu* (*tuḷumpi-*) ‘to sparkle, to glitter, to shine’; Malayalam *tuḷaṅṅuka* ‘to glitter’; Kannaḍa *toḷagu* ‘to shine, to be full of splendor’;

Telugu *tulakincu* ‘to shine, to rejoice’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:293, no. 3360.

B. Proto-Uralic **tule* ‘fire’: Finnish *tuli* ‘fire’; Lapp / Saami *dollâ*/*dolâ*- ‘fire’; Mordvin *tol* ‘fire’; Cheremis / Mari *tõl*, *tul* ‘fire’; Votyak / Udmurt *tyl* ‘fire’; Zyrian / Komi *tyl-kõrt* ‘iron for striking fire’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *tuu* ‘fire’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *tuj* ‘fire’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *tuu* ‘fire’; Selkup Samoyed *tüü* ‘fire’; Motor *tuj* ‘fire’. Collinder 1955:63 and 1977:80; Rédei 1986—1988:535 **tule*; Décsy 1990:109 **tula* ‘fire’; Sammallahti 1988:540 **tuli* ‘fire’; Janhunen 1977b:166 **tuj*.

C. Proto-Altaic **dị̯ūlu* ‘warm’: Proto-Tungus **dūl*- ‘to warm’ > Evenki *dūl*- ‘to warm, to heat up’; Lamut / Even *dụ̄l*- ‘to warm’. Proto-Mongolian **dulaɣan* ‘warm’ > Written Mongolian *dulaɣan* ‘warm’; Khalkha *dulān* ‘warm’; Buriat *dulān* ‘warm’; Ordos *dulān* ‘warm’; Dagur *dulān* ‘warm’; Kalmyk *dulān* ‘warm’. Poppe 1955:31. Proto-Turkic **yïlï-g* ‘warm’ > Old Turkic *yïlïγ* ‘warm’; Turkish *ılık* ‘tepid, lukewarm’; Gagauz *ïlï* ‘warm’; Azerbaijani *ïlïɑ* ‘warmish’; Uzbek *iliq* ‘warm’; Turkmenian *yïlï* ‘warm’; Uighur *ilman* ‘warm’; Karaim *yïlï* ‘warm’; Tatar *ǯïlï* ‘warm’; Bashkir *yïlï* ‘warm’; Kirghiz *ǯïluu* ‘warm’; Kazakh *žïlï* ‘warm’; Noghay *yïlï* ‘warm’; Tuva *čïlïγ* ‘warm’; Yakut *sïlās* ‘warm’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:480—481 **dị̯ūlu* ‘warm’; Poppe 1960:23 and 75; Street 1974:12 **dul*- ‘to warm’.

Buck 1949:1.81 fire; 1.85 burn (vb.); 15.85 hot, warm. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:274—275, no. 87; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:221—222, no. 71, **duli*; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2273, **tuĺ|ḷV* ‘to be bright/light’.

173. Proto-Nostratic root **dul*- (~ **dol*-):

(vb.) **dul*- ‘to disturb, to perplex, to bewilder, to confuse, to ruffle, to upset, to baffle, to stir up trouble, to agitate; to be disturbed, perplexed, bewildered, confused, ruffled, upset, baffled, troubled, agitated’ (> ‘to drive someone crazy, mad, insane; to be crazy, mad, insane; to be dumb, stupid’);

(n.) **dul-a* ‘confusion, disturbance, trouble, agitation, perplexity’ (> ‘madness, craziness, insanity; stupidity’)

Note also:

(vb.) **dal*- ‘to stir up, to disturb, to roil (water), to agitate; to be disturbed, confused, agitated, troubled’;

(n.) **dal-a* ‘disturbance, agitation’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *daliha* ‘to rob someone of his senses, to drive someone crazy (love); to go out of one’s mind, to go crazy (with love); to be stunned, perplexed’, *mudallah* ‘madly in love’; Ḥarsūsi *déleh* ‘foolish, silly’. D. Cohen 1970— :262. Arabic *daliya* ‘to be stunned, perplexed, bewildered’; Arabic (Eastern) (?) *dālī* ‘crazy’; Arabic (Maghrebi) *būdālī*

‘insane, stupid; to relapse to second childhood’. D. Cohen 1970— :264. Arabic *dali*ʿ ‘stupid, insipid, flat (of taste)’. D. Cohen 1970— :267.

B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *tollai* ‘trouble, perplexity, difficulty, work’; Malayalam *tolla* ‘trouble, vexation, danger’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 309, no. 3521.

C. Proto-Indo-European **dʰul-* ‘(vb.) to be disturbed, confused, perplexed, troubled; (adj.) mad, raving, crazy, insane’ (secondary full-grade forms: **dʰwel-/*dʰwol-*): Gothic *dwals* ‘foolish’; Old Icelandic *dulinn*, *dularfullr*, *dulsamr* ‘self-conceited’, *dulnaðr*, *dulremmi* ‘conceit, self-conceit’; Old English *dol* ‘(adj.) foolish, presumptuous; dim-witted, stupid; (n.) folly, conceit’, *dwelian* ‘to lead astray, to lead into error, to lead into wrong-doing; to deceive, to prevent, to thwart, to afflict’, *dwellan* ‘to lead astray, to deceive’, *dwolung* ‘insanity’, *dwolma* ‘chaos, confusion’, *gedwolen* ‘perverse, wrong’, *gedwol* ‘heretical’, *dwolian* ‘to stray, to err’, *gedwield*, *dwild* ‘error, heresy’; Old Saxon *dol* ‘mad, raving, crazy’, *fardwolan* ‘confused’; Old High German *tol* ‘mad, furious’ (New High German *toll* ‘mad, raving, crazy, insane’), *gitwelan* ‘to be perplexed’, *twalm* ‘confusion’. As noted by Kluge—Seebold (1989:731), this particular range of meanings seems only to occur in the Germanic languages, and further cognates are uncertain. Consequently, the suggestion that **dʰwel-* is an extended form of the Proto-Indo-European root **dʰew-* ‘to rise in a cloud (dust, vapor, smoke, etc.)’ needs to be seriously re-evaluated and even abandoned in light of the cognates adduced here from other Nostratic languages. Pokorny 1959:265—266 **dh(e)u̯el-* ‘to whirl about; to be disturbed’; Walde 1927—1932.I:842—843 **dh(e)u̯el-*; Mann 1984—1987:218 **dhulos* (**dhu̯l̥-*) ‘dull, dim, numbstruck’ — “A variant: a true z-gde of type **dhu̯el-*, **dhu̯ol-* occurs in OE *dwol* ‘heretical’”, 229 (**dhu̯ol-*) “O-gde forms only in Gmc.”; Watkins 1985:14 **dhwel-* and 2000:19 **dhwel-*; Orël 2003:81 Proto-Germanic **đwalaz*, 81 **đwaljanan*, 81 **đwalō(n)*, 81 **đwalanan*, 81 **đwulaz*; Feist 1939:130 **dhu̯el-* ‘confused, perplexed, bewildered; to be disturbed, ruffled, upset, troubled’; Lehmann 1986:98; Kroonen 2013:108 Proto-Germanic **dula-* ‘foolish, crazy’, 110—111 **dwaljan-* ‘to delay, to hinder’, and 112 **dwelan-* ‘to err’; Klein 1971:231 **dhwel-* ‘muddy, gloomy, dim, dull’; Barnhart 1995:225 Proto-Germanic **dulaz*; Onions 1966:293; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:780—781 **dh(e)u̯el-* ‘disturbed, ruffled, upset, troubled’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:731 Proto-Germanic **dwel-a-* ‘to be disturbed, ruffled, upset, troubled’.

D. Uralic: Ob-Ugric: Ostyak / Xanty (Vah, Vasyugan, Tremyugan) *tul'*, (Yugan) *tul*, (Demyanka) *tül*, (Nizyam) *tŭl* ‘mad’.

E. Proto-Altaic **dūli* ‘mad, crazy’: Proto-Tungus **dulbu-* ‘stupid, dumb; deaf’ > Evenki *dulbu-n* ‘stupid, dumb’; Lamut / Even *du̯lbu̯r* ‘stupid, dumb’; Manchu *dulba* ‘careless, inexperienced, foolish (because of lack of experience)’; Nanay / Gold *dulbi* ‘deaf’; Orok *du̯l-du̯l* ‘stupid, dumb’. Proto-Mongolian **dülei* ‘deaf’ > Written Mongolian *dülei* ‘deaf; dull,

lusterless, not transparent, clouded', *dülei balai* 'dunce, blockhead, numbskull'; Khalkha *düliy* 'dull, dim'; Buriat *düliy* 'deaf'; Kalmyk *dülē* 'deaf'; Ordos *dülī* 'deaf'; Dagur *dulī* 'deaf'; Dongxiang *dulei* 'deaf'; Shira-Yughur *delī-* 'deaf'; Monguor *dulī* 'deaf'. Proto-Turkic **yūl-* 'to be mad, crazy' > Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *d'ül-* 'to be mad, crazy'; Chuvash *śilə* 'anger'; Yakut *sūl-* 'to be sexually excited'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:485 **dūli* 'mad, crazy'.

Buck 1949:4.95 deaf; 4.96 dumb; 16.43 rage, fury; 17.22 foolish, stupid; 17.23 insane, mad, crazy. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 525, **dûḷUhV* 'to be mad, to be stupid' (Dolgopolsky does not include the Dravidian and Indo-European cognates).

174. Proto-Nostratic root **dulʸ-* (~ **dolʸ-*):
(vb.) **dulʸ-* 'to dangle, to hang, to swing back and forth';
(n.) **dulʸ-a* 'hanging, swinging; shaking, agitation, disturbance'

A. Proto-Afrasian **dul-* 'to dangle, to hang': Proto-Semitic **dal-aw-* 'to hang, to suspend; to be hanging, suspended' > Hebrew *dālāh* [דָּלָה] 'to draw (water)'; Akkadian *dalū* 'to draw water from a well'; Arabic *dalā* 'to let hang, to dangle, to hang, to suspend'; Sabaean *dlw* 'weight'; Ḥarsūsi *adē(ye)l* 'to pull up by a rope'; *dōlew* 'well-bucket'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *délé* 'to pull up by a rope'; Mehri *dəlō* 'to pull up by a rope'; Geez / Ethiopic *dalawa*, *dallawa* [ደለወ] 'to weigh'; Tigrinya *däläwä* 'to weigh'; Amharic *dälla* 'to be measured out, to be weighed'. D. Cohen 1970— :262—263; Klein 1987:125; Leslau 1987:132; Murtonen 1989:149. Proto-Semitic **dal-aḳ-* 'to shake, to tremble; to be shaken' > Geez / Ethiopic *dalaḳa* [ደለቀ] 'to be agitated, to be shaken, to be turbulent, to move quickly', *ʾadlaḳlaḳa* [አድለቅለቀ] 'to shake (intr.), to be shaken, to quake, to tremble, to cause to quake, to cause to tremble', *dələḳləḳ* [ድልቅልቅ] 'shaking, violent agitation, rattling, trembling, quaking, tumult, uproar, commotion, tempest, earthquake'; Tigre *däläḳläḳa* 'to shake, to tremble', *dələḳləḳ* 'earthquake'; Tigrinya *dələḳləḳ* 'earthquake'; Amharic *(a-)dläḳälläḳä* 'to shake'; Harari *dilliḳ āša* 'to hit violently and produce a sound'. D. Cohen 1970— :268—269; Leslau 1987:131. Proto-Semitic **dal-al-* 'to hang down, to dangle' > Hebrew *dālal* [דָּלַל] 'to hang down, to dangle'; Geez / Ethiopic *dalala*, *dallala* [ደለለ] 'to comb the hair, to braid the hair, to trim the hair neatly'. Klein 1987:126; Leslau 1987:131; Murtonen 1989:149. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **dal-dal-* 'to set into a swinging motion, to dangle' > Arabic *daldala* 'to set into a swinging motion, to dangle', *tadaldala* 'to hang loosely, to dangle'; Mehri *əndəldōl* 'to hang swinging'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *əndɛldél* '(clothes, tail) to drag, to sweep the ground'. D. Cohen 1970— :261—262. Ehret 1995:130, no. 137, **dul-* 'to raise, to pull above'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tuḷaṅku* (*tuḷaṅki-*) ‘to move, to sway from side to side (as an elephant), to shake, to be perturbed, to be uprooted, to droop’, *tuḷakku* (*tuḷakki-*) ‘to move, to shake, to bow, to nod’, *tuḷakkam* ‘shaking, waving, motion, agitation of mind, fear, dread, diminishing, dwindling’, *tulaṅku* (*tulaṅki-*) ‘to hang, to swing, to be agitated, to be disturbed’, *tuḷuṅku* (*tuḷuṅki-*) ‘to shake, to toss’; Malayalam *tuḷaṅṅuka* ‘to move tremulously’, *tuḷakkam* ‘shaking’; Kannaḍa *tuḷaku*, *tuḷiku*, *tuḷuku*, *tuḷuṅku* ‘to be agitated, to shake’; Telugu *dulupu* ‘to shake so as to remove dust, etc.; to shake off, to get rid of’; Kui *tlānga* (*tlāngi-*) ‘to be rocked to and fro, to pitch, to sway, to be tossed violently backwards and forwards and up and down’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:293, no. 3359.

C. Proto-Indo-European **dʰol-/*dʰl̥-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **dʰel-*) ‘to swing, to dangle’: Armenian *dołam* ‘to tremble, to shake, to quiver’; Swedish (dial.) *dilla* ‘to swing, to dangle’; Low German *dallen* ‘to dangle’. Pokorny 1959:246 **dhel-* ‘to tremble’; Walde 1927—1932.I:865 **dhel-*.

175. Proto-Nostratic root **dum-* (~ **dom-*):
(vb.) **dum-* ‘to cut (off), to sever’;
(n.) **dum-a* ‘cut, severance; piece cut off, bit, fragment’

A. Proto-Afrasian **dum-* ‘to split, to pierce’: Proto-Semitic **dam-ay-* ‘to destroy’ > Hebrew *dāmāh* [דָּמָה] ‘to cut off, to destroy’; Akkadian *damtu* ‘destruction’. D. Cohen 1970— :272. Egyptian *dm* ‘to be sharp, to sharpen, to pierce’, *dmt* ‘knife’, *dmꜣ* ‘to cut off (heads)’. Hannig 1995:978; Faulkner 1962:312 and 313; Erman—Grapow 1921:214 and 1926—1963.5:448, 5:449; Gardiner 1957:602. Berber: Riff *əddəm* ‘to split’. Perhaps also: Tamazight *dəmməc* ‘to give someone a slap in the face’; Nefusa *dummict* ‘fist, strike, blow’; Mzab *tdummict*, *əddumict* ‘strike, blow’. Lowland East Cushitic **dum-* ‘to be destroyed’ > Somali *dum-* ‘to be destroyed’. Berber: Riff *əddəm* ‘to split’. West Chadic **dum-* ‘to plunge a weapon (into a person)’ > Hausa *duma* ‘to strike someone with something’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:169, no. 740, **dum-* ‘to destroy’, 170, no. 743, **dum-* ‘to split, to pierce’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tumi* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to be cut off, severed; to perish, to be crushed’, *tumi* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to cut off, to saw, to keep off, to obstruct’, *tumi* ‘cut, severance’; Telugu *tumuru* ‘a small piece or bit’, *tuttumuru* ‘small bits or fragments, powder, dust’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:290, no. 3325.

Buck 1949:11.27 destroy.

176. Proto-Nostratic root **dum-* (~ **dom-*):
(vb.) **dum-* ‘to be silent’;
(n.) **dum-a* ‘silence’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **dam-am-* ‘to be quiet, silent, still’ > Hebrew *dāmam* [דָּמַם] ‘to be or grow dumb, silent, still’; Ugaritic *dm* ‘to be still, quiet’; Mandaic *dndm* (< **dmdm*) ‘to be deprived of speech or movement by emotion, to be stupefied’, *dmm* ‘to come to a stop’; Geez / Ethiopic *tadamma* [ተደመ], *tadamama* [ተደመመ] ‘to be silent, to stop, to be immobile, to be stupefied, to be astonished, to be amazed, to marvel, to wonder, to be dumbfounded, to be confused’, *dəmām* [ድማም] ‘satisfaction, astonishment, marvel, wonder, silence’; Gurage (Endegeñ) *dəmm barä* ‘to be quiet, to be silent’. D. Cohen 1970— :274; Leslau 1979:207 and 1987:134; Klein 1987:127; Murtonen 1989:151. According to Leslau (1987:134), the original meaning was ‘to be silent’ > ‘to be deprived of speech’ > ‘to be stupefied, to marvel’. Proto-Semitic **da/wa/m-* ‘to be silent’ > Hebrew *dūmām* [דּוּמָם] ‘stillness, silence’. Klein 1987:118; D. Cohen 1970— :236—237. Proto-Semitic **dam-ay-* ‘to be silent’ > Hebrew *dəmī* [דְּמִי,דְּמִי] ‘silence, quiet, rest’. D. Cohen 1970— :272; Klein 1987:127.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **dum-* ‘to keep silent about, to hold one’s tongue’: Georgian *dum-* ‘to keep silent about, to hold one’s tongue’, *dum-il-i* ‘silence’; Svan *dwm-*, *dwim-* ‘to hide, to conceal, to keep secret’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:114 **dum-*; Klimov 1998:43 **dum-* ‘to be(come) silent’; Fähnrich 2007:139 **dum-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **d*$^{h}$*m̥b*$^{h}$- (‘to be silent’ > ‘to be deprived of speech’ >) ‘to be dumb, mute’: Gothic *dumbs* ‘dumb’; Old Icelandic *dumbr* ‘dumb, mute’; Danish *dum* ‘dull, stupid’; Swedish *dum* ‘dull, stupid’; Old English *dumb* ‘dumb, silent’; Old Frisian *dumb* ‘dumb, stupid’; Old Saxon *dumb* ‘simple’; Dutch *dom* ‘stupid, dull, foolish’; Old High German *tumb*, *tump* ‘mute, dumb, unintelligible’ (New High German *dumm*). Mann 1984—1987:193 **dhm̥bh-* ‘stupefied; stupor’; Kroonen 2013:108 Proto-Germanic **dumba-* ‘dumb’; Orël 2003:79 Proto-Germanic **đumƀaz*; Feist 1939:129; Lehmann 1986:97—98; De Vries 1977:87; Onions 1966:293; Hoad 1986:137; Klein 1971:231; Skeat 1898:182; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:147 **dhumbhos*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:159.

Buck 1949:12.19 quiet (adj.); 12.27 hide, conceal; 17.36 secret (adj.); 18.23 be silent. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 537, **dûmV* ‘to be motionless, to be silent, to be quiet’.

177. Proto-Nostratic root **dum-* (~ **dom-*):
(vb.) **dum-* ‘to cover over, to obscure; to cloud over; to become dark, to make dark, to darken’;
(n.) **dum-a* ‘darkness, cloud, fog’; (adj.) ‘dark, cloudy’
Derivative:
(n.) (**dum-k’*$^{w}$*-a* >) **dun-k’*$^{w}$*-a* ‘darkness, cloud’; (adj.) ‘dark, cloudy’

A. Proto-Afrasian *_dum-_ ‘(vb.) to become dark, to make dark, to darken; to cloud over; (adj.) dark, cloudy; (n.) darkness, cloud, fog’: Proto-Semitic *_dam-an-_ ‘to cloud over, to become dark’ > Geez / Ethiopic _dammana_ [ደመነ] ‘to cloud over, to obscure, to become cloudy’, _dəmmun_ ‘cloudy’; Tigre _dämäna_ ‘cloud’; Tigrinya _dämmäna_ ‘cloud’; Gurage _dämmäna_ ‘cloud’; Argobba _dammäna_ ‘cloud’; Gafat _dämmänä_ ‘cloud’; Amharic _dammäna_, _dämmäna_ ‘cloud’; Harari _däna_ ‘cloud’. Leslau 1963:57, 1979: 209, and 1987:134—135; D. Cohen 1970— :274—275. Proto-Semitic *_dam-am-_ ‘to close, to cover’ > Arabic _damma_ ‘to stop up (a hole), to level’; Geez / Ethiopic _dammama_ [ደመመ] ‘to close, to cover, to fill up, to heap up, to level’; Tigre _damäma_ ‘to close the udder’; Gurage _dəmäddämä_ ‘to block the mouth of someone, to finish thatching a house’. D. Cohen 1970— :274; Leslau 1987:134. Proto-East Cushitic *_dum-_ ‘to become dark’ > Koyra _duuma_ ‘cloud’; Galla / Oromo _dum-eesa_ ‘cloud, fog’; Somali _dum-_ ‘cloud, fog’. Sasse 1982:58. Chadic: Ngizim _dəmán_ ‘rainy season’. Ehret 1995:133, no. 143, *_dumn-_ ‘cloud’. Ehret also reconstructs a Proto-Cushitic variant *_damn-_. However, the Cushitic forms with _a_, such as Awngi / Awiya _dammänä_ ‘cloud’ and Kemant _dämäna_ ‘cloud’, for example, may be loans from Ethiopian Semitic. Orël—Stolbova 1995:149, no. 645, reconstruct Proto-Afrasian *_dam-_ ‘cloud’.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$d^{h}m̥$- (secondary full-grade forms: *$d^{h}em$-/*$d^{h}om$-) ‘(vb.) to become dark, to make dark, to darken; (adj.) dark, cloudy; (n.) darkness, cloud’: Old Icelandic _dimmr_ ‘dim, dark’, _dimma_ ‘to make dark, to darken’; Old Swedish _dimber_ ‘dim, dark’; Norwegian _dimm_ ‘dark’; Danish _dim_ ‘dark’; Old English _dimm_ ‘dark’; Old Frisian _dimm_ ‘dark’; Old High German _timber_ ‘dark, gloomy’ (New High German [dial.] _timmer_), _(be)timberēn_ ‘to become dark’, _petimberen_ ‘to darken’, _timberī̆_ ‘darkness’; Old Irish _dem_ ‘black, dark’. Pokorny 1959:247—248 *_dhem-_, *_dhemə-_ ‘to fly about like dust’; Walde 1927—1932.I:851—852 *_dhem-_, *$dhemā^{x}$-; Mann 1984—1987:182 *_dhĕməros_ ‘gloomy, grim’, 182—183 *$dhem̥ō$ (*_dhembh-_) ‘to darken’, 183 *_dhĕmnos_ (*$dhm̥no$-) ‘obscure, dim, strange, sinister’; Orël 2003:70 Proto-Germanic *_đemmaz_, 70 *_đemmōjanan_; Kroonen 2013:96 Proto-Germanic *_dimma-_ ‘dark’; De Vries 1977:77; Onions 1966:268; Klein 1967:213. In the standard Indo-European etymological dictionaries, what were originally two separate stems are usually mistakenly lumped together: (1) *$d^{h}em$- ‘to blow’ and (2) *$d^{h}em$- ‘(vb.) to become dark, to make dark, to darken; (adj.) dark, cloudy; (n.) darkness, cloud’.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 1.73 cloud; 15.63 dark (in color). Bomhard—Kerns 1984:267, no. 77; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 539, *_d[û]hmV_ ~ *_d[û]mhV_ ‘(to be) dark’.

178. Proto-Nostratic (n.) (**dum-k'ʷ-a* >) **dun-k'ʷ-a* ‘darkness, cloud’; (adj.) ‘dark, cloudy’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **dum-* ‘to cover over, to obscure; to cloud over; to become dark, to make dark, to darken’;
(n.) **dum-a* ‘darkness, cloud, fog’; (adj.) ‘dark, cloudy’

A. Proto-Indo-European **dʰn̥k'ʷ-* (secondary full-grade forms: **dʰenk'ʷ-*/**dʰonk'ʷ-*) ‘(vb.) to cover over, to obscure, to be or become dark; (adj.) dark’: Hittite *da-an-ku-i-iš* ‘black, dark’, (3rd sg. pres.) *da-an-ku-e-eš-zi* ‘to become dark, to become black’, (3rd pl. pret.) *da-an-ku-ni-eš-kir* ‘to make dark, to make black’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *da-ak-ku-ú-i-iš* ‘dark’; Welsh *dew* (< **dʰenk'ʷo-s*) ‘fog, gloom, dusk’; Old Icelandic *døkkva* ‘to make dark, to darken’, *døkkr* ‘dark’; Old Frisian *diunk* (< Proto-Germanic **denkwa-z*) ‘dark’; Old Saxon *dunkar* ‘dark’; Old High German *tunchar*, *dunkal*, *tunchal*, *tunkal* ‘dark’ (New High German *dunkel*); Latvian *danga* (< **dʰonk'ʷeA*) ‘morass, mire’; Lithuanian *dengiù*, *deñgti* ‘to cover’, *dingsiù*, *dingsěti* ‘to be hidden’, *dangà* ‘cover, roof, garment’, *dangùs* ‘sky’. Pokorny 1959:248 **dhengᵘo-*, **dhengᵘī-* ‘foggy, misty’; Walde 1927—1932.I:851; Mann 1984—1987:184 **dhengu̯hō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to cover, to protect’, 193—194 **dhn̥gu̯hos* ‘dark, hidden; hiding place, cover’, **dhn̥gu̯hō* ‘to hide’, 198 **dhongu̯hos*, *-ā*, *-us* ‘covering, cover, arch’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:200 **d[ʰ]n̥k'-* and 1995.I:173 **dʰn̥-k'-* ‘dark’; Mallory—Adams 1997:147 **dh(o)ngu-* ‘dark’; Puhvel 1974:294; Benveniste 1962:70 **dhn̥gʷ-*; Orël 2003:68 Proto-Germanic **đankwaz* ~ **đenkwaz*; Kroonen 201396 Proto-Germanic **dinkwa-* ‘dark’; De Vries 1977:92; Kluge—Seebold 1989:160 Proto-Germanic **denkw-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:147—148 **dhengwos*; Bomhard 1984:115; Kloekhorst 2008b:829; Smoczyński 2007.1:100—101; Derksen 2015:114, 115, 121—122 **dʰengʰ-*, and 130—131; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:88—89.

B. Proto-Eskimo **tuŋu-* ‘to be dark blue (as ripe berry)’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Alaska Peninsula) *tuŋu(tə)-* ‘to become tanned (by sun)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *tuŋu-* ‘to be black’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *tuŋuq-* ‘to be bluish, dark’; North Alaskan Inuit *tuŋu-* ‘to be blue in the face’, *tuŋuq-* ‘to be blue (also of bruise)’; Western Canadian Inuit *tuŋu-* ‘to be blue, dark (of cloud)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *tuŋuq-* ‘to be blue, dark’, *tuŋuniq* ‘black cloud, blue-black ice’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:352. Proto-Eskimo **tuŋvaʁ-* or **tuŋvaɣ-* ‘to store away or bury’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *tuŋmaXtə-* ‘to get closer to finishing’; Central Alaskan Yupik *tuŋmaxtə-* ‘to bury (the dead)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *tumvaXtə-* ‘to bury, to acquire’; Central Siberian Yupik *tuɣmaxtə-* ‘to store away for later use, to murder’; Sirenik *tuɣmaxtə-* ‘to store away for later use’; North Alaskan Inuit *tuɣvaq-* ‘to put away’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:352—353.

Sumerian *dungu* ‘cloud’.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 1.73 cloud; 15.63 dark (in color). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:267—268, no. 78.

179. Proto-Nostratic root **dun-* (~ **don-*):
(vb.) **dun-* ‘to run, to flow (out), to leak’;
(n.) **dun-a* ‘flow, spill, leak’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **dun-* ‘to leak (for example, bag, roof)’, **dun-am-* ‘to leak (for example, water)’ > Gedeo / Darasa *dun-* ‘to leak (for example, bag, roof)’, *dun-em-* ‘to leak (for example, water)’; Hadiyya *dun-* ‘to leak (for example, bag, roof), to sprinkle (water), to pour’, *dun-am-* ‘to leak (for example, water)’; Kambata *dun-* ‘to leak (for example, bag, roof)’, *dun-am-* ‘(of liquid) to leak’; Sidamo *du’n-am-* ‘to leak (for example, water)’. Hudson 1989:89.
B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *tundnā* ‘to be poured out, to spill, to pour into’, *tundrnā* ‘to be poured out, spilt’; Malto *tunde* ‘to spill, to shed, to throw out (as water)’, *tundg̣re* ‘to be spilt, to be shed’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:290, no. 3321.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **dn-* ‘to run, to flow; to melt’: Georgian *da-dn-ob-a* ‘to melt’; Mingrelian (**dn-* >) *din-*, *dən-* ‘to disappear; to lose, to get lost’; Laz (**dn-* >) *ndin-*, *ndun-*, *dun-* ‘to lose, to get lost; to disappear’; Svan (**li-dn-e* >) *lī-n-e* ‘to melt’. Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:878 and 1995.I:774 **den-*/**din-* ‘to flow’, **dn̥-* ‘to melt’; Klimov 1964:74 **dn-* and 1998:41—42 **dn-* ‘to melt, to thaw’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995: 112—113 **dn-*; Schmidt 1962:105; Fähnrich 2007:135—136 **dn-*.
D. Proto-Indo-European **dʰn̥-* (secondary full-grade forms: **dʰen-*/**dʰon-*) ‘to run, to flow’: Sanskrit *dhánvati* ‘to run, to flow’, *dhanáyati* ‘to set in motion, to run’; Old Persian *dan-* ‘to flow’; Tocharian A *tsän-* ‘to flow’, B *tseñe* ‘river, stream, current’; (?) Latin *fōns*, *-tis* ‘spring, fountain’. Rix 1998a:125—126 **dʰenh₂-* ‘to be set in motion, to run off or away’; Pokorny 1959:249 **dhen-* ‘to run, to flow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:852 **dhen-*; Mann 1984—1987:184 **dhenu̯ō* ‘to flow’; Watkins 1985:13 **dhen-* and 2000:18 **dhen-* ‘to run, to flow’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:671, II:878 **d[ʰ]en-* and 1995.I:578, I:774 **dʰen-* ‘to run, to flow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:491 **dhen-* ‘to run, to flow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:90 **dhen-* and II:91—92; De Vaan 2008:230—231; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:525; Ernout—Meillet 1979:244—245; Adams 1999:741 **dʰen-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:527 **dhen-*.

Buck 1949:10.32 flow (vb.); 10.46 run (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:271—272, no. 83. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 543, **dunV̄* (or **dünV̄*) ‘to stream, to flow’.

180. Proto-Nostratic root *$dun^{y}$- (~ *$don^{y}$-):
(vb.) *$dun^{y}$- ‘to cut off, to cleave, to split’;
(n.) *$dun^{y}$-*a* ‘part, share; piece cut off, bit, fragment’

A. Proto-Afrasian *d[u]n- ‘to cut, to cut off, to cleave’: Semitic: Tigre *dänna* ‘to cut off’. D. Cohen 1970— :283—284. Egyptian *dn* ‘to cut, to cut off, to cleave, to split, to wound’, *dndn* ‘to attack, to do violence’, *dnỉ* ‘to cut, to divide, to distribute’, *dnd* ‘to slaughter, to kill’, *dnn* ‘to cut, to split’, *dnnw* ‘share, part, division’. Faulkner 1962:313 and 314; Hannig 1995:981 and 983; Erman—Grapow 1921:214, 215 and 1926—1963.5:463, 5:466, 5:472; Gardiner 1957:602. Orël—Stolbova 1995:173, no. 762, *dVn- ‘to cut off’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *tuṇi* ‘to be sundered, cut, severed; to be removed; to be torn; to become clear; to resolve; to determine, to ascertain, to conclude; to commence; to cut, to sever, to chop off’; Malayalam *tuṇi* ‘piece’; Kannaḍa *tuṇaka*, *tuṇaku*, *tuṇuku*, *tuḷaku* ‘fragment, piece, bit’; Telugu *tuniya* ‘piece, bit, fragment’, *tuniyu*, *tunũgu* ‘to be cut or broken to pieces’, *tun(u)mu* ‘to cut’; Naikṛi *tunke* ‘half portion (of bread)’; Gondi *tunkī* ‘a piece’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:289, no. 3305. Tamil *tuṇṭam* ‘piece, fragment, bit’, *tuṇṭi* ‘to cut, to sever, to tear up, to divide, to separate’, *tuṇṭu* ‘piece, bit, fragment, slice, section, division’; Malayalam *tuṇṭam* ‘piece, bit, slice’, *tuṇṭikka* ‘to cut to pieces, to cut off (as the throat)’; Kota *tuṇḍ* ‘piece’; Kannaḍa *tuṇḍisu* ‘to cut or break into pieces, to make piecemeal’, *tuṇḍu* ‘fragment, piece, bit’; Koḍagu *tuṇḍ-* (*tuṇḍi-*) ‘to break’; Tuḷu *tuṇḍu* ‘piece, slice’; Telugu *tuṇḍa*, *tuṇḍamu* ‘piece, fragment’, *tuṇḍincu* ‘to cut, to sever’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:289, no. 3310.
C. Proto-Indo-European *$d^{h}n̥$- (secondary full-grade forms: *$d^{h}en$-/*$d^{h}on$-) ‘to cut, to cut off, to cleave’: Old Icelandic *dengja* ‘to hammer, to whet a scythe’, *dyntr*, *dyttr* ‘stroke, blow, dint’; Old English *dynt* ‘stroke, blow, bruise’, *dengan* ‘to beat, to strike’; Albanian (Gheg) *dhend*, *dhên* ‘to lop off, to cut down’. Pokorny 1959:249—250 *dhen- ‘to hit, to thrust’; Walde 1927—1932.I:853—854 *dhen- ‘to hit, to thrust’; Mann 1984—1987:184 *dhengu̯hō ‘to bang, to beat, to force, to thrust’ (variant *dhengh-); Orël 2003:79 Proto-Germanic *đuntiz; De Vries 1977:75 and 90; Onions 1966:269; Klein 1971:214.

Sumerian *dun* ‘to dig (with a hoe)’.

Buck 1949:8.22 dig; 9.21 strike (hit, beat). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:263—264, no. 73; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 542, *dônV ‘to cut’.

181. Proto-Nostratic root *dur- (~ *dor-):
(vb.) *dur- ‘to bore, to drill, to make a hole’;
(n.) *dur-*a* ‘hole, opening’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *tura* ‘to tunnel, to bore’, *turappu* ‘tunnel’, *turappaṇam* ‘auger, drill, tool for boring holes’; *turuvu* (*turuvi-*) ‘(vb.) to bore, to drill, to perforate, to scrape out (as the pulp of a coconut); (n.) hole, scraping, scooping’, *turuval* ‘scrapings (as of coconut pulp), boring, drilling’; Malayalam *turakka* ‘to bury, to undermine’, *turappaṇam* ‘carpenter’s drill, gimlet’, *turavu* ‘burrowing, mine, hole’, *tura* ‘hole, burrow’; Kannaḍa *turi*, *turuvu* ‘(vb.) to hollow, to bore, to drill, to make a hole, to grate, to scrape (as fruits), to scrape out (as a kernel out of its shell); (n.) grating, scraping out’; Tuḷu *turipini*, *turipuni*, *turupuni* ‘to bore, to perforate, to string (as beads)’, *turiyuni*, *turuvuni* ‘to be bored, perforated, strung’; Telugu *tu̲rumu* ‘to scrape with a toothed instrument (as the kernel of a coconut)’; Parji *turu* ‘soil dug out in a heap by rats’; Koṇḍa *tr̲uk-* ‘(pig) to root up earth with snout’; Kui *trupka* (< **truk-p-*; *trukt-*) ‘to bore, to pierce’, *truspa* (*trust-*) ‘to be pierced, holed’, *trunga* (*trungi-*) ‘to become a hole, to be pierced’; Kuṛux *tūrnā* ‘to pierce through, to perforate’; Malto *túre* ‘to scratch out’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:291—292, no. 3339. Kannaḍa *to̲ralu*, *to̲raḷe* ‘hole’, *to̲re*, *ḍo̲re* ‘hollow, hole’; Telugu *to̲ra*, *to̲raṭa*, *to̲rra* ‘hole, cavity (in a tree)’; Gondi *dora* ‘hole (in a tree)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:310, no. 3533.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **duro* ‘hole, hollow’: Georgian *duro* ‘loop-hole’; Mingrelian *duru* ‘hollow, depression, hole, pit’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **d$^{h}$ur-* ‘(vb.) to pierce, to penetrate; (n.) any pointed object: spike, prong, dagger, fork, pole, etc.’: Sanskrit *dhúr* ‘yoke, pole or shaft of a carriage, peg, pin,’ *dhúra-ḥ* ‘yoke, pole, peg of the axle’; Greek τύρχη ‘a (two-pronged) fork’; Armenian *durk* ‘dagger’, *dur* ‘tool, gimlet’; Lithuanian *dùrklas* ‘spit, dagger, bayonet’, *dū̃ris* ‘prick, stitch’, *duriù*, *dùrti* ‘to thrust, to stab’; Russian *dyrá* [дыра] ‘hole’. Mann 1984—1987:223 **dhurkos*, *-ā* ‘stab; spike, prong’, 223 **dhurō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to pierce, to penetrate’, 223 **dhŭros*, *-ā* ‘piercing, pierce; stab, hole’; Mallory—Adams 1997:424 **dhu̯er-* ‘to pierce’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:111 **dhur-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:136—137; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:113.

Buck 1949:12.85 hole. Blažek 1992a:115, no. 7, and 1992b:130; Bomhard 1996a:214, no. 615; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 556, **durV* (or **dürV*) ‘hole, hollow’.

182. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dur-a* ‘goat, sheep, ram’ (perhaps originally ‘horned animal’):

A. Proto-Afrasian **dur-* ‘goat, sheep, ram’: Omotic: Wolaita (Beke) *dŭrsa*, *dorsa* ‘sheep’; Oyda *duro*, *dorsa* ‘sheep’; Basketo *doori* ‘sheep’; Doko *dori* ‘sheep’; Zayse *doroo* ‘sheep’; Koyra *doroo* ‘sheep’; She *dor*, *doy* ‘ram’. Chadic: Hina *duru(p)* ‘a calf’; Mafa *dr̂o̲k* ‘ram’; Pa’a *tóri* ‘goat’; Guruntum *dòoro* ‘goat’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:166—167.

B. Kartvelian: Georgian *dur-aq'*- ‘yearly capricorn’.

(?) Sumerian *dùr* ‘young animal’.

Buck 1949:3.25 sheep; 3.26 ram; 3.36 goat. Blažek 1992a:115, no. 6; Bomhard 1996a:214, no. 614; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 572, **dû[ŕ]V[g|qV]* ‘lamb, kid (of wild ram, etc.)’.

183. Proto-Nostratic root **duw*- (~ **dow*-):
(vb.) **duw*- ‘to blow about, to fly about, to scatter; to be blown, strewn, or scattered about’;
(n.) **duw-a* ‘anything blown, sprinkled, scattered, or strewn about: smoke, steam, vapor; rain, shower, drizzle, raindrops; dust’; (adj.) ‘blown about, sprinkled, scattered, strewn’

A. Proto-Dravidian **tŭC*-, **tŭvV*- ‘to blow about, to fly about, to scatter; to be blown, strewn, or scattered about’: Tamil *tūvu* (*tūvi*-) ‘to sprinkle, to strew, to scatter, to spread out as grain for fowls, to show forth (as arrows), to put loosely in a measure (as flour while measuring), to strew or offer flowers in worship, to rain’, *tūval* ‘sprinkling, spilling, drizzling, little drops of water, raindrops, rain, drizzle’, *tūvāṉam* ‘drizzle, rain driven in or scattered about in fine drops by the wind, place where cascade falls’; Malayalam *tūkuka* ‘to strew, to spill, to shower’, *tūvuka* ‘to be spilled, to scatter (tr.)’, *tūvānam* ‘rain driven by the wind’, *tūkkuka* ‘to spill, to scatter’; Toda *tu꞉f*- (*tu꞉fy*-) ‘to spread (grain in sun to dry, husks for buffalo to eat)’; Tuḷu *dūsuni* ‘to sprinkle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:297, no. 3394. Tamil *tūṟu* (*tūṟi*-) ‘to drizzle’, *tūṟal*, *tūṟṟal* ‘drizzling’, *tuvaṟṟu* (*tuvaṟṟi*-) ‘to scatter drops, to sprinkle’, *tuvaṟal* ‘raining, drizzling, sprinkling’, *tuval* (*tuvalv*-, *tuvaṉṟ*-) ‘to drip (as water), to sprinkle, to drizzle’, *tuvalal* ‘water particle, drop, spray, drizzle’, *tivalai* ‘small drop, spray, rain drop, rain’, (?) *tumi* ‘(vb.) to drizzle, to sprinkle; (n.) raindrops, light drizzling rain, drop of water, spray’, *tumitam* ‘raindrops’; Malayalam *tūṟṟal* drizzling, rain’; Kannaḍa *tūṟu* ‘(vb.) to fall in fine particles, to drizzle, to cause to drizzle or drop; (n.) falling in fine particles, drizzling’, *tūṟalu* ‘to drizzle’, *tuntuṟ*, *tuntuṟi* ‘drizzling, spray, a drop’, *tūpaṟu* ‘to drizzle’; Koraga *durmbu* ‘to drizzle’; Telugu *tūru* ‘to drizzle’, *tūra*, *tuvvara* ‘raindrop, drizzling rain’, *tuppara* ‘a particle or drop of water, a particle of spray (especially spittle accidentally ejected from the mouth in speaking)’, *tumpiḷḷu* ‘thin or drizzling rain, drizzle, spray, rain driven by wind’; Koṇḍa *tūl*- (*tūʀ*-) ‘(water, etc.) to be splashed, to scatter away in particles’; Kuwi *tūth'nai* ‘to speckle, to intersperse, to powder’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:297—298, no. 3398; Krishnamurti 2003:13 **tuw-ṯ*- ‘to drizzle’. Tamil *tūṟṟu* (*tūṟṟi*-) ‘(vb.) to scatter, to winnow, to throw up (as dust in the air); (n.) winnowing’; Malayalam *tūṟṟuka* ‘to winnow, (wind) to scatter’; Kannaḍa

*tūr̲u* ‘to winnow, to drive chaff from grain by means of the wind’; Tuḷu *tūr̲u* ‘husks of grain’, *tūr(u)pettu*, *tūran-ettu*, *tūru-paṭṭu* ‘to winnow’, *tūrpiḍi* ‘winnowing’; Kolami *tūrpet-* (*tūrpett-*) ‘to winnow’; Gondi *tūrānā* ‘to fly away in the wind (as dust, clothes)’, *turehtáná* ‘to winnow’; Pengo *ṭūṭ-* ‘to winnow with wind’; Manḍa *ṭūṭ-* ‘to sprinkle (for example, salt on food)’; Kuwi *ṭūṭ-* ‘to sprinkle (for example, salt on food)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:298, no. 3402.

B. Proto-Indo-European **d$^{h}$ew-/*d$^{h}$ow-/*d$^{h}$u-*, **d$^{h}$ewH-/*d$^{h}$owH-/*d$^{h}$uH-* (> **d$^{h}$ū-*), **d$^{h}$weE-/*d$^{h}$woE-/*d$^{h}$uE-* (> **d$^{h}$wē-/*d$^{h}$wō-/*d$^{h}$ū-*), **d$^{h}$wes-/*d$^{h}$wos-/*d$^{h}$us-* ‘to blow about, to fly about; to be blown, strewn, or scattered about’, **d$^{h}$uH-mo-s* (> **d$^{h}$ū-mo-s*) ‘smoke, vapor, mist’: Sanskrit *dhū́ka-ḥ* ‘wind’, *dhūmá-ḥ* ‘smoke, vapor, mist’, *dhvasirá-ḥ* ‘sprinkled, spattered, covered’, *dhūli-ḥ*, *dhūlī* ‘dust, powder, pollen’, *dhūnóti* ‘to shake, to agitate’, *dhváṁsati* ‘to fall to pieces or to dust’, *dhvasmán-* ‘polluting, darkening’, *dhūpa-ḥ* ‘incense’; Greek θῡ́νω ‘to rush, to dart along’, τύφω ‘to raise a smoke, to smoke, to smolder’, θῡ́ω ‘to rush on or along, to storm, to rage’, θύος ‘incense’, θῡμός ‘soul, breath, life’; Latin *fūmus* ‘smoke, steam, vapor’, *bēstia* ‘animal without reason (as opposed to man), beast’; Gothic *dauns* ‘smell, fragrance’, *dius* ‘wild animal’; Old Icelandic *dýja* ‘to shake’, *dýr* ‘animal, beast’, *dust* ‘dust’, *daunn* ‘bad smell’; Old English *dūst* ‘dust’, *dēor* ‘(wild) animal, deer, reindeer’, **dēan* ‘steam, vapor’; Old Frisian *diar*, *dier* ‘wild animal’, *dūst* ‘dust’; Old Saxon *dior* ‘wild animal’, *dōmian* ‘to give off steam’; Middle Dutch *doom* ‘steam, vapor’; Old High German *toum* ‘steam, vapor’, *tior* ‘wild animal’ (New High German *Tier*), *tunist* ‘wind, breeze’ (New High German *Dunst*); Old Irish *dumacha* ‘fog’, *dásacht* ‘fury’; Lithuanian *dū́mai* ‘smoke’, *dū́sauju*, *dū́sauti* ‘to sigh’, *dujà* ‘drizzle, dust; (pl.) gas’, *dvasià* ‘breath, spirit’; Old Prussian *dumis* ‘smoke’; Old Church Slavic *dymъ* ‘smoke’, *duxъ* ‘breath, spirit, soul’; *dušǫ*, *duxati* ‘to breathe’; Tocharian A *twe*, B *tweye* ‘dust, vapor’; Hittite *túḫ-ḫu-iš* ‘smoke, vapor’. Rix 1998a:130 **d$^{h}$eu̯H-* ‘to fly about hither and thither’, 140—141 **d$^{h}$u̯es-* ‘to breathe’; Pokorny 1959:261—267 **dheu-*, **dheu̯ə-* (**dhu̯ē-*) ‘to fly about (like dust)’, 268—271 **dhu̯es-*, **dhu̯ĕs-*, **dheus-*, **dhŭs-* ‘to fly about (like dust)’; Walde 1927—1932.I:835—843 **dheu-*, **dheu̯ā$^{x}$-* (**dheu̯ē-*), I:843—847 **dhu̯es-*, **dhu̯ĕs-*, **dheus-*, **dhŭs-*; Mann 1984—1987:178 **dhaunos* (**dhausno-* ?) ‘wild animal, woodland animal’, 188 (**dheus-*), 188 **dheusros* (**dhousros*) ‘inspired, dashing; dash, fury’, 200 **dhoukseu̯ō* ‘to breathe, to blow’, 188 **dhouksos*, *-ā*, 188 **dhoun-* ‘to blow, to stink’, 188 **dhousos*, *-u̯os*, *-u̯ə* ‘spirit, breath, creature’, 201 **dhousro-*, **dhousru̯ō* (?) ‘to rouse, to incite, to excite’, 215 **dhŭbhos* ‘smoky, dim, dark, gray, black, obscure; darkness’, 216—217 **dhŭu̯ō* ‘to shake, to stir, to dash, to rouse’, 217 **dhŭu̯ō* ‘to vaporize, to smoke’, 217 **dhu̯os* ‘vapor, dust, smoke, fragrance’, 217 **dhūkō*, *-u̯ō* ‘to bluster, to blow, to puff’, 217 **dhūkos*, *-ā* ‘blowing, puffing, bluster’, 217 **dhuksos* ‘blow, breath, sigh,

groan', 218—219 **dhūlos*, *-is* 'smoky, steamy; smoke, vapor, dust', 219 **dhūmāi̯ō*, *-ei̯ō* (*-i̯ō*) 'to smoke, to steam, to breathe, to blow', 221 **dhūməkā* 'smoke, billow, cloud, puff', 220 **dhūməlos* (**dhūmlos*, **dhūmros*) 'smoky, gray, dun', 220 **dhumō* 'to breathe, to smoke', 220 **dhūmos* 'smoke, vapor, fog, spirit, breath', 220 **dhumsos*, *-om*, *-ā* (**dhusmos*) 'swell, vapor, enthusiasm, animus', 220 **dhumtos* 'blown-up, vaporized', 221—222 **dhunmn-*, **dhunno-* 'smoke-colored, murky, dun, dim', 222 **dhūnos*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* 'swelling, bulge, puff', 224 **dhŭs-* 'to whirr, to buzz; whirring object, spindle', 224 **dhusəlos* (**dhuslos*), *-is*, *-i̯ə* 'blow; breath; vapor, smell', 224 **dhusəros* 'wild; rage; demon', 224 (**dhūsəlos*, **dhūsəros*), 224—225 **dhuskos* 'dark', 225 **dhusmos* 'vapor, breath; anger', 225 **dhŭsō*, *-i̯ō* 'to blow, to breathe, to steam, to smoke', 225 **dhŭsos*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* 'roaring, raging; fury, demon', 225—226 **dhŭsos*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* 'breathing; breath, fragrance', 227 **dhu̯ĕsimos* (**dhu̯esmos*) 'breathing; breath, gasp', 227 **dhu̯ĕsō*, *-i̯ō* 'to blow, to breathe, to expire, to evaporate, to turn to spirit', 227—228 **dhu̯ĕsos*, *-is*, *-i̯om*, *-i̯os*, *-i̯ə* 'breath, vapor, spirit; inspired, mad', 230 **dhu̯os-* 'drooping, ailing; spirit, exhalation, expiry'; Watkins 1985:14 **dheu-*, **dheuə-* and 2000:19 **dheu-* (also **dheuə-*) 'to rise in a cloud (as dust, vapor, or smoke)'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:206 **d[ʰ]eu̯H-*, **d[ʰ]uH-* > **d[ʰ]ū-*, I:237, I:241, **d[ʰ]eu̯-s-*, **d[ʰ]u̯-es-* and 1995.I:177 **dʰeuH-*, **dʰuH-* > **dʰū-* 'to blow; to exhale, to breathe; to gasp', I:206, I:210 **dʰeu-s-*, **dʰw-es-* 'animal, soul'; Gray 1939:253—255; Mallory—Adams 1997:82 **dhu̯ésmi* 'to breathe, to be full of (wild) spirits', 388 **dheu(hₓ)-* 'to be in (com)motion, to rise (as dust or smoke)', 529 **dhuh₂mós* 'smoke', and 538 (?) **dhu̯es-* 'spirit'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:107—108, II:108, II:109, II:110, and II:117—118 **dheu-*; Boisacq 1950:356—357 **dhū-* (**dheu̯āˣ-*) 'to be in rapid motion, to fly about (like smoke or dust)', **dhū-mó-s* 'smoke', **dhū-li-s*, **dhu̯-i̯i̯ō*, **dheu-*, **dheu̯es-*, 360 **dhus-*, and 995 **dhubh-*, perhaps from **dhŭ-* 'to be in rapid motion'; Hofmann 1966:119 **dhū-mós*, **dheu-* 'to fly about (like dust)', 120 **dhus-*, and 380; Frisk 1970—1973.I:693—694 **dhū-mo-s*, I:697—699, and II:950—951; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:446, I:448—449, and II:1147—1148; Ernout—Meillet 1979:69 and 260 **dhūmo-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:102 **dheu̯ĕs-* and I:561—562 **dheu-*, **dheu̯ē-*; Beekes 2010.II:564 **dʰuH-mo-*, II:565 **dʰeuH-*, II:567; De Vaan 2008:71 Latin *bēstia* "uncertain etymology" and 249; Orël 2003:69 Proto-Germanic **đauniz*, 71—72 **đeuzan*; Kroonen 2013:90 Proto-Germanic **dauma-* 'vapor' and 111 **du(w)ēn-* 'to be misty (?), windy (?)'; Feist 1939:116—119 **dheu̯-* and 121—122 **dheu̯es-*; Lehmann 1986:88—89 **dhew-*, **dhewˀ-* 'to fly about, to whirl' and 92—93 **dhews-*, **dhew-*, **dhwes-*; De Vries 1977:74 **dheu-*, 88, 89 **dheu-*, and 90 **dheu̯es-*; Onions 1966:250 **dheusóm* and 295 **dhwn̥s-*, **dhwens-*; Klein 1971:196 **dheus-*, **dhous-*, **dhwos-*, **dhewĕs-*, **dhwĕs-* 'to breathe', which are enlargements of **dheu-* 'to fly about like dust, to smoke' and 233 **dhewĕs-*, **dhwens-*,

**dhūs-* ‘to fly about like dust’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:148 **dhwens-* and 778 **dheu̯es-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:160—161 **dhwen-s-*, **dhwes-* and 729 **dheus-*; Adams 1999:323 **$d^h$eu($h_x$)-* ‘to rise in the air (like dust)’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:519 **dheu-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:895; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:110; Smoczyński 2007.1:132; Derksen 2008:132 and 2015:145 **$d^h$uH-mó-*.

C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *tibo* (< **tywo*) ‘rain’, *tibo-* ‘to rain’, *tiba:-* ‘to start raining’, (Northern / Tundra) *tiwe* ‘rain’, *tiwerej-* ‘to start raining’. Nikolaeva 2006:440.

Buck 1949:1.83 smoke (sb.); 3.11 animal; 4.51 breathe; breath; 10.26 shake (vb. tr.); 10.38 blow (vb. intr.); 16.11 soul, spirit; 16.43 rage, fury.

## 22.7. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *tʰ

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| tʰ- | t- | t- | t- | tʰ- | t- | tʰ- | t- |
| -tʰ- | -t- | -t(t)- | -t- | -tʰ- | -t(t)- | -tʰ- | -t(t)- |

184. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative stems:
Proximate: *$t^ha$- (~ *$t^hə$-) ‘this’;
Intermediate: *$t^hi$- (~ *$t^he$-) ‘that’;
Distant: *$t^hu$- (~ *$t^ho$-) ‘that yonder’

A. Proto-Afrasian *$ta$- demonstrative stem: Proto-Semitic *$t\bar{a}$-/*$t\check{\bar{\imath}}$- demonstrative stem > Arabic (m.) $t\check{\bar{\imath}}$, (f.) $t\bar{a}$ ‘this’; Tigre (m.) $t\bar{u}$, (f.) $t\bar{a}$ ‘this’. Egyptian (fem. sg. demonstrative and definite article) $t3$ ‘this, the’, (fem. sg. demonstrative adj.) $tn$ ‘this’; Coptic $t$- [ⲧ-], $te$- [ⲧⲉ-] fem. sg. definite article, $taï$ [ⲧⲁⲓ] (fem. sg. of demonstrative pronoun) ‘this’. Hannig 1995:912 and 934; Faulkner 1962:292 and 299; Gardiner 1957:598 and 600; Erman—Grapow 1921:200, 206, and 1926—1963.5:211—212, 5:309; Vycichl 1983:208; Černý 1976:176 and 177. Berber: Tuareg demonstrative stem (f. sg.) $ta$ ‘this’, (pl. $ti$); Ghadames (f. sg.) $tu$ ‘this’ (pl. $ti$); Mzab (f. sg.) $ta$ ‘this’, (pl. $ti$); Tamazight (f. sg.) $ta$, $ti$ ‘this’, (pl. $ti$); Kabyle (f. sg.) $ta$ ‘this’, (pl. $ti$). Also used as 3rd person verbal suffix: Tuareg (m. sg.) -$t$, (f. sg.) -$tət$, (m. pl.) -$tən$, (f. pl.) -$tənət$; Ghadames (m. sg.) -$ət$, -$ətt$, -$itt$, (f. sg.) -$tət$, -$əttət$, -$ittət$, (m. pl.) -$tən$, -$əttən$, -$ittən$, (f. pl.) -$tənət$, -$ətnət$, -$itnət$. Beja / Beḍawye (f. article) (sg.) $tū$ (acc. sg. $tō$), (pl.) $tā$ (acc. pl. $tē$). Reinisch 1895:220. Proto-East Cushitic *$ta$, (subj.) *$tu$/*$ti$ fem. demonstrative pronoun stem > Burji (dem. f.) $ta$, (subj.) $ci$ ‘this’; Somali (dem. f.) $ta$, (subj.) $tu$; Rendille $ti$ fem. gender marker and connector; Galla / Oromo $ta$-, (subj.) $tu$-; Sidamo -$ta$, (subj.) -$ti$ fem. article; Kambata (f. acc. sg. demon. det.) $ta$ ‘this’; Hadiyya (f. acc. sg. demon. det.) $ta$ ‘this’. Hudson 1989:151; Sasse 1982:175. Proto-Southern Cushitic (fem. bound demonstrative stem) *$ta$ ‘this, that’ > Iraqw $ti$ ‘this’; Burunge $ti$ ‘this’, $taʔa$ (f.) ‘that’; K’wadza -*(i)to*, -*(e)to* fem. gender marker; Asa -*(i)t(o)*, -*(e)t(o)* fem. gender marker; Ma’a -*eta* suffix on fem. nouns; Dahalo $t\underline{á}$- in $\underline{t}áʔini$ (f.) ‘they’. Ehret 1980:289. Chadic: Hausa *taa* ‘she, her’.

B. Proto-Dravidian reflexive pronoun: (sg.) *$tān$ ‘self, oneself’, (pl.) *$tām$ ‘they, themselves’: Tamil $tā\underline{n}$ (obl. $ta\underline{n}$-; before vowels $ta\underline{nn}$-) ‘oneself’, $tā\underline{n}ē$ ‘himself, only, just’; Malayalam $tān$ (obl. $tān$-) ‘self, oneself’; Kota $ta{\cdot}n$ (obl. $tan$-/$ta$-) ‘oneself’; Toda $to{\cdot}n$ (obl. $tan$-) ‘oneself’; Kannaḍa $tān$ (obl. $tan$-) ‘he, she, it (in the reciprocal or reflexive sense)’; Koḍagu $ta{\cdot}nï$

(obl. *tan*-) ‘oneself’; Telugu *tān* (obl. *tan*-) ‘one’s self, he or himself, she or herself’; Parji *tān* (obl. *tan*-) ‘self, oneself’; Gadba (Ollari) *tān* (obl. *tan*-) ‘self’ oneself’; Kuṛux *tān*- (obl. *taŋg*-) reflexive pronoun of the third person: ‘himself’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:278, no. 3196. Tamil *tām* (obl. *tam*-; before vowels *tamm*-) ‘they, themselves; you’; Malayalam *tām* (obl. *tam*-, *tamm*-) ‘they, themselves; you’; Kota *ta·m* (obl. *tam*-) ‘themselves’; Toda *tam* (obl. *tam*-) ‘themselves’; Kannaḍa *tām* (obl. *tam*-), *tāvu* (obl. *tav*-) ‘they, themselves; you’; Koḍagu *taŋga* (obl. *taŋga*-) ‘themselves’; Telugu *tāmu* (obl. *tam*-, *tamm*-), *tamaru*, *tāru* ‘they, themselves; you’; Naikṛi *tām* ‘they, themselves’; Parji *tām* (obl. *tam*-) ‘they, themselves’; Gadba (Ollari) *tām* (obl. *tam*-) ‘they, themselves’; Kuṛux *tām*- (obl. *tam*-) ‘they, themselves’; Malto *tám*, *támi* (obl. *tam*-) ‘they, themselves’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:275, no. 3162; Krishnamurti 2003:252—253 reflexive pronoun: (sg.) **tān*, (pl.) **tām*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **tʰo*- demonstrative pronoun stem: Sanskrit *tád* ‘this, that’; Greek τό ‘this, that’; Latin (dem. pronoun or adj.) *is-te*, *is-ta*, *is-tud* ‘that of yours, that beside you’; Gothic *þata* ‘that’; Old Icelandic (n.) *þat* ‘that, it’; Norwegian *det* ‘that’; Swedish (m. and f.) *den*, (n.) *det* ‘the’; Danish *den*, *det* ‘that’; Old English *þæt* ‘that’; Old Frisian *thet* ‘that’; Old Saxon *that* ‘that’; Old High German *t(h)az*, *daz* ‘that’ (New High German *daß*); Lithuanian *tàs* ‘this, that’; Tocharian A *täm* ‘this’, B *te* ‘this one, it’; Hittite *ta* sentence connective; Hieroglyphic Luwian *tas* ‘this’. Pokorny 1959:1086—1087 **to*-, **tā*-, **tio*- demonstrative pronoun stem; Walde 1927—1932.I:742—743 **to*-, **tā*-; Mann 1984—1987:1406 **tod* neut. sg. of type **tos*, 1416 **tos*, **tā*, **tod* demonstrative pronoun; Watkins 1985:71 **to*- and 2000:92—93 **to*- demonstrative pronoun; Mallory—Adams 1997:457 (neuter) **tód* ‘that (one)’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:384 **t[ʰ]o*- and 1995.I:188, I:336 **tʰo*- demonstrative pronoun; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:465; Boisacq 1950:974 **to*-, **tā*-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:907 **to*-, **tā*-; Hofmann 1966:368—389 **to*-, **tā*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1123; Beekes 2010.II:1491 **to*-, **teh₂*-; De Vaan 2008:310—311; Ernout—Meillet 1979:324; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:721—722 **to*-, **tā*-; Orël 2003:417—418 Proto-Germanic **þat*; Kroonen 2013:530 Proto-Germanic **þa*- ‘that, those’ (< **to*-); Feist 1939:490—491 **tod*; Lehmann 1986:356 (discourse particle) **to*-; De Vries 1977:606; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:101; Onions 1966:914; Klein 1971:758; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:122; Kluge—Seebold 1989:135—136; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:392—393; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:421—422 **to*-; Adams 1999:303 **tod*; Derksen 2015:459 Balto-Slavic **tos*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1064—1065; Smoczyński 2007.1:661.

D. Proto-Uralic (demonstrative pronoun stem) **ta*/**tä* ‘this’: Finnish *tämä/tä*- ‘this’; (?) Estonian *tema*, *temä* ‘he, she, it’; Lapp / Saami *dat*/*da*- ‘this’, *deikĕ* (< **dekki*) ‘hither’; Mordvin (Erza) *te*, (Moksha) *tɛ* ‘this’, (Erza) *tesë*, (Moksha) *t'asa* ‘here’, (Erza) *tite*, *teke*, (Moksha) *titɛ*, *t'aka* ‘(just)

this'; Cheremis / Mari (West) *ti*, (East) *tə*, *tõ* 'this'; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *ta* 'this'; (?) Zyrian / Komi *ta* 'this'; Vogul / Mansi *te*, *ti*, *tə* 'this', *tet*, *tit*, *tət* 'here'; Ostyak / Xanty *temi*, *tə-* 'this'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *tæmʔ* 'this', (pl.) *teewʔ* 'these'; Selkup Samoyed *tam*, *tau*, *tap* 'this', *tedaʔ* 'now', *tii*, *teŋa*, *teka* 'hither'; Kamassian *teeji* 'hither'. Rédei 1986—1988:505 **ta*; Collinder 1955:62 and 1977:79; Janhunen 1977b:144—145 **tə̂(-)*, 150 **tå-*, 160—161 **ti(-)*, and 167 **tü(-)*; Décsy 1990:108 **ta*/**tä* 'that, this'. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *taŋ* 'that', *ta:* 'there, thence', *ta:t* 'so; then, thus', *ten-di* 'here it is; here', *tenda* 'there', *tiŋ* 'this', *ti:* 'here', *tine* 'recently, lately; earlier', (Northern / Tundra) *taŋ* 'that', *tadaa* 'there', *ten* 'this', *teńi* 'here', *tiŋ-*, *tieŋ* 'this'. Nikolaeva 2006:424, 428, and 429—430. Proto-Uralic (demonstrative pronoun stem) **to-* 'that': Finnish *tuo* 'that, yonder'; Lapp / Saami *duot-*/*duo-* 'that (one) over there, that … over there, that'; Mordvin *tona*, *to-* 'that'; Cheremis / Mari (East) *tu* 'that'; Votyak / Udmurt *tu* 'that'; Zyrian / Komi *ty* 'that'; Vogul / Mansi *ton*, *to-* 'that'; Ostyak / Xanty *tŏmi*, *tomi*, *tŏm*, *tŏ-* 'that'; Hungarian *tova* 'away', *túl* 'beyond, on the further side; exceedingly, too'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *taaky* 'that, yonder', *taaj* 'there'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *tohonoo* 'that (one) there'; Selkup Samoyed *to* 'this'. Collinder 1955:64, 1965:146, and 1977:81; Joki 1973:330—331; Rédei 1986—1988:526—528 **to*; Décsy 1990:109 **to* 'those'. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *tuŋ* 'this', *tuŋun*, *tuŋut* 'this'. Nikolaeva 2006:437.

E. Proto-Altaic **t*$^{h}$*a* (**t*$^{h}$*e*) 'that': Proto-Tungus **ta-* 'that' > Manchu *tere* 'that'; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *terə* 'that'; Evenki *tar*, *tari* 'that'; Lamut / Even *tar* 'that'; Negidal *tay* 'that'; Orok *tari* 'that'; Nanay / Gold *taya* 'that'; Udihe *tāwụ*, *tị* 'that'; Oroch *tī*, *tei* 'that'; Solon *tayā*, *tari* 'that'. Common Mongolian (sg.) **te*, **te-r-e* 'that' > Written Mongolian (sg.) *tere* 'that', (pl.) *tede* 'those'; Dagur (sg.) *tere* 'that', (pl.) *tede* 'those'; Moghol (sg.) *tĕ̄* 'that'; Ordos (sg.) *tere* 'that', (pl.) *tede* 'those'; Khalkha (sg.) *ter* 'that'; Monguor (sg.) *te* 'that'; Buriat (sg.) *tere* 'that', (pl.) *tede* 'those'; Kalmyk (sg.) *terə* 'that'. Poppe 1955:225, 226, 227, and 228. Proto-Turkic **ti(kü)-* 'that' > Gagauz *te bu* 'this here', *te o* 'that there'; Tatar *tĕgĕ* 'that'; Bashkir *tege* 'that'; Kirghiz *tigi* 'that'; Kazakh (dial.) *tigi* 'that'; Tuva *dō* 'that'; Yakut *i-ti* 'that' (pl. *itiler* 'those'); Dolgan *i-ti* 'this'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1389 **t'a* (**t'e*) 'that'.

E. Gilyak / Nivkh (Amur) *tyd'*, (East Sakhalin) *tud*, *tunt*, *tynt* 'this (the nearest to the speaker, visible and available in the present situation)'.

G. Etruscan *ita*, *eta*, *ta* (*tal*, *tl*, *tei*) 'this'; *θar* 'there'; *θui* 'here, now'.

Greenberg 2000:94—99; Möller 1911:242; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:287—289, no. 103; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2310, **ṭä* demonstrative pronoun of non-active (animate) objects (without distance opposition [proximate ↔ inter-mediate ↔ distal]); Fortescue 1998:158.

185. Proto-Nostratic root *$t^{h}aħ$- (~ *$t^{h}əħ$-):
(vb.) *$t^{h}aħ$- ‘to reduce, to diminish, to wear away, to lessen; to waste away, to grow thin’;
(n.) *$t^{h}aħ$-*a* ‘wear, decay, dissipation, maceration’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ṯḥs* ‘to grind (grain)’. Hannig 1995:938; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:323.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tēy* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to wear away by friction, to be rubbed, to wane (as the moon), to waste away (as oil in a lamp), to be emaciated, to grow thin, to become weakened, to pass away (time), to be effaced, to be erased, to be obliterated, to be destroyed, to die’, *tēy* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to rub, to rub away, to waste by rubbing, to reduce, to destroy, to pare, to shave, to rub in (ointment)’, *tēyyu* ‘wearing away, lessening, abrasion, diminution, emaciation, decay, decline’; Malayalam *tēyuka* ‘to be rubbed off, to be worn out, to waste’, *tēkkuka* (*tēcc-*) ‘to rub, to smear, to clean, to polish, to sharpen’; Kota *te·y-* (*te·c-*) ‘to become worn down, lean; to rub, to wear down (tr.)’, *te·v-* ‘leanness’; Kannaḍa *tē*, *tēy(u)* ‘to grind, to triturate or macerate in water on a slab, to waste by use, to wear away (as a metal vessel), to be chafed or galled (as the foot)’; Koḍagu *te·y-* (*te·yuv-*, *te·ñj-*) ‘to wear off (intr.)’; Tuḷu *tēpuni* ‘to rub, to polish’, *tēpu* ‘rubbing, whetting, polishing (as a precious stone)’, *tēduni* ‘to grind, to macerate’; Telugu *tēgaḍa* ‘worn out, wasted’, *tēyu* ‘to be worn, wasted; (n.) wear by use, handling, or rubbing’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:303, no. 3458. Tamil *tēmpu* (*tēmpi-*) ‘to fade, to wither, to droop, to be tired, to faint, to grow thin, to be emaciated, to be in trouble, to suffer, to perish’, *tēmpal* ‘fading, being faded, reduced or diminished state, difficulty, faded flower’; Malayalam *tēmpuka* ‘to waste, to grow thin’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:303, no. 3457.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **du-tx-* ‘thin’ (according to Schmidt [1962:116], **du-* is a prefix): Georgian *txeli* (< **ttxeli* < **du-tx-eli*) ‘thin, diluted’; Mingrelian *txitxu* (assimilated from **ti-txu* < **tu-txu* < **du-txu*) ‘thin, diluted’; Laz *tutxu* ‘thin, diluted’; Svan *dətxel* (< **dtx-el-*) ‘thin; rare, scarce’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:108—109 **dtx-*; Klimov 1964:93—94 **ttxel-* and 1998:70 **ttx-* ‘to be thin’, 1998:71 **ttx-el-* ‘thin, sparse’; Schmidt 1962:116; Fähnrich 2007:138—139 **dutx-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European *$t^{h}eh̯h̯$- [*$t^{h}aħh̯$-] > *$t^{h}ā$- (*$t^{h}ā$-*y*-, *$t^{h}ā$-*w*-) ‘to melt, to dissolve’: Greek τήκω (Doric τᾱ́κω) ‘to melt, to melt down, to dissipate; (metaph.) to cause to waste or pine away’; Latin *tābēs* ‘wasting away, decay, melting’, *tābum* ‘corrupt moisture, matter’, *tābeō* ‘to waste away, to be consumed’, *tābēscō* ‘to melt, to waste away, to be consumed’; Armenian *$t^{h}anam$* ‘to moisten’; Welsh *tawdd* ‘melting, molten’; Old Icelandic *þána* ‘to thaw’, *þá* ‘thawed ground’, *þeyja* ‘to thaw; (metaph.) to cease’, *þeyr* ‘thaw’, *þíða* ‘to melt, to thaw’, *þíðr* ‘not ice-bound, thawed’, *þiþinn* ‘thawed, free from ice’, *þiðna* ‘to thaw, to melt away’; Norwegian

*tøya* ‘to thaw’, *tøyr* ‘thaw’, *tidna*, *tina* ‘to thaw out’; Swedish *töa* ‘to thaw’, *tö* ‘thaw’, *tina* ‘to thaw out’; Danish *tø* ‘to thaw’, *tø* ‘thaw’, *tine* ‘to thaw out’; Old English *þān* ‘moist, irrigated’, *þænan* ‘to moisten’, *þānian*, *þænian* ‘to be or become moist’, *þæsma* ‘leaven, yeast’, *þāwian* ‘to thaw’, *þawenian* ‘to moisten’, *þīnan* ‘to become moist’, *þwīnan* ‘to dwindle’, *þwænan* ‘to moisten, to soften’; Middle Low German *dōien*, *douwen* ‘to thaw’; Dutch *dooien* ‘to thaw’, *dooi* ‘thaw’; Old High German *douwen*, *dōan*, *dewen* ‘to thaw’ (New High German *tauen*); Old Church Slavic *tajǫ*, *tajati* ‘to thaw, to melt’; Russian *tályj* [талый] ‘thawed, melted’. Rix 1998a:560 *$teh_2$- ‘to thaw, to melt’; Pokorny 1959:1053—1054 *tā-, *tə-; *tāi-, *təi-, *tĭ̄-; [*tāu-], *təu-, *tŭ̄- ‘to melt’; Walde 1927—1932.I:701—703 *tā-, *tə-; *tāi-, *təi-, *tĭ̄-; [*tāu-], *təu-, *tu-; Mann 1984—1987:1365 *tābh- (?) ‘rot, corruption, stench’, 1366 *tā̯i̯ō ‘to thaw, to melt, to liquefy’, 1367 *tāl- ‘to ooze, to flow’, *tāləu̯os ‘seepage, pus, matter’, 1369 *tāt- ‘molten; melting, liquescence’, 1370 *tă̄u̯i̯ō ‘to melt, to dissolve’; Watkins 1985:69 *tā- (extended form *tāw- in Germanic) and 2000:89 *tā- ‘to melt, to dissolve’ (oldest form *$te\underset{\frown}{a}_2$-, colored to *$ta\underset{\frown}{a}_2$-, contracted to *tā-) (extended form *tāw-); Mallory—Adams 1997:378 *$teh_a$- ‘to melt’; Hofmann 1966:363—364 *tā-, *tāi- (*təi-, *tĭ̄-; cf. also *tāu- in Old High German *douwen*); Boisacq 1950:965—966 *tā(i)-, *təi-, *tĭ̄- beside *tā(u)-, *təu-, *tŭ̄-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:891; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1113 *$te\underset{\frown}{a}_2$-/*$t\underset{\frown}{a}_2$-; Beekes 2010.II:1477 *$teh_2$-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:639—640 *tā- : *tāi-, *təi-, *tĭ̄- : *tāu-, *təu-, *tŭ̄-; De Vaan 2008:603—604 *$teh_2$-$b^h$-$eh_1$- ‘to be melting’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:672 *tā-; Orël 2003:418 Proto-Germanic *þawanōjanan, 418 *þawiz, 418 *þawjanan, 432 *þwīnanan; Kroonen 2013:556 Proto-Germanic *þwīnan- ‘to abate, to disappear’; De Vries 1977:605, 609—610, and 610; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:365 and II:399—400; Onions 1966:914; Klein 1971:758 *tā-, *tu-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:773 *tā-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:723 *tā-; Derksen 2008:489 *$teh_2$-.

Buck 1949:12.65 thin (in dimension); 12.66 thin (in density). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:295—297, no. 111. Different (false) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2408, *ṭVqa ‘to melt, to decay, to get spoiled’.

186. Proto-Nostratic root *$t^hak^h$- (~ *$t^hək^h$-):
(vb.) *$t^hak^h$- ‘to twist, to bend; to fasten, twist, bend, join, or hook together; to be twisted, bent’;
(n.) *$t^hak^h$-*a* ‘hook, peg’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *tak-al- ‘to fix, to fasten; to drive in, to plant’ > Geez / Ethiopic *takala* [ተከለ] ‘to fix, to fasten, to implant, to drive in, to set up, to establish, to pitch (a tent), to drive a stake into the ground’, *təklat* [ትክለት] ‘planting, fastening, pitching a tent’, *matkal* [መትከል], *matkəl*

[መትከል] ‘peg, stake, nail, hook, pin, post’; Tigre *täkla* ‘to plant, to pitch (a tent)’; Tigrinya *täḵälä* ‘to plant’; Amharic *täkkälä* ‘to plant’, *čäkkälä* ‘to drive a peg into the ground’; Gurage *täkkälä* ‘to plant, to found’, *čäkkälä* ‘to drive a peg into the ground’, *čəkal* ‘peg’; Argobba *tekkäla* ‘to plant’, *čəkal* ‘peg’; Gafat *täkkälä* ‘to plant, to set up, to establish’; Harari *čēxäla* ‘to build’, *čuxul* ‘built, style of building’, *čəxāl* ‘peg’. Leslau 1956:241, 1963:49—50, 1979:172 and 594, and 1987:573.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *takai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to stop, to resist, to check, to deter, to obstruct, to forbid by oath, to seize, to take hold of, to overpower, to subdue, to shut in, to enclose, to include, to bind, to fasten, to yoke’, *takai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to check, to resist, to stop, to deter, to bind, to fasten’, *takai* ‘binding, fastening, garland, obstruction, check, hindrance, coat of mail’, *takaippu* ‘surrounding wall, fortress, palatial building, section of house, apartment, battle array of an army’; Kannaḍa *taga*, *tagave*, *tagahu*, *tage* ‘delay, obstacle, hindrance, impediment’, *tage* ‘to stop, to arrest, to obstruct, to impede, to stun’, *tagar* ‘to be stopped or impeded, to impede’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:260, no. 3006.

C. Proto-Indo-European **tʰekʰ(s)-*/**tʰokʰ(s)-* ‘to form, to fashion, to make, to create, either by using a sharp tool or by bending, weaving, joining, braiding, or plaiting together’: Sanskrit *tákṣati* ‘to form by cutting, to plane, to chisel, to chop, to fashion, to make, to create’, *tákṣan-* ‘a wood-cutter, carpenter’; Pāḷi *tacchati* ‘to build’, *tacchēti* ‘to do woodwork, to chip’, *tacchanī-* ‘hatchet’, *tacchaka-* ‘carpenter’; Prakrit *takkhaï*, *tacchaï* ‘to cut, to scrape, to peel’; Avestan *tašaiti* ‘to produce, (carpenter) to make’, *taša-* ‘axe’; Ossetic *taxun* ‘to weave’; Latin *texō* ‘to weave, to build’; Greek τέκτων (< *τέκστων) ‘carpenter’, τέχνη (< *τέκσνᾱ) ‘art, craft’; Armenian *tʰekʰem* ‘to bend, to shape’; Old Irish *tál* (< **tōks-lo-*) ‘axe’; Old Icelandic *þexla* ‘adze’; Old High German *dehsa*, *dehsala* ‘axe, poleaxe’ (New High German *Dechsel*); Lithuanian *tašaũ*, *tašýti* ‘to hew’; Old Church Slavic *tešǫ*, *tesati* ‘to hew’; Russian Church Slavic *tesla* ‘carpenter’s tool, adze’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ták-ki-(e-)eš-zi* ‘to join, to build’. Rix 1998a:562—563 **tek-* ‘to weave, to plait’; Pokorny 1959:1058 **tek-* ‘to weave, to plait’, 1058—1059 **teḱþ-* ‘to plait’; Walde 1927—1932.I:716 **teq-*, I:717 **teḱþ-*; Mann 1984—1987:1374 **teḱslos*, *-ā*, *-is* (**teḱsəl-*) ‘shape; carving; shaper, adze’, 1374 **teḱsmn-*, **teḱsmō(n)*, (**teḱsm-*) ‘shaped object’, 1374 **teḱsō*, *-i̯ō* (**toḱs-*) ‘to shape, to carve, to form, to model, to make’, 1374 **teḱsos*, *-ā* ‘shaped material, carving; carver, shaper, carpenter’, 1374—1375 **teḱstos*, *-ā*, *-om* ‘shaped; shaped object, carving’; **teḱstis* ‘act of shaping’, 1409 **toḱsei̯ō* ‘to work, to shape, to cultivate’, 1409 **toḱsos* ‘gear, tackle, tool, tools, model’, 1409 **toḱsilā* (**toḱslā*, **toḱsul-*) ‘shaping, shape, carving, composition’, 1409 **toḱstos* ‘shaped, carved; carving, shape, model’; Watkins 1985:69 **teks-* and 2000:89—90 **teks-* ‘to weave, to fabricate, especially with an ax’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:705—706 **t[ʰ]eḱ[ʰ]s-* and 1995.I:611,

I:734, I:780 *$t^hek\hat{}^hs$- ‘to manufacture, to prepare, to produce; to weave, to braid; to work (something) (primarily wood with a sharp tool or adze); to mold, to model (in clay)’; Mallory—Adams 1997:37—38 (?) *$tek\hat{}so/eh_a$-, *$tek\hat{}sleh_a$- ‘ax, adze’, *$tek\hat{}s$- ‘to fabricate’, 139 *$tek\hat{}s$-*(t)or/n*- ‘one who fabricates’, 443 *$tek\hat{}steh_a$- ‘plate, bowl’; Burrow 1973:83 *teks-tōn (> Greek τέκτων); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:468; Boisacq 1950:950—951 *$tek\hat{}þ$-; Hofmann 1966:357 *$tek\hat{}þ$-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:867—868 and II:889—890; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1100 *$tek^s$- and II:1112; Beekes 2010.II:1460 *te-tḱ-n- and II:1476 *teḱ-, *te-tḱ-; De Vaan 2008:619; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:678—679; Ernout—Meillet 1979:690; Orël 2003:419 Proto-Germanic *þexsanan, 419 *þexs(a)lōn; De Vries 1977:609; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:124; Kluge—Seebold 1989:130 *teks-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1065 *$tek\hat{}^s$-; Smoczyński 2007.1:661 *tetḱ-; Derksen 2008:491 *teṭḱ- and 2015:459 *teṭḱ-; Kloekhorst 2008b:813—814. Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic roots have fallen together in Proto-Indo-European: (1) *$t^hik^h$- (~ *$t^hek^h$-) ‘to form, to fashion, to make, to create’ and (2) *$t^hak^h$- (~ *$t^h\partial k^h$-) ‘(vb.) to twist, to bend; to fasten, twist, bend, join, or hook together; to be twisted, bent; (n.) hook, peg’.

D. Proto-Uralic *takka- ‘to fasten, hook, or stick together; to be or become stuck’: Finnish *takkala* ‘adhesive state of the snow, so that it “cakes” and sticks to the skis or the runners’, *takero* ‘sticky, thick mass’, *takalta-*, *takelta-*, *takerta-* ‘to stick to something (of snow)’, *takistele-* ‘to cling, to hang on, to catch at something; to fasten a quarrel on to somebody’, *takeltu-*, *takertu-*, *takistu-* ‘to get stuck, to stick, to fasten’; Lapp / Saami *dakkstâllâ-* ‘to stick to something’ (Finnish loan); Zyrian / Komi *takal-* ‘to sink down, to stick, to get stuck’; Vogul / Mansi *tah-* ‘to get stuck’; Ostyak / Xanty *tăhərt-* ‘to hook, to hitch, to button; to hang, to hang up; to stick (fast), to get stuck’; Selkup Samoyed *tokuat-*, *t'okuat-* ‘to get stuck’. Collinder 1955:61 and 1977:78; Rédei 1986—1988:507 *takka- and 507—508 Proto-Finno-Ugrian *takkɜ(-rɜ-)*; Décsy 1990:109 *taka* ‘to hang, to stick to, to get stuck’.

E. Eskimo: Proto-Yupik *taquq* ‘braid’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *taquɬquq* ‘cheek’; Central Alaskan Yupik *taquq* ‘braid’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *taqu* ‘braid’; Sirenik *taquXta* ‘braid’; Central Siberian Yupik *taquq* ‘side of face’, *taquXtə-* ‘to braid hair’. Fortescue—Jacobsen—Kaplan 1994:332.

Buck 1949:6.33 weave; 9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.44 build; 9.75 plait; 12.75 hook. Hakola 1997:85, no. 331, and 2000:184, no. 822.

187. Proto-Nostratic root *$t^hak'$- (~ *$t^h\partial k'$-):
(vb.) *$t^hak'$- ‘to touch, to push, to strike’;
(n.) *$t^hak'$-*a* ‘touch, stroke’

A. Afrasian: Proto-East Cushitic *-*tak'*-/*-*tuk'*- ‘to touch, to push, to strike’ > Rendille *tax*- ‘to push’; Dasenech *taʔ*- ‘to push’; Galla / Oromo *tuk'*- ‘to touch’; Burji *tayk'*- ‘to break (of a rope, string, or thread)’; Sidamo (causative) *taʔ-is*- ‘to break’; Afar *-ootok*- ‘to strike’. Sasse 1979:48 and 1982:177, 181. Appleyard (2006:84) also compares the following: Bilin *ṭäʿamb*- ‘to hit, to strike’; Xamir *taz*-/*ṭaz*- ‘to hit, to strike’; Kemant *tay*- ‘to hit, to strike’; Awngi / Awiya *tas*- ‘to hit, to strike’. Reinisch 1887:346.
B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *tagalu*, *tagilu*, *tagulu* ‘to come into contact with, to touch, to hit, to have sexual intercourse with’; Tuḷu *tagaruni* ‘to draw near’; Telugu *tagulu*, *tavulu* ‘to touch, to come into contact with; to strike against; to follow; to pursue; to be entangled, ensnared, or caught’; Koṇḍa *tagli* ‘to touch, to hit’; Malto *take* ‘to touch, to hurt’; Kuṛux *taknā* ‘to rub or graze in passing, to give a very slight knock’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:259—260, no. 3004.
C. Proto-Indo-European *$t^hak'$- ‘to touch, to strike, to push, to stroke’: Latin *tangō* ‘to touch, to strike, to push, to hit’ (Old Latin *tagō* ‘to touch’); Greek τεταγών ‘having seized’; Old English *þaccian* ‘to pat, to stroke’. Rix 1998a:560 *$teh_2g$- ‘to touch’; Pokorny 1959:1054—1055 **tag*- ‘to touch, to seize’; Walde 1927—1932.I:703—704 **tag*-; Mann 1984—1987:1365 *$t\breve{a}g\bar{o}$, *$-e\hat{i}\bar{o}$, *$-\hat{i}\bar{o}$ ‘to touch, to caress’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:424 and 1995.I:371; Watkins 1985:69 **tag*- and 2000:89 **tag*- ‘to touch, to handle’; Mallory—Adams 1997:595 **tag*- ‘to touch’; Boisacq 1950:961; Frisk 1970—1973.II:884; Hofmann 1966:361 **tag*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1109; Beekes 2010.II:1472 *$teh_2g$-; De Vaan 2008:606—607; Ernout—Meillet 1979:676 *$t\bar{e}g$-, **təg*-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:647—648.

Sumerian *tag* ‘to touch’.

Buck 1949:15.71 touch (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:283—284, no. 100. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2335, **ṭaka*|*æ* (or **ṭoka* ?) ‘to touch’.

188. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$t^hal$-*a* ‘head, top, end’:

A. Afrasian: Central Chadic: Musgoy *tálạ* ‘head’; Daba *tala* / *tàláŋ* ‘head’; Kola *tálâŋ* ‘head’. Jungraithamyr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:182—183.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *talai* ‘head, top, end, tip, hair’, *talaimai* ‘leadership, pre-eminence’, *talaivan* ‘chief, headman, lord’; Malayalam *tala* ‘head, top, point, extremity’; Kota *tal* ‘head, top, above, superior’, *talp* ‘end’; Toda *tal* ‘head, end, edge’; Kannaḍa *tale*, *tala* ‘head, being uppermost or principal’; Koḍagu *tale* ‘end’; Telugu *tala* ‘head, hair of the head, top, end, front, place, side, quarter’; Kolami *tal* ‘head’; Naikṛi *tal* ‘head’; Parji *tel* ‘head’; Gadba (Ollari) *tal* ‘head’; Koṇḍa *tala* ‘head’; Kui *tlau* ‘head, hair of head’;

Malto *tali* ‘hair of head’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:269—270, no. 3103; Krishnamurti 2003:121 **tal-ay* ‘head, hair, top’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **tʰl̥H-* ‘head, top, end; headman, chief’: Old Irish *taul* (stem **talu-*) ‘forehead; boss’, *taulach*, *taulaig* ‘hill’; Welsh *tal* (< **talos*) ‘forefront, front, end’; Old Breton *tal* ‘forehead’; Gaulish *-talos* in the personal name *Cassitalos*. Mann 1984—1987:1394 **təl-* ‘height, peak, point’; Patrizia de Bernardo Stempel 1987:146 **tl̥H-o-*; Thurneysen 1946: 52.

Buck 1949:4.20 head; 4.205 forehead; 12.35 end. Burrow 1946:72; Caldwell 1913:620; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:294, no. 109; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2357, **ṭol̲ʕA(-kV)* or **ṭAl̲ʕV(-kV)* ‘head, top, upper part, end, tip’.

189. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰalʸ-* (~ **tʰəlʸ-*):
(vb.) **tʰalʸ-* (primary meaning) ‘to stretch, to spread, to extend’, (secondary meaning) ‘to endure, to suffer, to bear’;
(n.) **tʰalʸ-a* ‘stretch, spread, thinness, breadth; pain, suffering, endurance’; (adj.) ‘stretched, spread out, extended’ (> ‘broad, wide, thin, flat, etc.’)

A. Dravidian: Tamil *tāḷu* (*tāḷi-*) ‘to bear, to suffer, to tolerate, to be worth, to be possible, to be practicable’; Kannaḍa *tāḷ*, *tāḷu* (*tāḷḍ-*) ‘to hold, to take, to obtain, to get, to assume, to receive, to have or possess, to undergo, to experience, to suffer patiently or quietly, to be patient, to endure, to wait, to last, to continue unimpaired, to wear well, to bear with’, *taḷe* ‘to hold, to bear, to carry; to put on (clothes)’; Tuḷu *tāḷuni* ‘to bear, to endure, to suffer, to forbear, to have patience’, *tāḷmè* ‘patience, forbearance, endurance’; Telugu *tāḷu* ‘to bear, to suffer, to endure, to be patient, to refrain, to pause, to wait, to last, to wear, to be durable’, *tālimi*, *tāḷimi*, *tāḷika* ‘patience, endurance’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:277, no. 3188. (?) Kannaḍa *teḷ*, *teḷu* ‘thinness, fineness, delicateness, smallness’, *teḷḷage*, *teḷḷane*, *teḷḷanna*, *teḷḷāna*, *teḷḷāne* ‘thin, delicate; thinly; thinness, diluted state’, *teḷupu*, *teḷpu*, *teḷuvu* ‘thinness, delicateness, fineness; diluted, watery state’, *teḷḷitu*, *teḷḷittu* ‘that is thin’, *teḷḷida* ‘thin or delicate man’; Koḍagu *tëḷḷane* ‘thin (of a person or thing)’; Tuḷu *telpu* ‘thinness; thin, lean; few, a little’, *tellena* ‘thinnish’, *tellavu*, *tellāvu* ‘thin flat cake’, *teḷṷṇṭuni*, *teluṇṭuni*, *teḷṷṇṭuni* ‘to contact, to shrivel, to wither, to grow thin’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:301, no. 3434.

B. Proto-Indo-European **tʰel-*/**tʰol-*/**tʰl̥-* ‘to stretch, to extend; to bear, to endure, to suffer’: Greek τλῆναι ‘to suffer, to endure, to bear’; Latin *tolerō* ‘to bear, to tolerate, to endure, to sustain’, *lātus* (< **tlā-*) ‘broad, wide’; Middle Irish *tláith* ‘tender, weak’; Welsh *tlawd* ‘poor’; Gothic *þulan* ‘to tolerate, to suffer, to endure’; Old Icelandic *þola* ‘to bear, to endure, to suffer’; Old English *þolian* ‘to endure, to suffer’, *geþyld* ‘patience’, *geþyld(i)gian*, *geþyldian* ‘to bear (patiently), to endure’; Old Frisian *tholia*

‘to endure, to bear, to suffer’, *thelda* ‘to endure, to bear, to suffer’; Old Saxon *tholōn*, *tholian* ‘to endure, to bear, to suffer’; Old High German *dolēn*, *t(h)olēn*, *tholōn* ‘to endure, to bear, to suffer’, *thulten*, *dulten* ‘to endure, to bear, to suffer’ (New High German *dulden*). Rix 1998a:565—566 **telh$_2$-* ‘to lift, to raise, to be picked up’; Pokorny 1959:1060—1061 **tel-*, **telə-*, **tlē(i)-*, **tlā-* ‘to lift up, to weigh, to balance’; Walde 1927—1932.I:738—740 **tel-*; Mann 1984—1987:1375 **tel-* (**telō*, *-i̯ō*) ‘to stretch, to extend, to expand’, 1401 **tlātos* (**tl̥tos*, *-is*) ‘suffered, borne; suffering’, 1401 **tl̥-* (**tl̥ō*; **təlō*, *-i̯ō*) ‘to lift, to raise, to bear, to suffer’, 1402 **tl̥nō*, 1402 **tl̥tos*, *-is*, *-i̯os* ‘extended, stretched; extent, tract, roadway, passage’; Watkins 1985:69 **telə-* and 2000:90 **telə-* ‘to lift, to support, to weigh’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:176 **t[ʰ]el-*, **t[ʰ]l̥-* and 1995.I:152 **tʰel-*, **tʰl̥-* ‘to bear, to carry’; Mallory—Adams 1997:352 **telh$_2$-* ‘to lift, to raise’; Boisacq 1950:938—939 **telā-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1088—1090 **telə$_2$-*; Beekes 2010.II:1445—1556 **telh$_2$-*, II:1445, and II:1446—1447 **telh$_2$-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:848—849; Hofmann 1966:350—351 **tel-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:693 and 694 **telə-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:688—689; De Vaan 2008:329—300 and 621—622 **telh$_2$-*; Orël 2003:428 Proto-Germanic **þulēnan*; De Vries 1977:615; Feist 1939:504—505 **telā-*; Lehmann 1986:367; Onions 1966:918 **tol-*, **tel-*, **tl̥-*; Klein 1971:762 **tel-*, **tol-*, **tl̥-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:402—403; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:146 **tel-*, **tl̥-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:159. Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic stems have been confused in Proto-Indo-European: (A) Proto-Nostratic **tʰal$^{y}$-* (~ **tʰəl$^{y}$-*) (primary meaning) ‘to stretch, to spread, to extend’, then (secondarily) ‘to endure, to suffer, to bear’ and (B) Proto-Nostratic **tʰul-* (~ **tʰol-*) ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise; to pile up, to stack (in a heap); (n.) hill, mound; stack, heap’.

C. Proto-Altaic **tʰālʸV* ‘any flat, level, or open surface or space’: Proto-Mongolian **tala-*, **tal-b-* ‘plain, steppe, open space’ > Mongolian *tal-a* ‘plain, level space, steppe’, *talarqaγ* ‘flat, level (of terrain)’, *talbiγu(n)* ‘broad, wide, vast; gentle, calm’; Khalkha *tal* ‘steppe, open place’, *talbiu(n)* ‘quiet, peaceful’, *talbay* ‘square’; Buriat *tala* ‘steppe, open place’, *taĺān* ‘meadow, small lake’, *talmay* ‘meadow, square’; Kalmyk *talə* ‘steppe, open place’; Ordos *tala* ‘steppe, open place’; Dagur *tal* ‘steppe, open place’; Monguor *talā* ‘steppe, open place’. Proto-Tungus **tālgi-* ‘flat surface, open space’ > Manchu *talgan* ‘the surface of a flat, round, or square object’, *talgari* ‘the surface of a table’; Nanay / Gold *talgi̯a* ‘far from the shore, open sea’. Turkish *taşı-* ‘to carry, to transport, to bear’, *taşın-* ‘to be carried’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1396—1397 **tʻālV* (or **tʻāĺV*) ‘open place, open sea’ (the Turkish form cited above is not in Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak).

Sumerian *tál* ‘to be or make wide, broad; to spread wide’.

Buck 1949:10.22 raise, lift; 12.61 wide, broad' 12.65 thin (in dimension); 12.71 flat. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:282—283, no. 98; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2360, **ṭaLℏV* 'flat' and, no. 2370, **ṭaĺ[h]a* 'to lift up, to carry'.

190. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰalʸ-* (~ **tʰəlʸ-*):
(vb.) **tʰalʸ-* 'to press, to thrust, to force, to push';
(n.) **tʰalʸ-a* 'pressure, thrust, force, push'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *taḷḷu* (*taḷḷi-*) 'to push, to force forward, to shove away, to expel, to reject, to dismiss, to be removed, to be lost, to fall'; Malayalam *taḷḷuka* 'to push, to thrust, to reject, to cast off', *taḷḷal* 'pushing, rejection', *taḷḷu* 'thrust, push'; Kota *taḷ-* (*tayḷ-*) 'to push'; Toda *toḷ-* (*toḷy-*) 'to push'; Kannaḍa *taḷḷu* 'to push, to shove away, to thrust, to drive, to throw, to reject, to dismiss, to heave'; Tuḷu *talluni*, *taḷḷuni* 'to push in, to press through'; Telugu *talāgu*, *talgu*, *talūgu* 'to be lost or removed'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:272—273, no. 3135.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **tel-* 'to press': Georgian *tel-* 'to press, to tread down, to crush'; Mingrelian *tal-* 'to press, to tread down, to crush'; Svan *tel-/-tl-* 'to press, to touch'. Fähnrich 2007:191—192 **tel-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:159 **tel-*; Klimov 1984:92 **tel-* and 1998:68 **tel-* : **tl-* 'to trample, to tighten'.
C. Proto-Indo-European **tʰel-kʰ-/*tʰol-kʰ-/*tʰl̥-kʰ-* 'to push, to thrust, to knock, to strike': Welsh *talch* 'fragment, flake'; Old Irish *tolc*, *tulc* 'blow, strike'; Old Church Slavic *tlъkǫ*, *tlěšti* 'to knock'; Russian *tolkat'* [толкать] 'to push, to shove', *tolkač* [толкач] 'stamp; pusher'; Czech *tlak* 'pressure'. Rix 1998a:566 **telk-* 'to strike'; Pokorny 1959:1062 **telek-* 'to push'; Walde 1927—1932.I:741 **teleq-*; Mann 1984—1987:1376 **telk-* 'to flatten, to compress, to batten down', 1402 **tl̥k-* 'to strike, to force, to crash', 1410 **tolk-* 'pressure, thrust, force'; Mallory—Adams 1997:471 **telk-* 'to push, to thrust'.
D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **talʸa-* 'to trample, to tread (on, upon), to tread down' > (?) Finnish *tallaa-* 'to trample, to tread (on, upon), to tread down'; (?) Estonian *talla-* 'to tread, to press'; Zyrian / Komi *tal'-* 'to trample down, to stamp, to crush'. Rédei 1986—1988:791 **tal'a-*.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.); 10.67 push, shove (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:293—294, no. 108; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2272, **tAĺV* 'to tread, to pound' ([in descendant languages] → 'to thresh').

191. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰanʸ-* (~ **tʰənʸ-*):
(vb.) **tʰanʸ-* 'to extend, to spread, to stretch; to endure, to be long-lasting';
(n.) **tʰanʸ-a* 'extension, width, length, breadth'; (adj.) 'stretched, extended, wide, broad, long-lasting'

Derivative:
(vb.) *$t^h an^y$- ‘to be or become worn out, tired, old’;
(n.) *$t^h an^y$-*a* ‘exhaustion, weariness, fatigue’; (adj.) ‘worn out, tired, old’

A. Proto-Afrasian **tan-* ‘(vb.) to extend, spread, or stretch out; to endure, to be long-lasting; (n.) duration; extension’: Proto-Semitic **wa-tan-* ‘to endure; to be continuous, perpetual, steadfast, long-lasting’ > Hebrew *ʾēθān* [אֵיתָן, אֵתָן] ‘strong, firm, steadfast, stable; ever-flowing’, *wāθin* [וָתָן] ‘(water) flowing in a stream; steadfast, permanent’; Arabic *watana* ‘to endure, (water) to flow continuously; to stay long in a place’, *watun* ‘duration, continuous flow’; Sabaean *mhtn* ‘perpetually flowing water’. Klein 1987:26 and 267; Murtonen 1989:225; D. Cohen 1970— :652. Geez / Ethiopic *tēn* [ቴን], *tīn* [ቲን], *tən* [ትን], *tēnā* [ቴና] ‘extension, length, width, thickness’. Leslau 1987:576. Egyptian *tnỉ* ‘*stretching beyond, *surpassing; great and strong (king), large and solidly-built (wall)’. Hannig 1995:934; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:310—311.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *taṇi* ‘to abound, to be profuse, to increase in size, to grow fat’; Kannaḍa *tani* ‘(vb.) to thrive, to develop, to become full-grown; (n.) state of having thrived, full, strong, fully developed, complete, matured, abounding in agreeable qualities, rich’; Telugu *tanaru*, *tanarāru*, *tanar(u)cu* ‘to increase, to rise, to shine, to be well, to be good or excellent’, *tanar(u)pu* ‘increase, progress, advancement, height, width, breadth’, *taniyu* ‘to thrive, to flourish’; Malto *tanyare* ‘to become rich’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:265, no. 3047.
C. Proto-Indo-European **$t^h$en-*/**$t^h$on-*/**$t^h$n̥-* ‘to extend, to spread, to stretch’: Sanskrit *tanóti* ‘to extend, to spread, to stretch; to be protracted, to continue, to endure; to put forth; (passive) to be put forth or extended, to increase’, *tatá-ḥ* ‘extended, stretched, spread, diffused, expanded’; Greek τανύω ‘to stretch, to stretch out’, τείνω ‘to stretch, to spread, to extend, to stretch out, to reach’; Latin *tendō* ‘to stretch, to stretch out, to extend, to spread’, *teneō* ‘to hold’; Old Icelandic *þenja* ‘to stretch, to extend’; Gothic *uf-þanjan* ‘to stretch out, to strive for’; Old English *þennan*, *þenian* ‘to stretch out, to extend; to prostrate’; Old Saxon *thennian* ‘to stretch, to extend’; Old High German *denen*, *dennen* ‘to stretch’ (New High German *dehnen*); Lithuanian *tìnstu*, *tìnti* ‘to swell’. Rix 1998a:569—570 **ten-* ‘to stretch’; Pokorny 1959:1065—1066 **ten-* ‘to stretch’; Walde 1927—1932.I:722—724 **ten-*; Mann 1984—1987:1379 **ten-* ‘to stretch, to spread’, 1381 **tenō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to stretch, to pull, to extend’; Watkins 1985:70 **ten-* and 2000:90 **ten-* ‘to stretch’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:38 **t[ʰ]en-* and 1995.I:33, I:684 **$t^h$en-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:187 **ten-* ‘to stretch’, **tn̥-tó-s* ‘stretched’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:475; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1091—1093 **ten-*; Boisacq 1950:941 **ten-* and 947—948 **ten-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:853 and II:863—865; Beekes 2010.II:1450 **tenh₂-* and II:1457—1458 **ten(h₂)-*; Hofmann 1966:352 and 355—356

**ten-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:662—664 **ten-* and II:664—665; Ernout—Meillet 1979:682—683 **ten-* and 683—684; De Vaan 2008:612; Orël 2003:416 Proto-Germanic **þanjanan*; Kroonen 2013:533 Proto-Germanic **þanjan-* 'to stretch, to extend'; Lehmann 1986:374 **ten-*; Feist 1939:513—514 **ten-*; De Vries 1977:609 **ten-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:125 **ten-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:131 **ten-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:690—694 **ten-*. Proto-Indo-European **$t^h$ən-ú-s* 'stretched, thin': Sanskrit *tanú-ḥ* 'thin, small, slender'; Greek ταvυ- 'stretched, thin' (only in compounds); Latin *tenuis* 'thin, fine, slight, slender'; Old Icelandic *þunnr* 'thin'; Old English *þynne* 'thin'; Old Frisian *thenne* 'thin'; Old Saxon *thunni* 'thin'; Old High German *dunni* 'thin' (New High German *dünn*). Pokorny 1959:1069 **tenu-s*, **$t_e$nu-s* 'thin'; Walde 1927—1932.I:724 **$t_e$nu-s*; Mann 1984—1987:1405 **tn̥u̯is* (**tənu̯is*, *-os*, *-i̯os*; **tənus*) 'stretched, taut, thin'; Watkins 1984:70 **ten-* 'to stretch': **tn̥-u-*, **ten-u-* 'thin'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:782 **t[$^h$]en-* and 1995.I:684 **$t^h$en-* 'thin'; Mallory—Adams 1997:574 **ténus* (gen. **tn̥nous*) 'thin, long'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:474—475; Boisacq 1950:941; Frisk 1970—1973.II:852—853 **tn̥nú-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1091—1093; Hofmann 1966:352 **$t_e$nús*; Beekes 2010.II:1448 **tnh$_2$-eu-*; De Vaan 2008:613—614 **tnh$_2$-(e)u-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:684—685; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:666 **ten-*; Kroonen 2013:551—552 Proto-Germanic **þunnu-* 'thin'; Orël 2003:429 Proto-Germanic **þunnjanan*, 429 **þunnuz*; De Vries 1977:627; Onions 1966:917 **ten-*, **ton-*, **tn̥-*; Klein 1971:761 **ten-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:148 **tenú-s*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:160 **tenu-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:694—698 **tenh$_2$-*. Proto-Indo-European **$t^h$en-$k^h$-* 'to stretch, to extend': Gothic *þeihs* 'time'; Old English *þingan* 'to flourish, to prosper'. Pokorny 1959:1067 **tenk-* 'to pull'; Walde 1927—1932.I:724—725 **tenq-*; Watkins 1985:70 **tenk-* and 2000:90 **tenk-* 'to stretch'; Orël 2003:420 Proto-Germanic **þenɣaz* ~ **þenxaz*; Kroonen 2013:542 Proto-Germanic **þinhan-* 'to thrive, to prosper' (< **ténk-e-*); Lehmann 1986:360 **ten-*, **tenk-*; Feist 1939:494—495 **teŋgho-*. Proto-Indo-European **$t^h$en-$p^h$-* > (through assimilation) **$t^h$em-$p^h$-* 'to stretch': Latin *tempus* 'period of time'; Old Icelandic *þömb* 'gut; bow-string'; Lithuanian *tempiù*, *tem̃pti* 'to stretch'. Rix 1998a:569 **temp-* 'to stretch'; Pokorny 1959:1064—1065 **temp-* 'to stretch'; Walde 1927—1932.I:721—722 **temp-*; Mann 1984—1987:1378 **tempō*, *-i̯ō* 'to stretch, to pull'; Watkins 1985:69—70 **temp-* and 2000:90 **temp-* 'to stretch' (extension of **ten-*, assimilated from **tenp-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:187 **temp-* (< **ten-p-*) 'to stretch'; De Vaan 2008:611; Ernout—Meillet 1979:681—682; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:660—661; De Vries 1977:631; Smoczyński 2007.1:669; Derksen 2015:463; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1079—1080.

D. Proto-Altaic **$t^h$āno-* 'to stretch, to pull': Proto-Tungus **tān-* 'to stretch, to pull' > Evenki *tān-* 'to stretch, to pull'; Lamut / Even *tān-* 'to stretch, to

pull'; Manchu *taŋgiqū* 'a bamboo device placed in a relaxed bow to preserve its shape', *taŋgila-* 'to fire a crossbow', *taŋgilakū* 'crossbow', *taŋgimeliyan* 'bent backwards, arched, bow-shaped'; Orok *tōn-* 'to stretch, to pull'; Nanay / Gold *toan-* 'to stretch, to pull'; Ulch *tụan-* 'to stretch, to pull'; Oroch *tāna-* 'to stretch, to pull'; Udihe *tana-* 'to stretch, to pull'; Solon *tan-* 'to stretch, to pull'. Proto-Mongolian **teneyi-* 'to stretch (oneself), to be stretched' > Written Mongolian *teneyi-*, *teniyi-* 'to unbend, to become straight, to stretch, to extend'; Khalkha *tenī-* 'to stretch (oneself), to be stretched'; Buriat *tenī-* 'to stretch (oneself), to be stretched'; Kalmyk *tenī-* 'to stretch (oneself), to be stretched'; Ordos *tenere-*, *tenī-* 'to stretch (oneself), to be stretched'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1400 **t'āno* 'to stretch, to pull'.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukuotian **tənut-* 'to swell' > Chukchi *tənut-* 'to swell', *tənot-ɣəjɣən* 'swelling'; Kerek *tənut-* 'to swell'; Alyutor *tənut-* 'to swell'. Fortescue 2005:299.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 12.53 grow (= increase in size); 12.65 thin (in dimension). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2380, **ṭanV* (= **ṭanû* ??) 'to draw, to stretch, to extend', no. 2384, **ṭanXü* ¬ **ṭanXu* (or **ṭaŋXü* ?) 'thin, short', and, no. 2390, **ṭaŋga|o* 'to draw, to stretch'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:290—292, no. 10.

192. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰanʸ-* (~ **tʰənʸ-*):
(vb.) **tʰanʸ-* 'to grow weary, exhausted, tired, old';
(n.) **tʰanʸ-a* 'exhaustion, weariness, fatigue, old age'; (adj.) 'tired, weary, exhausted, old'
Derivative of:
(vb.) **tʰanʸ-* 'to extend, to spread, to stretch; to endure, to be long-lasting';
(n.) **tʰanʸ-a* 'extension, width, length, breadth'; (adj.) 'stretched, extended, wide, broad, long-lasting'

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *tnḏ* '(vb.) to grow old; (n.) old age; (adj.) old, decrepit', *tnḏ* 'old man, elder'. Hannig 1995:934; Faulkner 1962:299; Erman—Grapow 1921:206 and 1926—1963.5:310; Gardiner 1957:600.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **tent-* 'to grow tired, weary, exhausted': Georgian *tent-* in *mo-tent-v-a* 'to grow tired, weary, exhausted'; Mingrelian *tant-*, *tart-* in *mo-tant-u-a*, *mo-tart-u-a* 'to grow tired, weary, exhausted'. Fähnrich 2007:193 **tent-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **tʰən-ú-s* 'stretched, thin; tired, weak, feeble': Latin *tenuis* 'thin, fine, slight, slender; (of persons, physically) weak, feeble'; Old English *þynne* 'thin; weak, poor', *þynnes* 'thinness; weakness'; etc. See above for full etymology and references.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *tańej-* 'to fall down'. Nikolaeva 2006:426.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 4.91 tired, weary; 14.15 old.

193. Proto-Nostratic root *$t^hap^h$- (~ *$t^həp^h$-):
(vb.) *$t^hap^h$- ‘to strike, to knock, to hit, to beat, to pound; to trample’;
(n.) *$t^hap^h$-*a* ‘stroke, slap, blow, hit’
Note also:
(vb.) *$t'ap^h$- ‘to strike, to beat, to pound’;
(n.) *$t'ap^h$-*a* ‘stroke, blow’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *tappu* (*tappi*-) ‘to strike, to beat, to kill’, *tappai* ‘a blow’; Kannaḍa *dabbe*, *debbe*, *ḍabbe*, *ḍebbe* ‘a blow, stroke’; Telugu *dabbaḍincu* ‘to slap’, *debba* ‘blow, stroke, attack’; Parji *tapp*- ‘to strike, to kill’, *tapoṛ* ‘slap’; Gadba (Salur) *debba* ‘cut, blow’ (< Telugu); Gondi *tapṛi* ‘a slap’; Koṇḍa *tap*- ‘to strike, to hit’; Kuwi *tapūr vecali* ‘to slap’. Note: Parji *tapoṛ*, Gondi *tapṛi*, and Kuwi *tapūr* are Indo-Aryan loans. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:267, no. 3075.
B. Proto-Indo-European *$t^hap^h$- ‘to press, to tread, to trample’: Sanskrit *saṁ-tápati* ‘to oppress, to torment, to torture’, *sáṁ-tapyate* ‘to be oppressed, afflicted’; Pāḷi *tapo* ‘torment, punishment, penance’, *tapana* ‘torment, torture’; Greek ταπεινός ‘lowly, humble’ (literally, ‘downtrodden’); Old Icelandic *þefja* ‘to stamp’, *þóf* ‘crowding, thronging, pressing’ East Frisian *dafen* ‘to hit, to pound’; Old High German *bi-debben* ‘to suppress’; Russian *tópat'* [топать], *tópnut'* [топнуть] ‘to stamp, to stamp one’s foot’. Pokorny 1959:1056 **tap*- ‘to press down, to trample’; Walde 1927—1932.I:705 **tap*-; Mann 1984—1987:1368—1369 **tap*- ‘to press, to tread, to trample’; Boisacq 1950:941 **tap*-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:854; Beekes 2010.II:1450; Hofmann 1966:352 **tap*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1093; Orël 2003:415 Proto-Germanic **þafjanan*; De Vries 1977:606—607.
C. Proto-Uralic **tappa*- ‘to hit, to beat, to strike’: Finnish *tappa*- ‘to slay, to kill, to put to death’; Estonian *tapa*- ‘to slay, to kill’; Mordvin (Moksha) *tapa*- ‘to strike, to beat’; Zyrian / Komi *tap-tap* in *tap-tap kar* ‘to beat a few times’ (*kar* = ‘to do, to make’); Hungarian *toppant*- ‘to stamp (one’s foot on the ground)’, *tapos*- ‘to tread (on or down), to trample (on)’, *tapsol*- ‘to clap (hands), to applaud’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *tapar*- ‘to trample under foot’; Selkup Samoyed *tapi̯r*- ‘to kick (with the foot)’, *tappol*- ‘to kick’. Rédei 1986—1988:509—510 **tappa*- ‘to trample under foot, to strike, to kill’; Décsy 1990:109 **tapa* ‘to hit, to beat’.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat). Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2327a, **ṭab[V]qa* ‘to hit, to strike’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘to kill’).

194. Proto-Nostratic root *$t^har$- (~ *$t^hər$-):
(vb.) *$t^har$- ‘to draw, to drag, to pull’;
(n.) *$t^har$-*a* ‘drag, pull; something dragged or pulled along’
Possible derivative:

(vb.) **tʰar-* ‘to spread, to spread out or about, to expand, to extend; to stretch, to stretch out; to scatter, to strew’;
(n.) **tʰar-a* ‘stretch, spread, expanse’; (adj.) ‘stretched, tight, taut; spread, scattered, dispersed’

A. Proto-Afrasian **tar-* ‘to draw, to drag, to pull’: Proto-Semitic **tar-ar-*, (reduplicated) **tar-tar-* ‘to draw, to drag, to pull’ > Śḥeri / Jibbāli *terr* ‘to drag, to lead away’, (reduplicated) *ettɛrtér* ‘to lead roughly, to drag (a child) by the hand’; Soqoṭri *ter* ‘to push gently’, (reduplicated) *tártər* ‘to throw’; Ḥarsūsi *ter* ‘to lead, to drag away’; Mehri *ter* ‘to drag, to lead away’. Central Chadic **tyar-* (< **tari-*) ‘to draw’ > Buduma *teri* ‘to draw’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:499, no. 2373, **tar-* ‘to pull, to draw’.
B. Dravidian: Kota (reduplicated) *dardarn* ‘noise of dragging something along the ground’; Kannaḍa (reduplicated) *dara dara*, *jara jara* ‘noise of dragging anything on the ground’; Tuḷu (reduplicated) *daradara* ‘noise of dragging’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:269, no. 3093.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **tar-/*tr-* ‘to drag’: Georgian *trev-/tri(v)-/ter-/tr-* ‘to drag’; Mingrelian *(n)tir-* ‘to drag’; Laz *tor-*, *tur-*, *tir-* ‘to drag’; Svan *tr-* (inf. *li-tr-in-e*) ‘to drag something’. Klimov 1964:95 **tr-* and 1998:68—69 **ter-* : **tr-* ‘to drag, to pull’; Jahukyan 1967:75; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:156 **tar-/*tr-*; Fähnrich 2007:188—189 **tar-/*tr-*.
D. Proto-Indo-European **tʰr-eA-gʰ-/*tʰr-oA-gʰ-* (> **tʰrāgʰ-/*tʰrōgʰ-*) ‘to draw, to drag, to pull’: Latin *trahō* ‘to draw, to drag, to pull along’, *tractō* ‘to draw vigorously, to drag, to tug, to haul’; Old Irish *traig* ‘foot’; Old Cornish *truit* ‘foot’; Breton *troad* ‘foot’; Welsh *troed* (< **troget-*) ‘foot’; Gothic *þragjan* ‘to run’; Old Icelandic *þræll* (< Proto-Germanic **θraχilaz*) ‘slave, servant’ (< ‘runner’); Old English *þrǣgan* ‘to run’, *þrāg* ‘(period of) time’; Old High German *drigil* ‘servant’. Pokorny 1959:1089 **trāgh-*, **trŏ̄gh-*, and **trĕ̆gh-* ‘to pull’; Walde 1927—1932.I:752—753 **trăgh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1419—1420 **trăghō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to run’, 1443—1444 **tr̥gh-* (**trəgh-*) ‘to draw, to drag, to pull’; Watkins 1985:71 **tragh-* and 2000:93 **tragh-* ‘to draw, to drag, to move’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:698—699; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:697 and II:698—699 **trāgh-*; De Vaan 2008:626—627; Orël 2003:424 Proto-Germanic **þraǥjanan*, 424 **þraǥō*, 424 **þraxilaz* ~ **þraǥilaz*; Kroonen 2013:544 Proto-Germanic **þragjan-* ‘to run’; Lehmann 1986:364 (according to Lehmann, the etymology of the Germanic forms is uncertain, but they may be from **trāgh-* ‘to run, to move’); Feist 1939:500—501; De Vries 1977:625 **tragh-*, **tregh-*; Onions 1966:919; Klein 1971:763; Skeat 1898:638—639; Kluge—Lutz 1898:211. Proto-Indo-European **tʰr-ekʰ-/*tʰr̥-kʰ-* ‘to pull’: Middle Irish *tricc* ‘nimble, quick’; Old Church Slavic *trъkъ* ‘course, flight’; Bulgarian *trъkalo* ‘wheel, circle’. Pokorny 1959:1092 **trek-* ‘to pull’; Walde 1927—1932.I:755 **treq-*; Mann 1984—1987:1444—1445 **tr̥k-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:699 **trĕ̆q-*.

Buck 1949:9.33 draw, pull; 10.46 run (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:297—298, no. 112; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2413, **ṭaRV*, **ṭaRV-HVgV*, **ṭaRV-ṭV* ‘to drag, to pull’.

195. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰar-* (~ **tʰər-*):
(vb.) **tʰar-* ‘to spread, to spread out or about, to expand, to extend; to stretch, to stretch out; to scatter, to strew’;
(n.) **tʰar-a* ‘stretch, spread, expanse’; (adj.) ‘stretched, tight, taut; spread, scattered, dispersed’
Perhaps derived from:
(vb.) **tʰar-* ‘to draw, to drag, to pull’, in the sense ‘to stretch by pulling’;
(n.) **tʰar-a* ‘drag, pull; something dragged or pulled along’

A. Proto-Afrasian **tar-* ‘to spread, to spread out, to expand, to extend; to stretch, to stretch out’: Proto-Semitic **wa-tar-* ‘to stretch, to extend’ > Arabic *watara* ‘to string, to provide with a string (a bow); to stretch, to strain, to draw tight, to tighten, to pull taut’, *watar* ‘string (of a bow, of a musical instrument); sinew, tendon’, *mutawattir* ‘stretched, strained, taut, tense, rigid, firm, tight’; Hebrew *yeθer* [יֶתֶר] ‘cord’; Syriac *yaθrā* ‘string of a bow’; Geez / Ethiopic *watara*, *wattara* [ወተረ] ‘to bend, to stretch tight, to tighten (strings), to straighten up’, *ʔawtara* [አወ·ተረ] ‘to spread out, to stretch out’, *watr* [ወትር] ‘cord, string (of a musical instrument), web (of a spider)’; Tigre *wättära* ‘to stretch a bow, to stretch by pulling, to pull tight’; Tigrinya *wättärä* ‘to stretch (a string, hide), to make taut, to distend, to strain at (chains)’, *wätär* ‘bow string’; Gurage *wätärä* ‘to stretch by pulling, to stretch hide, to distend hide’, *wätär* ‘nerve, sinew, tendon, gut’; Harari *wätär* ‘nerve, gut, sinew’. D. Cohen 1970— :653—655; Klein 1987:267; Murtonen 1989:225; Leslau 1987:622. According to Murtonen: “[t]he basic sense appears to be expansibility.” Murtonen also compares Egyptian *i̯trw* ‘river’. East Chadic **tar-* ‘to be stretched’ > Tobanga *taaree* ‘to be stretched’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:499, no. 2373, **tar-* ‘to pull, to draw’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tārṟu* (*tāṟṟi-*) ‘to sift, to winnow’, *taṟi* ‘to sift by a winnowing fan’; Telugu *tāl(u)cu* ‘to sift or separate larger particles from flour in a winnowing basket’; (?) Brahui *dranzing*, *drāzing* ‘to throw in the air, to winnow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:277, no. 3195. Semantics as in Semitic: Akkadian *zarū* ‘to sow seed; to scatter (small objects), to sprinkle (dry matter), to winnow’; Hebrew *zārāh* [זָרָה] ‘to scatter, to winnow’; Arabic *ḏarā* ‘to disperse, to scatter; to carry off, to blow away; to winnow’; Ugaritic *dry* ‘to winnow, to scatter’; Amharic *(a)zärrä* ‘to scatter’; etc.; and, within Dravidian itself, Tamil *tūṟṟu* (*tūṟṟi-*) ‘to scatter, to winnow, to throw upward (as dust in the air)’; Malayalam *tūṟṟuka* ‘to winnow, (wind) to scatter’; etc.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$st^{h}er$- ‘to spread, to spread out or about, to scatter, to strew’: Sanskrit *stṛṇắti*, *stṛṇóti* ‘to spread, to spread out or about, to strew, to scatter; to lay over, to cover’, *stīrṇá-ḥ* ‘spread, strewn, scattered’, *stṛtá-ḥ* ‘bestrewn, covered’; Avestan *stərənāti* ‘to stretch, to spread, to extend’; Greek στορέννῡμι, στόρνῡμι ‘to spread, to strew’; Albanian *shtrij* ‘to spread out’; Latin *sternō* ‘to stretch out, to spread out’, *struō* ‘to pile up, to put together’, *struēs* ‘a heap’; Old Breton *strovis* ‘I have spread out’; Gothic *straujan* ‘to spread out’; Old Icelandic *strá* ‘to strew, to cover with straw’, *strá* ‘straw’; Old English *strēowian*, *strēwian* ‘to strew, to scatter’, *strēaw* ‘straw’; Old Frisian *strēwa* ‘to strew’, *strē* ‘straw’; Old Saxon *strōian* ‘to strew’, *strō* ‘straw’; Dutch *strooien* ‘to strew’, *stroo* ‘straw’; Old High German *streuwen*, *strouwen* ‘to strew’ (New High German *streuen*), *strō* ‘straw’ (New High German *Stroh*); Old Church Slavic *pro-stьrǫ*, *pro-strěti* ‘to stretch’. Rix 1998a:543 *ster-‘to stretch or spread out’; Pokorny 1959:1029—1031 *ster-, *sterə-: *strē-, *steru-, *streu- ‘to spread out, to strew, to scatter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:638—640 *ster- (also *sterē-); Mann 1984—1987:1286 *stern- ‘spread, extended; spread, layout’, 1286—1287 *sterō (*sternō), (pp.) *str̥tós, ‘to strew, to extend, to spread, to scatter’, 1293—1294 *storos, 1295 *strāi̯ō ‘to extend, to expand, to lay out, to spread, to scatter’, 1297 *strēlos ‘litter, spread’, 1298—1299 *strəu̯ō, *strāu̯-, *strōu̯-, *struu̯-, 1301 (*strōt-), 1301 *strōu̯-, 1303—1304 *str̥̆tos, -ā ‘spread, strewn, scattered’, 1307 *str̥- ‘to strew’; Watkins 1985:66 *ster- (also *sterə-) and 2000:86 *sterə- (also *ster-) ‘to spread’; Mallory—Adams 1997:539 *ster- ‘to spread out’; Boisacq 1950:916 *ster$\breve{a}^{x}$(u)-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:802—803 *streu- (> Gothic *straujan*, etc.); Beekes 2010.II:1409—1410 *$sterh_{2}$-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1059—1060 *strə-; Hofmann 1966:339 *ster-, *streu- (> Latin *struō*, etc.); Ernout—Meillet 1979:657—658; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:607—608 *streu-, *strou- (> Old Church Slavic *struna* ‘string’, etc.); De Vaan 2008:586 and 592—593; Huld 1984:115—116; Orël 1998:442 and 2003:381 Proto-Germanic *strawjanan; Kroonen 2013:583 Proto-Germanic *straujan- ‘to strew’; Feist 1939:456 *strāu̯-; Lehmann 1986:327 *ster-, *sterə-, *strew- ‘to spread out, to scatter’; De Vries 1977:552 *ster-; Skeat 1898:602; Klein 1971:721 *ster-, *stor-, *str̥-; Onions 1966:874 and 875 *ster-; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:380; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:757 *streu- and 758; Kluge—Seebold 1989:708 and 709; Walshe 1951:221; Derksen 2008:421 *$pro\text{-}sterh_{3}$- and 469 *$sterh_{3}$-.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *tara- ‘to spread or stretch out, to separate, to open’ > Cheremis / Mari (Yaransk) *tara*, (Birsk, Uržum) *tora* ‘wide, far; remote, distant, far off’, (Birsk) *tore-* ‘to remove, to separate, to scatter’; Hungarian *tár-* ‘to open, to open up (wide)’. Rédei 1986—1988:510 Proto-Finno-Ugrian *tara ‘(vb.) to open; (adj.) open’. Proto-Ugric *tarɜ- ‘to spread, to stretch (out), to extend’ > Ostyak / Xanty *tir* ‘fixed width’, *tärimt-* ‘to spread or stretch (out)’; Hungarian *tér* ‘space, room’ (Old

Hungarian and dial. ‘wide, roomy’), *terít-* ‘to spread, to stretch out, to extend’, *terül-* ‘to spread or stretch (out)’. Rédei 1986—1988:894 Proto-Ugric **tarɜ* ‘room’.

E. Proto-Altaic **tʰarV-* ‘to spread, to scatter, to disperse’: Proto-Mongolian **tara-*, **tarka-* ‘to spread, to scatter, to disperse’ > Mongolian *tara-* ‘to disperse, to scatter; to be separated, to part’, (causative) *taraγa-* ‘to disperse (as a crowd), to dismiss; to scatter, to spread, to spread around’, *taraγuu* ‘scattered, dispersed; sparse(ly)’, *taraqai* ‘scattered, dispersed, spread, disseminated’, *tarqa-* ‘to scatter, to spread, to be dispersed’; Khalkha *tara-* ‘to disperse, to scatter’; Buriat *tara-* ‘to disperse, to scatter’; Kalmyk *tarā-* ‘to disperse, to scatter’; Ordos *tarā-* ‘to disperse, to scatter’; Dagur *tare-*, *tarā-* ‘to disperse, to scatter’. Poppe 1960:138; Street 1974:27 Proto-Altaic **tara-* ‘to disperse, to scatter’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:1392) reconstruct Proto-Altaic **tʻajri* ‘to scatter, to disperse’.

F. Proto-Eskimo **taʁpaʁ-* ‘to open out or flare’: Central Siberian Yupik *taXpaʁ-* ‘to open, to enlarge’; North Alaskan Inuit *taqpaq-* ‘open, wide’; Greenlandic Inuit *taʁpaʁ-* ‘to widen into a funnel shape’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:334.

Sumerian *tar* ‘to disperse, to scatter’, *tar* ‘to loosen, to untie, to open’.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 9.34 spread out, strew; 12.24 open (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:298—300, no. 113; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2443, **ṭaŕXV* ‘to throw, to disperse, to scatter’.

196. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰar-* (~ **tʰər-*):
(vb.) **tʰar-* ‘to tear, to break, to split, to pierce’;
(n.) **tʰar-a* ‘cut, tear, split, incision; wound, injury; spear’

A. Proto-Afrasian **tar-* ‘to tear, to break, to split’: Proto-Semitic **tar-ar-* ‘to tear, to break, to split’ > Arabic *tarra* ‘to be cut off, to be cut out’; Tigrinya *tärär bälä* ‘to be split’, (reduplicated) *tärtärä* ‘to break to small pieces’; Tigre (reduplicated) *tärtära* ‘to split, to tear up’; Gurage *tärrärä* ‘to tear a piece of cloth or paper, to cut in small pieces, to separate’; Amharic (reduplicated) *tärättärä* ‘to tear to pieces’; Harari (reduplicated) *(a)trätära* ‘to shake the grain on the *afuftu-* plate to separate it from sand or to separate the finely-ground flour from the unground’; Post-Biblical Hebrew (reduplicated) *tirtēr* [תִּרְתֵּר] ‘to scatter, to cast loose (earth)’ (Aramaic loan); Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *tartar* ‘to crumble, to cast loose’. Klein 1987:719; Leslau 1979:602 and 603. Amharic *täräkkäkä* ‘to split’; Gurage *tärräxä* ‘to break off a piece, to make incisions, to tear off a leaf of the *äsät*’. Leslau 1979:602. Lowland East Cushitic **tarar-* ‘to cut, to scratch’ > Galla / Oromo *tarara* ‘to cut, to scratch’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **taar-* ‘to spear, to pierce with a weapon’ > K’wadza *talangayo*

'bleeding arrow'; Ma'a *ito*, *itoró* 'spear'; Dahalo *t̲aar-* 'to spear, to pierce with a weapon'. Ehret 1980:169. West Chadic **tar-*/**tur-* 'to tear, to break' > Galambu *tar-* 'to tear'; Kulere *tur-* 'to break'; Dafo-Butura *tar-* 'to break'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:499, no. 2372, **tar-* 'to tear, to cut' and 499, no. 2376, **tarVc-* 'to break, to tear' (derived from **tar-* 'to tear, to cut'); Ehret 1995:143, no. 177, **taar-* 'to cut into'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tarukku* (*tarukki-*) 'to pound, to break, to pierce, to injure, to torment'; Malayalam *tarukkuka* 'to deprive rice of its husk'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:269, no. 3099.

C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **tærʁæŋ-* 'to break into pieces' > Chukchi *tereŋ-* 'to break into pieces' (following Bogoraz, Fortescue writes *tæræŋ-*); Koryak *tacʁan(ə)-* 'to cut fish into pieces'; Alyutor *tarʔaŋ-* 'to break or cut to pieces'. Fortescue 2005:282.

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.). Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2289, **terV* 'to tear, to burst'.

197. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰar-* (~ **tʰər-*):
(vb.) **tʰar-* 'to rub, to wear down';
(n.) **tʰar-a* 'wear'; (adj.) 'worn out, rubbed, abraded'
Possible Derivatives:
(vb.) **tʰar-* 'to wither, to wane, to dry up';
(n.) **tʰar-a* 'dryness'; (adj.) 'withered, dry, dried up, arid'
(vb.) **tʰar-* 'to scratch, to scrape, to plane';
(n.) **tʰar-a* 'scratching, scraping, raking; rake, comb'

A. Dravidian: Malayalam *taṟayuka* 'to be worn out, rubbed (as a rope), ground (as a knife); to be habituated, practiced', *taṟekka* 'to rub down, to grind (as sandal)'; Kannaḍa *taḷe* 'to be worn out, rubbed; to rub (tr.)'; Tuḷu *tarepuni* 'to grind, to try, to rub, to assay (metal)', *tareyuni*, *tarevuni* 'to be rubbed off, to abrade, to wear away, to become thin, to become wasted', *tarelu̯* 'worn out', *taḷepuṇa* 'to rub'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:270, no. 3114. Kota *tarv-* (*tard-*) 'to become abraded by moving over rough surface or by having something rubbed over it'; Kannaḍa *taṟi* 'to be chafed, abraded, or grazed'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:273, no. 3141.

B. Proto-Indo-European **tʰer-*/**tʰor-*/**tʰr̥-* 'to rub, to wear down': Greek τείρω 'to rub hard, to wear away, to wear out, to distress', τέρην 'rubbed, smooth', τρῡ́ω 'to rub down, to wear out', τρῡ́χω 'to wear out, to waste, to consume'; Sabinian **terenum* 'soft'; Latin *terō* 'to rub, to wear away', *tergeō*, *tergō* 'to wipe, to scour, to dry off, to clean'; Old Church Slavic *tьrǫ*, *trěti* 'to rub, to wear down'; Lithuanian *trinù*, *trìnti* 'to rub'. Rix 1998a:575 **terh₂-* 'to bore, to rub'; Pokorny 1959:1071—1074 **ter-*, **terə-* 'to rub, to bore'; Walde 1927—1932.I:728—732 **ter-*; Mann 1984—1987:1384 **ter-* (**terō*, *-i̯ō*) 'to rub, to wear', 1385 **terĝ-* 'to wipe,

to dry, to clean; pure', 1428 **trĭn-* 'to wear, to rub', 1438 **trūi̯ō* 'to rub, to wear, to bore, to weary, to worry', 1442 **trŭu̯ō*, 1448 **tr̥tos* 'rubbed, crushed, milled'; Watkins 1985:70 **ter-* and 2000:91 **terə-* 'to rub, to turn' (oldest form **ter‍ə̯₁-*, with variant [metathesized] **tre‍ə̯₁-*, contracted to **trē-*; various extended forms: **trī-* [< **tri‍ə̯-*], **trō-*, **trau-*, **trīb-*, **trōg-*, **trag-*, **trup-*, **trūg-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:231 **t[ʰ]er-*, II:706—707 and 1995.I:200, I:612, I:780 **tʰer-* 'to rub, to polish, to abrade; to drill, to bore a hole', I:152 **tʰer-H-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:400 **ter(i)-* 'to rub, to turn'; Boisacq 1950:948—949 **ter-*, **tere-*, **terē-*, **terə-*, 956, and 988; Frisk 1970—1973.II:865, II:879, and II:938; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1098 **ter-*, II:1106—1107, II:1141 **ter-‍ə̯₁-u-*; Hofmann 1966:356 **ter-*, 359 **ter-*, 376 **treu-gh-*, also **treu-q-* (in Lithuanian *trúk-stu*, *trúkti* 'to break, to split, to burst', *trũkis* 'rupture, hernia'), and 376 **tereu-*; Beekes 2010.II:1458 **ter(H)-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:685—686 and 686—687; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:670 and II:672—673 **téri-*; De Vaan 2008:616 **terh₁-*/**trh₁-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1124—1125 **ter-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:689; Derksen 2015:471 **terh₁-*.

Sumerian *tar* 'to be distressed, troubled'.

Buck 1949:9.31 rub. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:279—280, no. 95; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2428, **t̯ar[V]yi* 'to rub'.

198. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰar-* (~ **tʰər-*):
(vb.) **tʰar-* 'to wither, to wane, to dry up';
(n.) **tʰar-a* 'dryness'; (adj.) 'withered, dry, dried up, arid'
Perhaps derived from:
(vb.) **tʰar-* 'to rub, to wear down';
(n.) **tʰar-a* 'wear'; (adj.) 'worn out, rubbed, abraded'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **tar-aʒ-* 'to be hard, dry, arid; to wither, to die' > Arabic *taraza* 'to be hard, dry, arid; to wither, to die; to be hungry', *tarz* 'hunger, colic'.
B. Dravidian: Malayalam *tāṟuka* 'to become thin, to droop'; Kota *targ aṟ-* (*aṭ-*) 'to become lean'; Toda *to·x-* (*to·xy-*) 'to become lean, slender'; Kannaḍa *tār*, *tāṟu* 'to become dry, to dry up, to wither, to wane, to become emaciated', *tāṟiga* 'a dry, sapless man', *taṟagu* 'that which is dried or to be dried; dry, fallen, or dead leaves, a cake fried in oil and dried', *taṟaḷe* 'state of being dry, useless, vain', *taraḷu*, *tarḷu*, *taḷḷu*, *taṟal* 'a ripe fruit that has become dry, especially a coconut'; Tuḷu *tarṇṭuni*, *taruṇṭu* 'to shrivel', *targodè* 'leanness'; Koraga *darla* 'dried leaves'; Telugu *tāṟu*, *tāru* 'to fall away in flesh, to become lean, to diminish, to be reduced', *trāḍuvaḍu* 'to become lean'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:277, no. 3192.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$t^h$*ers-*/*$t^h$*ors-*/*$t^h$*r̥s-* ‘to dry up, to wither; to become thirsty’: Sanskrit *tṛ́ṣyati* ‘to be dry, to be thirsty’, *tṛṣā*, *tṛ́ṣṇā* ‘thirst’; Avestan *taršu-* ‘dried up, parched, arid’; Greek τέρσομαι ‘to be or become dry’; Armenian *$t^h$*arařamim*, *$t^h$*aršamim* ‘to wither’; Latin *torreō* ‘to burn, parch, or dry up with heat or thirst’, *torridus* ‘parched, burnt, dry’, *torror* ‘a drying up, parching, scorching’, *terra* (< **tersā*) ‘earth, ground’ (< ‘dry land’); Oscan *terún*, *teerún* ‘earth’; Old Irish *tur* ‘dry, dried out’; Gothic *þaursjan* ‘to be thirsty’, **þaurstei* ‘thirst’, *þaursus* ‘dried up, withered’, *gaþairsan* ‘to wither’; Old Icelandic *þyrstr* ‘thirsty’, *þorsti* ‘thirst’, *þerra* ‘to dry, to make dry’; Danish *tørst* ‘thirst’; Swedish *törst* ‘thirst, drought’; Old English *þyrstan* ‘to be thirsty, to thirst for’, *þyrstig*, *þurstig* ‘thirsty’, *þurst* ‘thirst’, *þyrre* ‘dry, withered’, *ā-þierran* ‘to wipe dry’, *þærran* ‘to dry’; Old Saxon *thurri* ‘dry, arid’, *thurstian* ‘to be thirsty’, *thurst* ‘thirst’; Old High German *durri*, *thurri* ‘dry, arid’ (New High German *dürr*), *durst* ‘thirst’ (New High German *Durst*), *derren* ‘to parch’. Rix 1998a:579—580 **ters-* ‘to dry up, to wither; to become thirsty’; Pokorny 1959:1078—1079 **ters-* ‘to dry up, to wither; to become thirsty’; Walde 1927—1932.I:737—738 **ters-*; Mann 1984—1987:1387 **ters-* (**tersō*) ‘to rub, to dry’, 1416 **tors-* ‘dry; thirsty; parched; dryness, drought, kiln’, 1447 **t̥rs-* ‘dry; parched; dryness, drought’, 1448 **t̥rstos* ‘dry, parched; dryness, drought’; Watkins 1985:70—71 **ters-* and 2000:91—92 **ters-* ‘to dry’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:44, I:217, I:419 **t[$^h$]ers-* and 1995.I:39, I:187, I:367 **$t^h$*er-s-* ‘to dry out’; Mallory—Adams 1997:170 **ters-* ‘dry’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:525; Boisacq 1950:959 **ters-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:882; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1108 **ters-*; Hofmann 1966:360 **ters-*; Beekes 2010.II:1470—1471 **ters-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:696—697; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:694; De Vaan 2008:624—625 **tors-e̯ie̯-*; Kroonen 2013:539 Proto-Germanic **þersan-* ‘to be dry’, 553 **þurstu-* ‘thirst’, 553 **þurzēn-* ‘to be dry’, 554 **þurzjan-* ‘to be thirsty’, and 554 **þurzu-* ‘dry’; Orël 2003:421—422 Proto-Germanic **þersanan*, 430 **þursjanan* ~ **þurzjanan*, 430 **þurstīn*, 430 **þurstuz* ~ **þurstuiz*, 430 **þurstjanan*, 430 **þurznōjanan*, 430 **þurzuz*; Feist 1939:206 **ters-* and 493; Lehmann 1986:151 **ters-* ‘thirst’ and 358 **ters-*+*-ye/o-*, *-e/o-*; De Vries 1977:609, 618, and 630; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II;403; Onions 1966:917 **t̥rs-*, **tors-*; Klein 1971:762 **t̥rs-*; Skeat 1898:637; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:149 **t̥rs-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:162; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:701—704 **ters-*.

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 5.15 thirst (sb.); 15.75 soft. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:283, no. 99; Möller 1911:253; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2438, **ṭ[u]Rʒǀʒ́V* ‘dry, arid, hard’.

199. Proto-Nostratic root **$t^h$*ar-* (~ **$t^h$*ər-*):
(vb.) **$t^h$*ar-* ‘to scratch, to scrape, to plane’;

(n.) *$t^h$*ar-a* ‘scratching, scraping, raking; rake, comb’
Perhaps derived from:
(vb.) *$t^h$*ar-* ‘to rub, to wear down’;
(n.) *$t^h$*ar-a* ‘wear’; (adj.) ‘worn out, rubbed, abraded’

A. Dravidian: Gondi *tarcānā*, *taṛc-* ‘to scrape’, *tarsk-* ‘to scrape, to plane’, *task-*, *tarsk-*/*tarisk-* ‘to level, to scrape’; Koṇḍa *taṟh-* (that is, *taʀ-*) ‘to scrape’; Pengo *treh-* (*trest-*) ‘to scrape, to plane, to cut with an adze’; Manḍa *teh-* ‘to shave’; Kui *tahpa* (*taht-*) ‘to smooth off, to level down, to chip, to scrape’; Kui *tah-* (*tast-*) ‘to scrape, to plane’, *tah’nai* ‘to engrave’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:273—274, no. 3146.
B. Proto-Altaic *$t^h$*i̯ora-* ‘to cultivate (soil), to till (land)’: Proto-Mongolian **tari-* ‘to sow, to plant’, **tariya-n* ‘crops’ > Mongolian *tari-* ‘to sow, to plant, to plow’, *tariyala-* ‘to cultivate the soil’, *tariyalaŋ* ‘arable land, plow land; field; plantation; agriculture’, *tarilγ-a(n)* ‘sowing, planting, plowing’, *tarmu-* ‘to rake (as hay)’, *tariya(n)* ‘wheat, crop; field, farm’; Khalkha *taria* ‘crops’; Buriat *taŕā(n)* ‘crops’; Kalmyk *tarān* ‘crops’; Ordos *tarā* ‘crops’; Dagur *tarē* ‘crops’; Monguor *tarā* ‘crops’. Proto-Turkic **tarï-* ‘to cultivate (ground)’, **tarγa-* ‘to comb, to cultivate (land)’ > Turkish *tarım* ‘agriculture’, *tarak* ‘comb, rake, harrow, weaver’s reed, crest (of a bird)’, *tara-* ‘to comb, to rake, to harrow; to dredge; to search minutely’, *taraz* ‘combings, fibers combed out’; Uighur (dial.) *teri-* ‘to cultivate (ground)’; Sary-Uighur *tarï-* ‘to cultivate (ground)’; Tuva *tarï-* ‘to cultivate (ground)’. Poppe 1960:62; Street 1974:27 Proto-Altaic **tarï-* ‘to till (land); to sow, to harvest’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1438 *$t^h$*i̯ora* ‘to cultivate (earth)’.

Buck 1949:8.15 cultivate, till; 8.21 plow (vb.; sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 300, no. 114.

200. Proto-Nostratic root *$t^h$*ar-* (~ *$t^h$*ər-*):
(vb.) *$t^h$*ar-* ‘to drink’;
(n.) *$t^h$*ar-a* ‘a drink; the act of drinking’; (adj.) ‘drunk, tipsy, intoxicated’

A. Dravidian: Telugu *trāgu*, *trāvu* ‘to drink, to swallow, to eat, to smoke’, *trāguḍu*, *trāvuḍu* ‘drinking’; Parji *tar-* ‘to swallow’; Gadba (Ollari) *tārg-* ‘to swallow’, (?) (Salur) *sark-* ‘to drink (as ox in tank)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:275, no. 3174.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **ter-*/**tr-* ‘to drink (wine)’: Georgian *tr-*/*tver-* (metathesis from **ter-w-*): *tvr-oba* ‘to drink; to become drunk, intoxicated, inebriated’, *simtrvale-* ‘intoxication’, *mtrval-* ‘drunk, tipsy, intoxicated’; Svan *li-tr-e* ‘to drink something, to smoke something’, *təräj* ‘drunkard’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:162 **twer-*; Schmidt 1962:114; Klimov 1964:95—96 **tr-* and 1998:69 **ter-* : **tr-* ‘to drink (wine)’; Fähnrich 2007:195 **twer-*.

Buck 1949:4.98 drunk; 5.13 drink (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:300, no. 115; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2294, *$tarH_2V$ ‘to drink’.

201. Proto-Nostratic root *$t^har$- (~ *$t^hər$-):
(vb.) *$t^har$- ‘to tremble, to shake’;
(n.) *$t^har$-*a* ‘trembling, shaking (from fear, fright)’

A. Proto-Afrasian *tar- ‘to tremble, to shake’: Semitic: Akkadian *tarāru (pres. itarrur) ‘to shake’; Arabic (reduplicated) tartara ‘to shake, to be shaken, to tremble’. Egyptian (Demotic) try3 ‘to fear, to tremble’; Coptic trre [ⲧⲣⲣⲉ] ‘to become afraid, to tremble’, strtr (< *satirtir) ‘trembling’. Vycichl 1983:199 and 221; Černý 1976:195. Proto-Southern Cushitic *tarar- ‘to tremble, to shake’ > Ma’a -tará?a ‘to shake (something)’; Dahalo t̲arar- ‘to tremble, to shake’. Ehret 1980:169. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya (reduplicated) tartar- ‘to stagger, to stumble’; Kambata (reduplicated) tartar- ‘to stagger, to stumble’. Hudson 1989:142. Ehret 1995:143, no. 176, *tar- ‘to shake’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *tṛt- ‘to tremble’: Georgian trt- ‘to tremble’; Mingrelian tirt-ol- ‘to tremble’; Laz tirt-in- ‘to tremble’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:165 *trt-; Klimov 1964:96 *tṛt- ‘to tremble’ and 1998:74 *trt- ‘to tremble’; Fähnrich 2007:199 *trt-.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$t^her$-*s*-, *$t^hr$-*es*- ‘to tremble, to shake’: Sanskrit trásati ‘to tremble, to quiver’; Avestan təraš- ‘to be afraid’; Greek τρέω ‘to tremble, to quiver’; Latin terreō ‘to frighten, to terrify’, terror ‘fright, fear, terror, alarm, dread’. Rix 1998a:591—592 *tres- ‘to shake, to tremble’; Pokorny 1959:1095 *tres-, *ters- ‘to quiver’; Walde 1927—1932.I:760 *tres-, *ters-; Mann 1984—1987:1387—1388 *ters- (*tersō) ‘to tremble’, 1425 *tresō ‘to rush, to sway, to tremble, to shake’; Watkins 1985:72 *tres- and 2000:93 *tres- ‘to tremble’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:237 *t[ʰ]ers-, *t[ʰ]res- and 1995.I:207 *$t^hers$-, *$t^hres$- ‘to tremble’; Mallory—Adams 1997:509 *tres- ‘to tremble, to shake with fear’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:531—532; Beekes 2010.II:1507—1508 *tres-; Boisacq 1950:984 *teres- (*tres-, *ters-); Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1131—1132 *tr-es-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:929—930; Hofmann 1966:373—374 *tresō; De Vaan 2008:617; Ernout—Meillet 1979:688; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:674—675 *teres- (*ters-, *tres-). Proto-Indo-European *$t^hr$-*em*-/*$t^hr$-*om*-/*$t^hr$-m̥- ‘to tremble, to shake’: Greek τρέμω ‘to tremble, to quiver’, τρόμος ‘a trembling, quaking, quivering (especially with fear)’; Latin tremō ‘to tremble, to quake’; Tocharian A träm- ‘to be furious’, B tremi ‘anger’; Old Church Slavic tręsǫ, tręsti ‘to shake’. Rix 1998a:589—590 *trem- ‘to tremble or shake (from fear)’; Pokorny 1959:1092—1093 *trem-, *trems- ‘to tremble, to quiver, to shake’; Walde 1927—1932.I:758 *trem-; Mann 1984—1987:1423 *trem- (*tremō) ‘to scare; to be scared, to tremble’; Watkins 1985:72 *trem- and 2000:93 *trem- ‘to tremble’;

Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:217 *$t[^h]rem$- and 1995.I:187 *$t^hrem$- ‘to shake’; Mallory—Adams 1997:509 *$trem$- ‘to shake, to tremble (in fear)’, *$ter$- ‘to shake, to tremble’; Frisk 1970—1973.II:922—923; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1131—1132 *$tr$-$em$-; Beekes 2010.II:1502—1503 *$trem$-; Boisacq 1950:982 *$t(e)rem$-; Hofmann 1966:372—373 *$tre$-$m$-; De Vaan 2008:628; Ernout—Meillet 1979:700 *$trem$-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:701 *$t(e)rem$-; Adams 1999:319 *$trem$- ‘to tremble’.

Buck 1949:10.26 shake (vb. tr.); 16.53 fear, fright. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 280—281, no. 97.

202. Proto-Nostratic root *$t^haw$- (~ *$t^həw$-):
(vb.) *$t^haw$- ‘to swell’;
(n.) *$t^haw$-$a$ ‘swelling, protuberance, bulge, lump, hump’; (adj.) ‘swollen, full, fat’

A. Proto-Afrasian *$taw$- ‘to swell’: Semitic: Arabic *tāḥa* (*twḥ*) ‘to be broad’. Egyptian *twꜣ-w* ‘pustules, swellings’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:251; Hannig 1995:920.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *tava* ‘much, intensely’; Kannaḍa *tave* ‘abundantly, greatly, wholly, completely, exceedingly’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:270, no. 3106.
C. Proto-Kartvelian *$tew$-/*$tiw$- ‘to arise, to come into being, to come forth; to bring forth, to give rise to’: Georgian *tev-a* ‘to be wide-awake, alert’, *m-ti-eb-i* ‘star’, *m-tov-ar-e* ‘moon’, *gan-ti-ad-i* ‘sunrise’; Svan *an-taw-e* ‘to bring forth, to give rise to’, *tw-e-tn-e*, *tw-e-twn-e* ‘white’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:158 *$tew$-; Fähnrich 2007:190—191 *$tew$-/*$tiw$-.
D. Proto-Indo-European *$t^hew$-/*$t^how$-/*$t^hu$-, *$t^hewH$-/*$t^howH$-/*$t^huH$- (> *$t^hū$-) ‘to swell; to be swollen, fat’: Sanskrit *tavas*- ‘strong’; Latin *tumeō* ‘to swell, to be swollen, to be puffed up’, *tūber* ‘swelling, protuberance’; Russian Church Slavic *tyju*, *tyti* ‘to become fat’; Lithuanian *tuměti* ‘to become thick’, *taukaĩ* ‘(animal) fat’. Rix 1998a:581—582 *$teu̯h_2$- ‘to swell’; Pokorny 1959:1080—1085 *$tēu$-, *$təu$-, *$teu̯ə$-, *$tu̯ō$-, *$tŭ̄$- ‘to swell’; Walde 1927—1932.I:706—713 *$tēu$-, *$təu$-, *$tŭ̄$-; Mann 1984—1987:1389—1390 *$teugos$ ‘fat, thick’, 1390 *$teuk$- (*$touk$-, *$tuk$-) ‘fat; fat part, buttock’, 1456 *$tuməlos$ (*$tumulos$) ‘swell, surge, lump, hump, hillock’, 1456 *$tumō$, -$ēi̯ō$ ‘to swell’, 1456—1457 *$tumos$, -$ā$, -$ō(n)$, -$i̯ə$ ‘swell, lump, mass, myriad, crowd’; Mallory—Adams 1997:560—561 *$teuh_a$- ‘to swell (with power), to grow fat’; Watkins 1985:71 *$teuə$- (also *$teu$-) and 2000:92 *$teuə$- (also *$teu$-) ‘to swell’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:490; Ernout—Meillet 1979:705 *$tūbh$- (?) and 706—707; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:712—713 *$tūbh$- and II:715—716 *$tēu$- (*$teu̯ā^x$); De Vaan 2008:632 and 633. This stem (*$t^huH$-$s$- > *$t^hū$-$s$-) is also found in the Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic words for ‘thousand’: Proto-Germanic

*θūs-χundi- ‘thousand’ > Gothic *þūsundi* ‘thousand’; Old Icelandic *þúsund* ‘thousand’ (also *þús-hundrað*); Faroese *túsund* ‘thousand’; Norwegian *tusund* ‘thousand’; Swedish *tusen* ‘thousand’; Danish *tusen* ‘thousand’; Old English *þūsend* ‘thousand’; Old Frisian *thūsend* ‘thousand’; Old Saxon *thūsind*, *thūsundig* ‘thousand’; Dutch *duizend* ‘thousand’ Old High German *thūsunt*, *dūsunt* ‘thousand’ (New High German *tausend*). Baltic: Lithuanian *tū́kstantis* ‘thousand’; Latvian *tũkstuōt(i)s* ‘thousand’; Old Prussian (acc. pl.) *tūsimtons* ‘thousand’. Slavic: Old Church Slavic *tysǫšti*, *tysęšti* ‘thousand’; Russian *týsjača* [тысяча] ‘thousand’; Ukrainian *tísjača* [тисяча] ‘thousand’ (older *tysjača* [тысяча]; dial. *tysjaca* [тысяца], *tysuča* [тысуча]); Belorussian *týsjača* [тысяча] ‘thousand’; Polish *tysiąc* ‘thousand’; Upper Sorbian *tysac* ‘thousand’; Czech *tisíc* ‘thousand’; Bulgarian *tiseščа* [тисеща] ‘thousand’; Slovenian *tisóča* ‘thousand’; Serbo-Croatian (dial.) *tȉsuća* ‘thousand’. Orël 2003:431 Proto-Germanic *þūs-(x)unđī; Kroonen 2013:554 Proto-Germanic *þūshundī- ‘thousand’; Feist 1939:505—506; Lehmann 1986:367—369; De Vries 1977:628; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:391; Onions 1966:919; Klein 1971:763; Skeat 1898:638; Kluge—Lutz 1898:210—211; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:774; Kluge—Seebold 1989:724; Derksen 2008:503 *tuH-s-ont-, *tuH-s-ent-; Shevelov 1964:181; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1135—1136 *teu̯ə-, *tū̆-; Smoczyński 2007.1:693—694 *tuk-, *teu̯k-. For discussion, cf. Blažek 1999b:315—316; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:746; Mallory—Adams 1997:405 and 560; Szemerényi 1996:221.

E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *täwδe ‘full’ > Finnish *täysi*/*täyte- ‘full’; Lapp / Saami (Kola) *diwdas* ‘full’; Cheremis / Mari *tić*, *cic* ‘full’; Votyak / Udmurt *dol-dol* ‘full’; Zyrian / Komi *dõla* ‘entirely’; Vogul / Mansi *tɛwl*, (Northern) *taagl* ‘full’; Ostyak / Xanty *tel*, (Southern) *tet* ‘full’; Hungarian *tel-* ‘to be filled, to become full’. Collinder 1955:119 and 1977:132; Rédei 1986—1988:518 *täwδe (*tälkɜ); Sammallahti 1988:550—551 *täwdä- ‘to fill’, *täwi- ‘full’.

Sumerian *tuh* ‘to be stretched out’, *tuh* ‘more than’, *tuh* ‘to produce abundantly, in profusion’.

Buck 1949:12.63 thick (in dimension). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:289, no. 104.

203. Proto-Nostratic *$t^hek^h$-:
(vb.) *$t^hek^h$- ‘to take (away), to grasp, to seize, to remove’;
(n.) *$t^hek^h$-*a* ‘the act of taking, grasping, seizing, removing’

A. Proto-Afrasian *tek- ‘to take’: Egyptian *tk*, *tkk*, *tktk* ‘to seize, to grasp; to violate (frontier), to attack’. Hannig 1995:940 and 941; Faulkner 1962:302; Erman—Grapow 1921:207 and 1926—1963.5:331, 5:336; Gardiner 1957:601. West Chadic *tyak- ‘to take’ > Sha *tək* ‘to take’; Dafo-

Butura *tyek* ‘to take’. Central Chadic **tyak-* ‘to take’ > Musgu *taka*, *tega* ‘to take’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:501, no. 2388, **tek-* ‘to take’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tekku* (*tekki-*) ‘to receive, to take’; Kannaḍa *tege*, *tegu*, *tegi* ‘to pull, to draw towards oneself, to take, to take away, to remove; to be taken away, removed; to become less, to diminish, to disappear’, *tege* ‘taking’; Tuḷu *teguni* ‘to take’; Telugu *tigyu*, *tigucu* ‘to pull, to draw, to drag, to attract, to take’; Kuṛux *tīgabaʔānā* ‘to take’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:299, no. 3407.

Buck 1949:11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2246, **t[e]Ḳæ* ‘to take, to carry’ ([in descendant languages] → ‘to get, to possess’).

204. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **t$^{h}$ep$^{h}$-*:
(vb.) **t$^{h}$ep$^{h}$-* ‘to warm, to burn’;
(n.) **t$^{h}$ep$^{h}$-a* ‘heat, warmth’
Note also:
(vb.) **t’ab-* ‘to be or become warm; to make warm, to heat up; to cook’;
(n.) **t’ab-a* ‘heat, warmth’; (adj.) ‘hot, warm; cooked, baked’

A. Proto-Indo-European **t$^{h}$ep$^{h}$-* ‘to warm, to burn; to be warm’ (secondary *o*-grade form: **t$^{h}$op$^{h}$-*): Sanskrit *tápati* ‘to be hot; to make hot or warm, to heat’, *tápas-* ‘heat, warmth’, *tápant-* ‘hot’; Avestan *tāpaiti* ‘to burn, to glow, to warm’, *tafnō* ‘heat’, *tafnah-* ‘heat, fever’; Sogdian *tph* ‘fever’; Latin *tepeō* ‘to be lukewarm, to be tepid’, *tepidus* ‘lukewarm, tepid’, *tepor* ‘moderate heat’; Old Irish *té* ‘hot’, *tess* ‘heat’, *tene* ‘fire’; Welsh *twym* ‘hot’; (?) Old English *of-þefian* ‘to dry up’; Old Church Slavic *toplъ* ‘warm’; Russian *teplό* [тепло] ‘heat’, *teplyj* [теплый] ‘warm’, *topít′* [топить] ‘to heat’, *topít′sya* [топиться] ‘to burn’, *tópka* [топка] ‘heating’; Hittite *tapašša-* ‘heat, fever’; Luwian (nom. sg.) *ta-pa-aš-ša-aš* ‘fever’. Rix 1998a:572—573 **tep-* ‘to be warm, to be hot’; Pokorny 1959:1069—1070 **tep-* ‘to be warm’; Walde 1927—1932.I:718—719 **tep-*; Mann 1984—1987:1382—1383 **tep-* ‘to be warm’, **tepos*, *-es-* ‘heat’, 1383 **tepənt-* (**tepn̥t-*) ‘(being) hot, (being) warm’, 1383 **tepn-*, 1383 **tepsk̂ō* ‘to grow warm, to be warm’, 1383 **tepst-* ‘heat, warmth’, 1384 **tept-* ‘hot; heat’, 1413 **toptis*, *-os-* (**topn̥t-*) ‘hot; heat’; Watkins 1985:70 **tep-* and 2000:90 **tep-* ‘to be hot’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:153, II:683, II:879 **t[$^{h}$]ep[$^{h}$]-* and 1995.I:132, I:589—590, I:776 **t$^{h}$ep$^{h}$-* ‘(vb.) to warm; (n.) heat, warmth’; Mallory—Adams 1997:263—264 **tep-* ‘hot’; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:698—700 **tep-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:477; Ernout—Meillet 1979:685 **tep-*; De Vaan 2008:614 **t(e)p-eh$_{1}$-*, **tep-os-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:667—668.

B. Proto-Altaic **t$^{h}$ep$^{h}$V-* ‘to warm, to burn’: Proto-Tungus **tepe-* ‘to catch fire, to burn’ > Manchu *tefe-* ‘to burn up’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *tiavə-*

‘to catch fire, to burn’; Nanay / Gold *tepe-* ‘to catch fire, to burn’. Proto-Turkic **tẹpi-* ‘to dry, to become dry; to suffer from heat’ > Azerbaijani *täpi-* ‘to dry, to become dry’; Turkmenian *tebi-* ‘to dry, to become dry’; Chuvash *tip-* ‘to dry, to become dry; to suffer from heat’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1421 **t‘ep‘V* ‘to warm, to burn’.

Buck 1949:15.84 dry; 15.85 hot, warm. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2398, **ṭæ[p]V* ‘to warm, to be warm’.

205. Proto-Nostratic second person pronoun stem: **ṭʰi-* (~ **tʰe-*) ‘you’; (oblique form) **tʰa-* (~ **tʰə-*):

A. Proto-Afrasian **ti/*ta* ‘you’: Proto-Semitic (prefix forms) **ti-/*ta-*, (suffix forms) **-tǐ/*-tă* ‘you’ > Arabic (m.) *ʔan-ta*, (f.) *ʔan-ti* ‘you’, perfect 2nd sg. endings (m.) *-ta*, (f.) *-ti*, imperfect 2nd sg./du./pl. prefix *ta-*; Akkadian (m.) *an-tā*, (f.) *an-tī* ‘you’, permansive 2nd sg. endings (m.) *-āt(a)*, (f.) *-āti*, prefix conjugation 2nd sg./pl. prefix *ta-*; Hebrew (m.) *ʔat-tāh* [אַתָּה] (f.) *ʔat-t(ī)* [אַתְּ] ‘you’, perfect 2nd sg. endings (m.) *-tā*, (f.) *-t(i)*, imperfect 2nd sg./pl. prefix *ti-*; Ugaritic *ȧt* ‘you’ (m. **ʔatta*, f. **ʔatti*), perfect 2nd sg. ending *-t* (m. **-ta*, f. **-ti*), imperfect 2nd sg./du./pl. prefix *t-*; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *tɛn* ‘you’; Geez / Ethiopic (m.) *ʔan-ta* [**አንተ**], (f.) *ʔan-tī* [**አንቲ**] ‘you’, prefix conjugation 2nd sg./pl. prefix *tə-* [**ት**-]. Central Cushitic: Bilin (sg.) *ʔen-tī́*, *ʔin-tī́* ‘you’, (pl.) *ʔen-tín*, *ʔin-tín*. Reinisch 1887:43; Appleyard 2006:150—151. Proto-East Cushitic (2nd sg. subj.) **ʔat-i/u* ‘you’ > Gedeo / Darasa *at-i* ‘you’; Hadiyya *at-i* ‘you’; Kambata *at-i* ‘you’; Sidamo *at-e/i* ‘you’; Burji *áši* ‘you’; Saho-Afar *at-u* ‘you’; Somali *ad-i-* ‘you’; Rendille *at-i* ‘you’; Galla / Oromo *at-i* ‘you’; Bayso *at-i* ‘you’; Konso *at-ti* ‘you’; Gidole *at-te* ‘you’. Sasse 1982:29; Hudson 1989:172. Proto-East Cushitic (2nd pl. subj.) **ʔatin-* ‘you’ > Saho-Afar *atin* ‘you’; Burji *ašinu* ‘you’; Somali *idin-* ‘you’; Rendille *atin-* ‘you’; Dasenech *itti(ni)* ‘you’; Kambata *aʔn-aʔooti* ‘you’; Tsamay *atun-i* ‘you’. Sasse 1982:29. Proto-Highland East Cushitic (2nd sg. voc. fem.) **tee* ‘you’ > Gedeo / Darasa (f.) *tee* ‘you’; Hadiyya (f.) *ta* ‘you’; Kambata (f.) *te* ‘you’; Sidamo (f.) *tee* ‘you’. Hudson 1989:172. Proto-Southern Cushitic (pl.) **ʔata-* ‘you’, (sg.) **ʔaata-* ‘you’ > Iraqw *aten* ‘you’; Dahalo (pl.) *ʔàtta* ‘you’, (sg.) *ʔááṭa* ‘you’. Ehret 1980:282—283. Ehret (1995:363, no. 727) reconstructs a Proto-Afrasian independent 2nd sg. pronoun **ʔant-/*ʔint-* ‘you’.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Elamite (2nd sg. verb ending) *-t*, (2nd pl. verb ending) *-ht* (*h*+*t*; in Royal Achaemenid Elamite, this becomes *-t* due to loss of *h*), allocutive (that is, person addressed or “second person”) gender suffix *-t*. Dravidian: Parji *-t* appositional marker of 2nd sg. in pronominalized nouns and verb suffix of 2nd sg.

C. Proto-Indo-European (nom. sg.) **tʰwŭ* ‘you’, (acc. sg.) **tʰwĕ/*tʰĕ*, **tʰwēm/*tʰēm*, (gen. sg.) **tʰewe*, **tʰewo*, (enclitic) **tʰ(w)ey/*tʰ(w)oy*: Sanskrit

(nom. sg.) *tvám* ‘you’, (acc. sg.) *tvā́m*, *tvā*, (instr. sg.) *tváyā*, (dat. sg.) *túbhyam*, *te*, (abl. sg.) *tvát*, (gen. sg.) *táva*, *te*, (loc. sg.) *tváyi*; Avestan (nom. sg.) *tūm*, *tū* ‘you’; Greek (Doric) (nom. sg.) τύ ‘you’, (gen. sg.) τέος, (dat. sg.) τοί, τοι, (acc. sg.) τέ; Armenian (nom. sg.) *du* ‘you’; Albanian (nom. sg.) *ti* ‘you’, (dat. sg.) *ty*, *të*, (acc. sg.) *ty*, *të*, (abl. sg.) *teje*; Latin (nom. sg.) *tū* ‘you’, (gen. sg.) *tuī*, (dat. sg.) *tibī*, (acc. sg.) *tē*, (abl. sg.) *tē* (Old Latin *tēd*); Old Irish (nom. sg.) *tú* ‘you’, (gen. sg.) *taí*; Gothic (nom. sg.) *þu* ‘you’, (gen. sg.) *þeina*, (dat. sg.) *þus*, (acc. sg.) *þuk*; Lithuanian (nom. sg.) *tù* ‘you’, (acc. sg.) *tavę̀*, (gen. sg.) *tavę̃s*, (loc. sg.) *tavyjè*, (dat. sg.) *táv*, (instr. sg.) *tavimì*; Old Church Slavic (nom. sg.) *ty* ‘you’, (acc. sg.) *tę*, *tebe*, (gen. sg.) *tebe*, (loc. sg.) *tebě*, (dat. sg.) *tebě*, *ti*, (instr. sg.) *tobojǫ*; Palaic (nom. sg.) *ti-i* ‘you’, (dat.-acc. sg.) *tu-ú*; Hittite (nom. sg.) *zi-ik*, *zi-ga* ‘you’, (acc.-dat. sg.) *tu-uk*, *tu-ga*, (gen. sg.) *tu-(e-)el*, (abl. sg.) *tu-e-da-az*, *tu-e-ta-za*; (encl. poss. nom. sg.) *-ti-iš*, (encl. poss. acc. sg.) *-ti-in*, (encl. poss. neut. sg.) *-te-it*, (encl. poss. gen. sg.) *-ta-aš*, (encl. poss. dat. sg.) *-ti*, (encl. poss. instr. sg.) *-te-it*; (encl oblique sg.) *-ta* (*-du* before *-za*); Luwian (nom. sg.) *ti-i* ‘you’. Note: the Proto-Indo-European reconstructions given above represent later, post-Anatolian forms (Sturtevant 1951:102—103, §169, reconstructs Indo-Hittite [2nd sg. nom.] **tḗ* ‘you’, [2nd sg. oblique] **twḗ*, **tw*). Pokorny 1959:1097—1098 **tŭ̄* ‘you’; Walde 1927—1932.I:745 **tŭ̄* ‘you’; Mann 1984—1987:1370 **tē* ‘thee’, 1371 **tebhe*, **tebhei* ‘to thee’, 1393 **teu̯e*, **teu̯i*, **teu̯* ‘thee, to thee’, 1393—1394 **teu̯os* ‘thy, thine’, 1407 **toi* ‘to thee’, 1449 **tu*, **tū* ‘thou’, 1465 **tu̯e-* ‘thee’; Watkins 1985:72 **tu-* and 2000:93 **tu-* second person sg. pronoun: ‘you, thou’ (lengthened-grade form **tū*, [acc. sg.] **te*, **tege*); Mallory—Adams 1997:455 **túh*$_x$ ‘thou’; Brugmann 1904:410—413 (nom. sg.) **tŭ̄*; Meillet 1964:333—335; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:225 **t[ʰ]u̯e-*/**t[ʰ]u* and 1995.I:194 **tʰwe-*/**tʰu*; Szemerényi 1990:224—234 and 1996:216; Beekes 1995:209; Orël 1998:455—456 and 2003:428 Proto-Germanic **þŭ̄*; Kroonen 2013:541 Proto-Germanic **þīna* ‘your’ and 549 **þū* ‘you’. Proto-Indo-European (2nd pl. verb ending) **-tʰe*: Sanskrit (2nd pl. primary verb ending) *-tha*, (2nd pl. secondary verb ending) *-ta*; Greek -τε; Latin (imptv.) *-te*; Old Irish *-the*, *-de*; Gothic *-þ*; Lithuanian *-te*; Old Church Slavic *-te*. Brugmann 1904:591—592 **-te*; Fortson 2004:84 **-te(-)*; Szemerényi 1996:233—235 (primary) **-te(s)*, (secondary) **-te*; Clackson 2007:124—125 and 127; Meier-Brügger 2003:178 **-te*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:293 **-t[ʰ]e* and 1995.I:264 **-tʰe*.

D. Proto-Uralic (sg.) **te* ‘you’: Finnish *sinä*/*sinu-* ‘you’; Lapp / Saami *don*/*dú-* ‘you’; Mordvin *ton* ‘you’; Cheremis / Mari *təń* ‘you’; Votyak / Udmurt *ton* ‘you’; Zyrian / Komi *te* (acc. *tenõ*) ‘you’; Hungarian *të* ‘you’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *tannaŋ* ‘you’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *tod'i* ‘you’; Selkup Samoyed *taŋ*, *tat* ‘you’; Kamassian *tan* ‘you’. Collinder 1955:57 and 1977:74; Rédei 1986—1988:539 **tə̈*; Décsy 1990:109 **te*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *tət* ‘you’, (Northern / Tundra) *tet* ‘you’.

Nikolaeva 2006:429—430. Proto-Uralic (pl.) **te* ‘you’: Finnish *te* ‘you’; Lapp / Saami *dí* ‘you’; Mordvin (Erza) *tiń*, *tiń* ‘you’; Cheremis / Mari *tä*, *te* ‘you’; Votyak / Udmurt *ti* ‘you’; Zyrian / Komi *ti* ‘you’; Hungarian *ti* ‘you’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *teeŋ* ‘you’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *tod'iˀ* ‘you’; Selkup Samoyed *tee*, *tii* ‘you’; Kamassian *šiˀ* ‘you’. Collinder 1955:62 and 1977:79; Rédei 1986—1988:539—540 **tÿ*; Décsy 1990:109 **te* ‘you’; Janhunen 1977b:156 **te(-)*. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *tit* ‘you’, (Northern / Tundra) *tit* ‘you’. Nikolaeva 2006:431.

E. Proto-Altaic (nom. sg.) **tʰi* ‘thou, you’: Proto-Mongolian (nom. sg.) (**tʰi* > **tʸi* >) *či* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) **ta* ‘you’ > Written Mongolian (nom. sg.) *či* ‘you’ (gen. *činu*), (nom. pl.) *ta*; Dagur (nom. sg.) *šī* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *tā*; Monguor (nom. sg.) *ći* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *ta*; Ordos (nom. sg.) *či* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *ta*; Khalkha (nom. sg.) *či* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *ta*; Buriat (nom. sg.) *ši* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *tā*; Moghol (nom. sg.) *či* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *to*; Kalmyk (nom. sg.) *či* ‘you’, (nom. pl.) *ta*. Poppe 1955:35, 104, 112, 213, and 218; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1424 **tʻi* ‘thou’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: “Mongolian has alone preserved the Nostratic 2nd p[erson personal pronoun] stem **tʻi*; other Altaic languages have retained only the other stem **si* (**si̯a*), with the oblique stem **nV*.”

F. Etruscan: In Etruscan, there is a pronoun *θi* of unknown meaning. However, in view of the fact that the verbal imperative endings for the 2nd person are *-ti*, *-θ*, *-θi* (cf. Bonfante—Bonfante 1983:86), *θi* may be a form of the pronoun of the 2nd person singular.

G. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **tur(i)* ‘you’: Chukchi *turi* ‘you’, *turɣ-in* ‘your’; Kerek (pl.) *təjəkku* ‘you’, (dual) *təəj* ‘you’, *təjəj* ‘your’; Koryak (pl.) *tuju* ‘you’, (dual) *tuji* ‘you’, *tucɣ-in* ‘your’; Alyutor (pl.) *turuwwi* ‘you’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *tuzaˀn* ‘you’, *tizvin* ‘your’. Mudrak 1989b:107 **tur-*, **turx-* ‘you’; Fortescue 2005:291. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **-ð* in **kəð* ‘you’: Chukchi *ɣət* (Southern *ɣəto*) ‘you’; Kerek *hənŋu* ‘you’; Koryak *ɣəcci* ‘you’; Alyutor *ɣətta*, *ɣəttə* (Palana *ɣətte*) ‘you’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *kəz(z)a* (Sedanka *kza*) ‘you’. Fortescue 2005:142—143.

H. Eskimo: West Greenlandic (2nd sg. absolutive possessive suffix) *-(i)t*.

Sumerian *za-e* ‘you’, (2nd sg. possessive suffix) *-zu* ‘your’.

Greenberg 2000:71—74; Dolgopolsky 1984:87—89 Proto-Nostratic **ṭ(ü)* and 2008, no. 2312, **ṭ[ü]* (> **ṭi*) ‘thou’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:285—287, no. 102; Möller 1911:242.

206. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰikʰ-* (~ **tʰekʰ-*):
(vb.) **tʰikʰ-* ‘to form, to fashion, to make, to create’;
(n.) **tʰikʰ-a* ‘tool used to form, fashion, make, or create something: axe, adze, chisel, etc.; the act of forming, fashioning, making, or creating something: action, deed, etc.’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **tik-* ‘small tool or implement: a stick, a pick’: Georgian *tk-* in *na-tk-is-el-a-i* ‘a small stick, a toothpick’; Svan *šdik*, *šṭik* ‘tooth’. Fähnrich 2007:196—197 **tik-*.

B. Proto-Indo-European **t$^{h}$ek$^{h}$(s)-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **t$^{h}$ok$^{h}$(s)-*) ‘to form, to fashion, to make, to create, either by using a sharp tool or by bending, weaving, joining, braiding, or plaiting together’: Sanskrit *tákṣati* ‘to form by cutting, to plane, to chisel, to chop, to fashion, to make, to create’, *tákṣan-* ‘a wood-cutter, carpenter’; Pāḷi *tacchati* ‘to build’, *tacchēti* ‘to do woodwork, to chip’, *tacchanī-* ‘hatchet’, *tacchaka-* ‘carpenter’; Prakrit *takkhaï*, *tacchaï* ‘to cut, to scrape, to peel’; Kalasha *tēčin* ‘a chip’; Avestan *tašaiti* ‘to produce, (carpenter) to make’, *taša-* ‘axe’; Ossetic *taxun* ‘to weave’; Latin *texō* ‘to weave, to build’; Greek τέκτων (< *τέκστων) ‘carpenter’, τέχνη (< *τέκσνᾱ) ‘art, craft’; Armenian *t$^{h}$ek$^{h}$em* ‘to bend, to shape’; Old Irish *tál* (< **tōks-lo-*) ‘axe’; Old Icelandic *þexla* ‘adze’; Old High German *dehsa*, *dehsala* ‘axe, poleaxe’ (New High German *Dechsel*); Lithuanian *tašaũ*, *tašýti* ‘to hew’; Old Church Slavic *tešǫ*, *tesati* ‘to hew’; Russian Church Slavic *tesla* ‘carpenter’s tool, adze’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ták-ki-(e-)eš-zi* ‘to join, to build’. Rix 1998a:562—563 **tek-* ‘to weave, to plait’; Pokorny 1959:1058 **tek-* ‘to weave, to plait’, 1058—1059 **teĥþ-* ‘to plait’; Walde 1927—1932.I:716 **teq-*, I:717 **teĥþ-*; Mann 1984—1987:1374 **teĥslos*, *-ā*, *-is* (**teĥsəl-*) ‘shape; carving; shaper, adze’, 1374 **teĥsmn-*, **teĥsmō(n)*, (**teĥsm-*) ‘shaped object’, 1374 **teĥsō*, *-i̯ō* (**toĥs-*) ‘to shape, to carve, to form, to model, to make’, 1374 **teĥsos*, *-ā* ‘shaped material, carving; carver, shaper, carpenter’, 1374—1375 **teĥstos*, *-ā*, *-om* ‘shaped; shaped object, carving’; **teĥstis* ‘act of shaping’, 1409 **toĥsei̯ō* ‘to work, to shape, to cultivate’, 1409 **toĥsos* ‘gear, tackle, tool, tools, model’, 1409 **toĥsilā* (**toĥslā*, **toĥsul-*) ‘shaping, shape, carving, composition’, 1409 **toĥstos* ‘shaped, carved; carving, shape, model’; Watkins 1985:69 **teks-* and 2000:89—90 **teks-* ‘to weave, to fabricate, especially with an ax’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:705—706 **t[$^{h}$]eĥ[$^{h}$]s-* and 1995.I:611, I:734, I:780 **t$^{h}$eĥ$^{h}$s-* ‘to manufacture, to prepare, to produce; to weave, to braid; to work (something) (primarily wood with a sharp tool or adze); to mold, to model (in clay)’; Mallory—Adams 1997:37—38 (?) **teĥso/eh$_{a}$-*, **teĥsleh$_{a}$-* ‘ax, adze’, **teĥs-* ‘to fabricate’, 139 **teĥs-(t)or/n-* ‘one who fabricates’, 443 **teĥsteh$_{a}$-* ‘plate, bowl’; Burrow 1973:83 **teks-tōn* (> Greek τέκτων); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:468; Boisacq 1950:950—951 **teĥþ-*; Hofmann 1966:357 **teĥþ-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:867—868 and II:889—890; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1100 **tek$^{s}$-* and II:1112; Beekes 2010.II:1460 **te-tḱ-n-* and II:1476 **teḱ-*, **te-tḱ-*; De Vaan 2008:619; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:678—679; Ernout—Meillet 1979:690; Orël 2003:419 Proto-Germanic **þexsanan*, 419 **þexs(a)lōn*; De Vries 1977:609; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:124; Kluge—Seebold 1989:130 **teks-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1065 **teĥ$^{s}$-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:661 **tetḱ-*; Derksen 2008:491

*tetḱ-* and 2015:459 *tetḱ-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:813—814. Note: Two separate Proto-Nostratic roots have fallen together in Proto-Indo-European: (1) *$t^hik^h$- (~ *$t^hek^h$-) ‘to form, to fashion, to make, to create’ and (2) *$t^hak^h$- (~ *$t^hək^h$-) ‘(vb.) to twist, to bend; to fasten, twist, bend, join, or hook together; to be twisted, bent; (n.) hook, peg’.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *teke-* ‘to do, to make’ > Finnish *teke-* ‘to do, to make’, *teko* ‘deed, act’; Lapp / Saami *dâkkâ-/dâgâ-* ‘to do, to make’; Mordvin (Erza) *teje-*, (Moksha) *tijə-* ‘to do, to make’; Hungarian *tëv-* ‘to do, to make’, *tevés* ‘doing, making, action’, *tett* ‘action, act, deed’. Collinder 1955:119, 1960:414 *teke-*, 1965:146, and 1977:132; Joki 1973:327—328; Rédei 1986—1988:519 *teke-* ‘to do, to make’; Sammallahti 1988:550 *teki-* ‘to do’.

Buck 1949:6.33 weave; 9.11 do, make; 9.44 build; 9.75 plait; 9.81 carve; 9.84 chisel. Koskinen 1980:52, no. 178.

207. Proto-Nostratic root *$t^hik'$- (~ *$t^hek'$-):
(vb.) *$t^hik'$- ‘to press or squeeze together’;
(n.) *$t^hik'$-*a* ‘pressure, solidity, hardness, massiveness, firmness’; (adj.) ‘compact, thick, massive, solid, firm’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic *tiik'-* ‘to press’ > Alagwa *tinq-* ‘to squeeze out’. Ehret 1980:325, no. 52.

B. Dravidian: Koṇḍa *tig-* (*-it-*) ‘to press down hard, to lay pressure on’; Pengo *tig-* (*tikt-*) ‘to push’; Manḍa *tig-* ‘to push’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:278, no. 3205.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$t^hek'$-*u-* ‘firm, solid, thick’: Old Irish *tiug* ‘thick’; Welsh *tew* ‘thick, fat’; Old Icelandic *þjokkr*, *þykkr* ‘thick, dense’; Swedish *tjock* ‘thick’; Danish *tyk* ‘thick’; Norwegian *tjukk* ‘thick’; Old English *þicce* ‘solid, thick, dense, viscous’, *þicnes* ‘denseness, viscosity, thickness, solidity, hardness, depth’, *þiccol*, *þiccul* ‘fat, corpulent’; Old Frisian *thikke* ‘thick’; Old Saxon *thikki* ‘thick’; Dutch *dik* ‘thick’; Middle High German *dic* (*dicke*) ‘thick, close together’ (New High German *dick*). Pokorny 1959:1057 *tegu-* ‘fat, thick’; Walde 1927—1932.I:718 *tegu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1397 *tig-* (*tigus*) ‘thick’; Watkins 1985:69 *tegu-* and 2000:89 *tegu-* ‘thick’; Mallory—Adams 1997:574 *tegus* ‘thick, fat’; De Vries 1977:614 *tegu-*; Orël 2003:419 Proto-Germanic *þekwiþō*, 419 *þekwōjanan*, 419 *þekwuz*; Kroonen 2013:537 Proto-Germanic *þeku-* ‘fat’; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:395—396; Onions 1966:916 Common Germanic *þeku-*, *þekwia-*; Klein 1971:761 *tegu-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:131 *tegu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:142 *tegu-*.

D. (?) Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *toγo:-* ‘dense, thick; low (of voice); deep (of sleep)’, *togod'e-* ‘to make thick’, (Northern / Kolyma) *toγore-* ‘to thicken (of reindeer milk)’, *toγuo-* ‘dense, thick; low (of voice); deep (of

sleep)', *toγumu-* 'to grow thick', *toγuruol* 'clot'. Nikolaeva 2006:432—433.

E. Proto-Altaic **t$^{h}$ĭku-* 'to stuff into, to press into': Proto-Tungus **tiki-* 'to fit, to be placed into' > Manchu *čiki-* 'to insert or attach snugly, to fit exactly'; Ulch *tiki-* 'to fit, to be placed into'; Oroch *tiki-* 'to fit, to be placed into'; Nanay / Gold *čịqị-* 'to fit, to be placed into'; Udihe *tiχi-* 'to fit, to be placed into'. Proto-Mongolian **čiki-* 'to stuff into, to press into' > Mongolian *čiki-* 'to jam, to stuff, to press, to push, to shove', *čikiče-* 'to be crowded or cramped, to be confined to a small place, to fit in with difficulty', *čikilče-* 'to crowd, to throng, to push each other, to be cramped', *čikildü-* 'to push each other, to crowd, to be cramped'; Khalkha *čiχe-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Buriat *šeχe-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Kalmyk *čikə-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Ordos *ǯike-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Moghol *čikänä* 'packed full'; Dagur *čike-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Monguor *ćigi-* 'to stuff into, to press into'. Proto-Turkic **tïkï-* 'to stuff into, to press into' > Old Turkic *tïq-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Turkish *tık-* 'to thrust, squeeze, or cram into', *tıka* 'crammed full', *tıkış-* 'to be crammed or squeezed together', *tıkın-* 'to stuff oneself, to eat in haste, to gulp down one's food', *tıkanık* 'stopped up, choked', *tıkız* 'fleshy, hard', *tıknaz* 'plumpish, stout'; Gagauz *tïqa-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Azerbaijani *tïχ-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Turkmenian *dïq-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Uzbek *tiq-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Uighur *tiq-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Karaim *tïq-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Tatar *tïq-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Bashkir *tïq-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Kirghiz *tïq-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Kazakh *tïq-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Noghay *tïq-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Tuva *tïγï-* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Chuvash *čïχ-* 'to stuff into, to press into'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1425—1426 **t'ĭ[k']u* 'to stuff into, to press into'; Poppe 1960:16 and 134; Street 1974:27 **tïkï-* 'to jam in; to overeat'.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.); 10.67 push, shove (vb.); 12.63 thick (in dimension); 12.64 thick (in density). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:290, no. 105.

208. Proto-Nostratic root **t$^{h}$ir-* (~ **t$^{h}$er-*):
(vb.) **t$^{h}$ir-* 'to have enough or more than enough, to have all needs fulfilled, to be satisfied, to have plenty';
(n.) **t$^{h}$ir-a* 'abundance, fullness'; (adj.) 'enough, abundant, full'
Extended form:
(vb.) **t$^{h}$ir-V-p$^{h}$-* 'to have enough, to have all needs fulfilled, to be satisfied, to have plenty';
(n.) **t$^{h}$ir-p$^{h}$-a* 'abundance, excess, surplus, plenty'

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *tari$^{ʕ}$a* 'to be or become full (vessel); to fill (something, especially a vessel)', *tara$^{ʕ}$*, *tari$^{ʕ}$* 'full'.

B. Proto-Uralic **tirä-* ‘to fill, to become full, to become satisfied’: Finnish *tyrtty-* ‘to be surfeited, to be more than satisfied’; Votyak / Udmurt *tyr* ‘full; fullness; abundant, enough, much’, *tyr-* ‘to fill, to become full, to become satisfied, to be surfeited, to be fed up with something’; Zyrian / Komi *tyr* ‘full’, *tyrl-* ‘to become full’; Ostyak / Xanty *tərəm-* ‘to suffice, to come to an end, to become full (of the moon), to become satisfied, to accomplish, to get through with’; Selkup Samoyed *tiir* ‘full, filled’, *tiira-*, *tirra-* ‘to fill’. Collinder 1955:64 and 1977:81; Rédei 1986—1988:524—525 **tire* (**türe*) ‘full’; Décsy 1990:109 **tirä* ‘full’.

C. (?) Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **təʁæt-* ‘to be satisfied’: Kerek *təʁet-ev-* ‘to be sick (of food)’, *təʁat-ɣəjŋən* ‘overabundance, overeating’, *t(ə)ʁet-* ‘to be full, to be sick of eating’; Alyutor *tʁat-* ‘to be full, to be sick of eating’. Fortescue 1995:302.

Buck 1949:13.21 full. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:278, no. 93.

209. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰir-* (~ **tʰer-*):
Extended form:
(vb.) **tʰir-V-pʰ-* ‘to have enough, to have all needs fulfilled, to be satisfied, to have plenty’;
(n.) **tʰir-pʰ-a* ‘abundance, excess, surplus, plenty’
Derivative of:
(vb.) **tʰir-* ‘to have enough or more than enough, to have all needs fulfilled, to be satisfied, to have plenty’;
(n.) **tʰir-a* ‘abundance, fullness’; (adj.) ‘enough, abundant, full’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **tar-ap-* ‘to have all needs fulfilled, to have abundance’ > Arabic *tarifa* ‘to live in abundance, opulence, luxury’, *taraf* ‘opulence, luxury, affluence’; Sabaean *trf* ‘to remain’; Soqoṭri *terof* ‘to be in good health’; Geez / Ethiopic *tarfa* [ተርፈ], *tarafa* [ተረፈ] ‘to be left, to be left over, to be abandoned, to remain, to survive, to be spared, to be in plenty, to abound, to be in excess, to be superfluous, to be excellent, to be distinguished’, *taraf* [ተረፍ], *tarf* [ተርፍ] ‘remainder, remnant, abundance, surplus; abundant, superfluous, uttermost’, *tərāf* [ትራፍ] ‘remainder, residue, overflow, abundance’; Tigrinya *täräfä* ‘to remain, to be profitable’; Tigre *tärfa* ‘to be left over, to remain’; Harari *täräfa* ‘to be in excess’; Amharic *tärräfa* ‘to be left over, to remain, to be in excess, to be superfluous’, *tərf* ‘profit, gain, excess’; Argobba *tärräfa* ‘to be left over, to remain’; Gurage *täräfä* ‘to remain, to be left over, to be saved, to be profitable, to heal, to recover from illness, to be delivered of child’, *tərf* ‘advantage, profit, excess’. Leslau 1979:601 and 1987:579.

B. Proto-Indo-European **tʰerpʰ-/*tʰorpʰ-/*tʰr̥pʰ-*, **tʰrepʰ-/*tʰropʰ-/*tʰr̥pʰ-* ‘to have enough, to be satisfied’: Sanskrit *tŕ̥pyati* ‘to satisfy oneself, to become satiated or satisfied, to be pleased with; to enjoy, to satisfy, to

please'; Greek τέρπω 'to satisfy, to delight, to please, to be delighted, to have enough of'; (?) Gothic *þrafstjan* 'to console, to comfort'; Lithuanian *tarpstù*, *tarp̃ti* 'to thrive, to grow luxuriantly'. Rix 1998a:578 **terp-* 'to be satisfied'; Pokorny 1959:1077—1078 **terp-*, **trep-* 'to satisfy oneself, to enjoy'; Walde 1923—1932.I:736—737 **terp-*'to satisfy oneself, to enjoy'; Mann 1984—1987:1387 **terp-* (**tr̥p-*) 'to rejoice', 1415 **torp-* 'thriving, fit, good', 1446 **tr̥p-* (**tr̥pō*, *-i̯ō*) 'to endure, to experience, to need, to want, to enjoy'; Watkins 1985:70 **terp-* 'to satisfy oneself' and 2000:91 **terp-* 'to take pleasure'; Mallory—Adams 1997:500 **terp-* 'to take (to oneself), to satisfy oneself, to enjoy'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:524; Beekes 2010.II:1470 **terp-*; Boisacq 1950:958—959 **terep-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1107—1108; Frisk 1970—1973.II:881—882; Hofmann 1966:360 **terp-*; Feist 1939:500 Proto-Germanic **þraf-sti-* or **þraf-st-a-* (< **tróp-st(h)o-*); Lehmann 1986:364; Smoczyński 2007.1:660; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1062—1063; Derksen 2015:459 **torp-*.

Buck 1949:11.42 wealth, riches; 11.51 rich; 11.73 profit; 12.18 enough (adj. or adv.); 13.21 full. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:278—279, no. 94; Möller 1911:253.

210. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **t*$^{h}$*or*$^{y}$*-a* 'dust, soil, earth':

A. Proto-Afrasian **t[o]r-* '(vb.) to be or become dusty; (n.) dust, soil, earth': Proto-Semitic **tar-ab-* 'to be or become dusty, to be covered with dust; to cover with dust or earth', **turb-* 'dust; earth, dirt; ground; soil' > Akkadian *turbuʾtu* 'earth, sand'; Arabic *tariba* 'to be or become dusty, to be covered with dust; to cover with dust or earth', *turba* 'dust; earth, dirt; ground; soil', *turāb* 'dust, powdery earth, remains, ashes', *turib* 'dusty, dust-covered'; Ḥarsūsi *terōb* 'to do the ritual ablutions with sand; to wash the hands with sand before milking a camel, to wash with sand'; Mehri *tərūb* 'to make ritual ablutions with sand'. Zammit 2002:106—107. Arabic loans in Geez / Ethiopic *turāb* [ቱራብ] 'remains of burnt incense'; Amharic *turab* 'dust, ashes of burnt incense'. Leslau 1987:579. Egyptian *tȝ* 'earth, land, ground'; Coptic *to* [ⲧⲟ] 'land, earth'. Hannig 1995:912—913; Erman—Grapow 1921:201—202 and 1926—1963.5:212—216; Faulkner 1962:292; Gardiner 1957:599; Vycichl 1983:209—210; Černý 1976:179. Proto-Southern Cushitic **teri-* 'dust' (vocalic assimilation ?) > Iraqw *teri-* 'dust'; Ma'a *itéri* 'dust'. Ehret 1980:170. (?) North Omotic **tor-* 'earth' > Bench / Gimira *tor*$^{1}$ 'down'. West Chadic **turVb-* 'sandy soil' > Hausa *tùr̃baayaa* 'fine, sandy soil' (secondary implosive). Orël—Stolbova 1995: 509, no. 2426, **turVb-* 'earth, sand'; Ehret 1995:144, no. 178, **ter-*/**tor-* 'earth'.

B. (?) Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *torońe-* 'black, dark; gloomy', *toričeń-* 'black', *toroje* 'birthmark, patch of a black skin used for an ornament',

*torote-*, *torete-* ‘to blacken’, *tororej-* ‘to blacken’, *tore* ‘blackness, black spot’. Nikolaeva 2006:436.

C. Proto-Altaic **tʰōrʸe* ‘soil, dust’: Proto-Tungus **turV* ‘earth’ > Evenki (dial.) *tur* ‘earth’; Lamut / Even *tə̄r* ‘earth’; Negidal *tūy* ‘earth’; Nanay / Gold *tur-qa* ‘lump of earth’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.II:217—218. Proto-Mongolian **tor-* ‘soot, lampblack; flying dust’ > Written Mongolian *tortuγ* ‘soot, lampblack’, *tortuγla-* ‘to blacken with smoke, to be covered with soot’, *toru* ‘flying dust; spray (water); black and blue spot’; Khalkha *tortog* ‘soot, lampblack’; Buriat *tortog* ‘soot, lampblack’; Kalmyk *tortəg* ‘soot, lampblack’. Proto-Turkic **torʸ* ‘dust’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *toz* ‘dust’; Karakhanide Turkic *toz* ‘dust’; Turkish *toz* ‘dust, powder’, *toza-* ‘to raise dust’; Gagauz *tōz* ‘dust’; Azerbaijani *toz* ‘dust’; Turkmenian *tōz*, *tozan* ‘dust’, *toza-* ‘to become dusty’; Uzbek *tǫzɔn* ‘dust’; Uighur *toz* ‘dust’; Karaim *toz* ‘dust’; Tatar *tuzan* ‘dust’; Bashkir *tuδan* ‘dust’; Kirghiz *toz* ‘dust’; Kazakh *toz* ‘dust’; Noghay *tozan* ‘dust’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *tozïn* ‘dust’. Tenishev—Dybo 2001—2006.I:99—100 **to:ŕ* > **to:z* ‘dust’; Clauson 1972:570—571. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1465 **tʿōŕe* ‘soil, dust’.

Buck 1949:1.21 earth, land; 1.213 dust.

211. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰow-*:
(vb.) **tʰow-* ‘to snow’;
(n.) **tʰow-a* ‘snow-storm; snow, (hoar)frost’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **tow-* ‘snow’: Georgian *tov-* ‘to snow’, *tov-l-i* ‘snow’; Mingrelian *tu-al-a* ‘to snow’, *ti-r-i* ‘snow’; Laz *o-mt-u* ‘to snow’, *mtu-r-i*, *mtvi-r-i* ‘snow’; Svan *li-šduw-e* ‘to snow’, *šduw-a* ‘snow-fall’. Klimov 1964:175—176 **(s$_1$)to-*, **(s$_1$)towl-* and 1998:73 **to(w)-* ‘to snow’, **tow-l-* ‘snow’; Schmidt 1962:115; Fähnrich 2007:197—198 **tow-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:163—164 **tow-*.

B. Proto-Indo-European **tʰow-gʰ-*/**tʰu-gʰ-* ‘(hoar)frost, snow’: Sanskrit *túhinam* ‘cold, (hoar)frost, snow; dew, mist’; Avestan *taožyō* ‘hoarfrost’. Mann 1984—1987:1417 **tough-* (**toughino-*, **tughino-*) (?) ‘a hard substance, crystal, glass’, 1451—1452 **tughinos*, **tughnos* ‘stiff, tight, compact’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:518; Ulhenbeck 1898—1899.I.114.

C. Proto-Eskimo **tuvaʁ* ‘(lumpy) shore ice’: Central Alaskan Yupik (Nunivak) *tuvaX* ‘(stranded) ice-cake one or more years old’, *tuvə-* ‘to cake up, to become lumpy’, *tuvlak* ‘lump of caked matter (for example, snow)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *tuvak* ‘shore ice, mooring place’; Central Siberian Yupik *tuvaq* ‘large stretch of shore ice’; Sirenik *tuvəX* ‘shore ice’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *tuaq* ‘shore ice’; North Alaskan Inuit *tuvaq** ‘shore ice’; Western Canadian Inuit *tuvaq* ‘thick, old land-locked ice’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *tuvaq* ‘ice of frozen sea or lake’; Greenlandic Inuit *tuaq*

‘lump of old ice frozen ice into new ice’, (East Greenlandic) *tuaq* ‘(sea) ice, landfast ice’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:356—357.

Sumerian $tu_{15}$ ‘wind, breeze’, $tu_{15}$*-a* ‘a strong gale’, $tu_{15}$*/im-hul* ‘a powerful thunder-storm’, $tu_{15}$*-hul* ‘a bad storm’, $tu_{15}$*-mer* ‘north wind; storm wind’.

Buck 1949:1.76 snow (vb.); 15.86 cold.

212. Proto-Nostratic root *$t^huk^h$- (~ *$t^hok^h$-):
(vb.) *$t^huk^h$- ‘to burn, to blaze’;
(n.) *$t^huk^h$-*a* ‘ash(es), soot’

A. Proto-Afrasian **tuk*- ‘(vb.) to burn, to blaze; (n.) ash(es)’: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *takk$^w$asa* [ተከሰ] ‘to ignite, to set on fire, to burn’ (probably from Amharic), *tark$^w$asa* [ተርከሰ] ‘to burn, to set on fire’ (according to Leslau [1987:580], this is from *takk$^w$asa* with augmented *r*); Tigre *täksa* ‘to cauterize’; Tigrinya *täkk$^w$äsä* ‘to burn, to brand cattle’; Amharic *täkk$^w$äsä* ‘to burn, to cauterize, to brand (animals)’, *təkkus* ‘warm (roast), fresh (eggs, meat, news)’, *atäkk$^w$äsä(w)* ‘to have fever, to run a fever’, *təkkusat* ‘fever, temperature (fever)’; Gurage *täkäsä* ‘to light a fire, to set fire, to light, to kindle, to burn (tr.)’, *təkkus* ‘warm, fresh’, *təkkusat* ‘fever’, (reduplicated) *təkäkkäsä* ‘to burn the surface (of wood or grass)’. Leslau 1979:594, 595 and 1987:573. Egyptian *tk* ‘to burn, to kindle’, *tkꜣ* ‘torch, candle, flame; to illumine’, *tkꜣw* ‘rite of torch burning’; Coptic *tōk* [ⲧⲱⲕ], *tōč* [ⲧⲱϭ] ‘to kindle (fire), to bake’, *tik* [ϯⲕ] ‘spark’, *intōk* [ⲓⲛⲧⲱⲕ] ‘oven, furnace’. Faulkner 1962:301—302; Erman—Grapow 1921:207 and 1926—1963.5:331—332, 332—333; Hannig 1995:940; Gardiner 1957:600; Černý 1976:184; Vycichl 1983:212. Chadic: Hausa *tòòkáá* ‘ashes’; Kulere *maḍuk* ‘ashes’; Tangale *dụka* ‘ashes’; Nzangi *tədǵkę* ‘ashes’; Mokulu *ʔoddàgé* ‘ashes’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:2 *t(w)k* and II:4—5. Orël—Stolbova 1995:507, no. 2417, **tukaʔ*- ‘to burn; ash’. Ehret 1995:140, no. 170, reconstructs Proto-Afrasian *$tik^w$-/*$tak^w$- ‘to light’ primarily on the basis of Cushitic evidence. However, according to Leslau (1987:573), the Cushitic forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tukaḷ* ‘dust, particle of dust, pollen; fault, moral defect’; Telugu *dūgaṟa* ‘dust, dirt, soot’; Kolami *tu·k* ‘dust; earth, clay’; Naikṛi *tūk* ‘earth, clay’; Parji *tūk* ‘earth, clay, soil’; Gadba (Ollari) *tūkuṛ* ‘earth, clay’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:287, no. 3283. Semantic development from ‘ash(es), soot’ to ‘dust’. Both form and meaning have been influenced by Sanskrit *dhūli-ḥ* ‘dust, powder, pollen’. Burrow—Emeneau (1984:287, no. 3283) also list a number of direct loans from Sanskrit.

C. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated **tu-tuk*- >) **tutk*- ‘to burn, to scald’: Georgian *tutk*- ‘to burn, to scald, to scald oneself’, *tutk-i* ‘hot ashes’; Mingrelian *tkutk*- ‘to burn, to scald, to scald oneself’. Fähnrich—

Sardshweladse 1995:165 **tutk-*; Klimov 1998:74 **tutk-* ‘to scald, to scald oneself’; Fähnrich 2007:199—200 **tutk-*.

Buck 1949:1.213 dust; 1.82 flame (sb.); 1.84 ashes; 1.85 burn (vb.); 1.86 light (vb.), kindle; 5.24 bake; 5.25 oven.

213. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰul-* (~ **tʰol-*):
(vb.) **tʰul-* ‘to lift, to raise; to pile up, to stack (in a heap)’;
(n.) **tʰul-a* ‘hill, mound; stack, heap’

A. Proto-Afrasian **tul-* ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise; to pile up, to stack (in a heap); (n.) hill, mound; stack, heap’: Proto-Semitic **tal-* (**tal-al-*, **tal-aw/y-*, **tal-aʕ-*) ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise; (n.) hill, mound’ > Hebrew *tālāʾ* [תָּלָא], *tālāh* [תָּלָה] ‘to hang’, *tēl* [תֵּל] ‘mound’, *tālūl* [תָּלוּל] ‘exalted, lofty’; Aramaic *tillā* ‘mound’; Arabic *tall* ‘hill, elevation’, *talaʿa* ‘to rise, to spread’, *talīʿ* ‘long, outstretched, extended; high, tall’; Akkadian *tillu* ‘ruin’, *talālu* ‘to suspend’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *etlél* ‘to go up on to a hill’, *tɛllét* ‘hill’. Geez / Ethiopic *tallāʿ* [ተላዕ], *tallāʾ* [ተላእ] ‘breast’; Akkadian *tulū* ‘breast’. Klein 1987:703; Leslau 1987:574. Egyptian *tn* ‘to raise, to elevate’; Coptic *tal* [ⲧⲁⲗ] ‘hill’ (this may be a Semitic loan). Vycichl 1983:213; Černý 1976:185. Proto-East Cushitic **tuul-* ‘to pile up, to stack’ > Somali *tuul-* ‘to pile up’, *tuulo* ‘hunch’; Burji *tuul-* ‘to pile up, to stack (grain)’, *tuulá* ‘pile, stack (grain)’; Gedeo / Darasa *tuul-* ‘to pile up, to stack (grain)’, *tuula*, *tuulo* ‘pile, stack (grain)’; Sidamo *tuul-* ‘to pile up, to stack’, *tullo* ‘hill’; Bayso *tuul-e-* ‘to pile up’; Galla / Oromo *tuul-* ‘to pile up’, *tulluu* ‘hill, hunch’; Konso *tuul-* ‘to pile up’. Sasse 1982:179—180; Hudson 1989:79, 113, and 396. Omotic: Mocha *tuullo* ‘heap’; Yemsa / Janjero *tuul-* ‘to heap up’. East Chadic **tul-* ‘to hang’ > Ndam *tula* ‘to hang’; Lele *tuul* ‘to hang’. Diakonoff 1992:13 **tVl* (> **tu̯l*, **tlw*) ‘hill, heap’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:508, no. 2420, **tul-* ‘to hang’ and, no. 2429, **tül-* ‘hill, heap’; Ehret 1995:142, no. 172, **tuul-* ‘to rise; to form a heap, mound’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **tʰul-*/**tʰl̥-* (secondary full-grade forms: **tʰel-*/**tʰol-*) ‘to lift, to raise’: Sanskrit *tulā́* ‘balance, scale’, *tulayati* ‘to lift up, to raise, to weigh’; Kashmiri *tulun* ‘to lift’, *tul* ‘weight, balance’; Bengali *tulā* ‘to raise, to weigh’, *tul* ‘scales’; Greek τάλαντον ‘balance, scale’, (?) τύλη ‘any callous lump’, (?) τύλος ‘a knob or knot’; Latin *tollō* ‘to lift up, to raise, to elevate; to take up, to take away, to remove, to bear or carry away’ (Old Latin *tulō* ‘to bear, to carry’); Middle Irish *tlenaim* ‘to take away, to remove, to carry off, to steal’, *tulach* ‘hill’; Tocharian A *täl-* ‘to lift, to raise’, B *täl-* ‘to lift, to raise; to acquire’, *talle* ‘load, burden’. Rix 1998a:565—566 **telh₂-* ‘to lift, to raise, to be picked up’; Pokorny 1959:1060—1061 **tel-*, **telə-*, **tlē(i)-*, **tlā-* ‘to lift up, to weigh, to balance’; Walde 1927—1932.I:738—740 **tel-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:

352 *$telh_2$- ‘to lift, to raise’; Mann 1984—1987:1375 *tel- (*telō, -i̯ō) ‘to stretch, to extend, to expand’, 1401 *tlātos (*tl̥tos, -is) ‘suffered, borne; suffering’, 1401 *tl̥- (*tl̥ō; *təlō, -i̯ō) ‘to lift, to raise, to bear, to suffer’, 1402 *tl̥nō, 1402 *tl̥tos, -is, -i̯os ‘extended, stretched; extent, tract, roadway, passage’, 1454 *tŭl- ‘to lift, to take, to remove’, 1454—1455 *tŭl- (*tŭlos, -ā, -is) ‘lump, mass’; Watkins 1985:69 *telə- and 2000:90 *telə- ‘to lift, to support, to weigh’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:176 *t[ʰ]el-, *t[ʰ]l̥- and 1995.I:152 *tʰel-, *tʰl̥- ‘to bear, to carry’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:516; Frisk 1970—1973.II:848—849; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1088—1090 *$tel_{2}$-; Boisacq 1950:938—939 *telā-; Hofmann 1966:350—351 *tel-; Beekes 2010.II:1445 *$telh_2$- and II:1517; Ernout—Meillet 1979:693 and 694 *telə-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:688—689; De Vaan 2008:621—622 Proto-Italic *tolna/o-. Two separate Proto-Nostratic stems have been confused in Proto-Indo-European: (A) Proto-Nostratic *tʰalʸ- (~ *tʰəlʸ-) (primary meaning) ‘to stretch, to spread, to extend’, then (secondarily) ‘to endure, to suffer, to bear’ and (B) Proto-Nostratic *tʰul- (~ *tʰol-) ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise; to pile up, to stack (in a heap); (n.) hill, mound; stack, heap’.

C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *tulʁæt- ‘to steal’: Chukchi *tulʔet-* ‘to steal’; Kerek *tu(u)lʁaat-* ‘to steal’; Koryak *tulʔat-* ‘to steal’. Fortescue 2005:288. Semantic development as in Middle Irish *tlenaim* ‘to take away, to remove, to carry off, to steal’ cited above.

Buck 1949:10.22 raise, lift; 11.56 steal; 11.57 thief. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 282—283, no. 98; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2268a, *tul̥ʕV ‘tip, sprout, something protruding, summit’.

214. Proto-Nostratic root *tʰum- (~ *tʰom-):
(vb.) *tʰum- ‘to cover over, to hide; to become dark’;
(n.) *tʰum-a ‘darkness’; (adj.) ‘dark’

A. Proto-Afrasian *tums- ‘(vb.) to cover over, to hide; to become dark; (adj.) dark; (n.) darkness’: Egyptian *tms* ‘to hide, to cover over, to bury’; Coptic *tōms* [ⲧⲱⲙⲥ] ‘to bury’. Hannig 1995:933; Vycichl 1983:215; Černý 1976:188. Proto-Highland East Cushitic (*tums- >) *tuns- ‘to become dark’, (*tumso >) *tunso ‘darkness’ > Hadiyya *tuns-* ‘to become dark’, *tunso* ‘darkness’; Kambata *tuns-* ‘to become dark’, *tunsu-ta* ‘darkness’; Sidamo *tuns-* ‘to become dark’, *tunso* ‘darkness’. Hudson 1989:47. Central Cushitic: Xamir *təma* ‘darkness’; Kemant *təm-* ‘to become dark’, *təma* ‘darkness’. Appleyard 2006:52.

B. Proto-Indo-European *tʰum-/*tʰm̥- (secondary full-grade froms: *tʰem-/*tʰom-) ‘dark; darkness’: Sanskrit *támas-* ‘darkness, gloom’, *támisrā* ‘a dark night’; Avestan *təmah-* ‘darkness’; Latin *tenebrae* (< Pre-Latin *temes-rā*) ‘darkness’; Old Irish *temel* ‘darkness’; Old High German

*dinstar* ‘dark’; Old Saxon *thimm* ‘dark’; Low German *dumper* ‘gloomy’; Lithuanian *tamsà* ‘darkness’, *tamsùs* ‘dark’, *témsta*, *témti* ‘to grow dark’; Latvian *tumsa* ‘darkness’; Old Church Slavic *тьма* ‘darkness’. Rix 1998a:567 **temH-* ‘to be dark’; Pokorny 1959:1063—1064 **tem(ə)-*, **temes-* ‘dark’; Walde 1927—1932.I:720—721 **tem(ə)-*; Mann 1984—1987:1377 **tem-* ‘dark’, 1377 **teməsros*, *-ā*, *-om*; **temos*, *-es-* ‘darkness’, 1378 **temos*, *-es-* ‘darkness’; **teminos*, *-ā* ‘darkness; dark’, 1457 **tums-* ‘dark’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:478 and I:479; Watkins 1985:69 **temə-* and 2000:90 **temə-* ‘dark’; Mallory—Adams 1997:147 **tómh$_x$es-* ‘dark’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:683; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:664; De Vaan 2008:612; Orël 2003:420 Proto-Germanic **þemstraz*, 420 **þemzaz*; Kroonen 2013:537 Proto-Germanic **þemestra-* ‘dark, dusky’ (< **temh$_1$-es-ró-*) and 537—538 **þemra-* ‘darkness’ (< **témh$_1$-ro-*); Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1055—1056 and I:1080; Smoczyński 2007.1:669—670.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 4.78 bury (the dead); 12.26 cover (vb.); 12.27 hide, conceal. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:284—285, no. 101; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2376, **ṭum[V]qV* ‘dark’.

215. Proto-Nostratic root **t$^h$up$^h$-*:
(vb.) **t$^h$up$^h$-* ‘to spit’;
(n.) **t$^h$up$^h$-a* ‘spittle, saliva’

A. Proto-Afrasian **tuf-* ‘to spit’: Proto-Semitic **tap-* (**tap-ap-*, **tap-al-*, **tap-aʔ-*, **tap-aʕ-*) ‘to spit’ > Hebrew *tōφeθ* [תֹּפֶת] ‘spitting’; Aramaic *təφaφ*, *təφē* ‘to spit’, *tūφ* ‘spittle’; Arabic *taffa* ‘to spit’; Ḥarsūsi *tefōl* ‘to spit’, *tefēl* ‘spittle, saliva’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *tfɔl* ‘to spit’; Geez / Ethiopic *taf$^ə$a* [**ተፍአ**], *taf$^ʷ$a* [**ተፍዐ**] ‘to spit, to spit out’, *təffā$^ʔ$* [**ትፉእ**] ‘spittle’, *təf$^ə$at* [**ትፍአት**] ‘spittle, saliva’; Tigre *täf$^ə$a* ‘to spit’; Tigrinya *täf$^ə$e*, *tuff bälä* ‘to spit’; Amharic *täffa*, *əttəf balä* ‘to spit’; Gafat *täffa* ‘to spit’; Harari *tuf bāya* ‘to spit’; Argobba *əntəf ala* ‘to spit’; Gurage *täfa* ‘to spit’. Leslau 1963:148, 1979:592, and 1987:570—571. Egyptian *tf* ‘to spit, to spit out’, *tf* ‘spittle, saliva’. Erman—Grapow 1921:205 and 1926—1963.5:297; Hannig 1995:931. Egyptian also has *tp* ‘to spit, to vomit’. Hannig 1995:923. Proto-East Cushitic **tuf-* ‘to spit’ > Saho-Afar *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Somali *tuf* ‘to spit’; Boni *tuf* ‘to spit’; Arbore *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Galla / Oromo *tufe* ‘to spit’; Konso *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Sidamo *tufî* ‘to spit, to vomit’; Burji *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Gedeo / Darasa *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Hadiyya *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Kambata *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Gawwada *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Gollango *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Dullay *tuf-*, *cuf-* ‘to spit’. Sasse 1979:10 and 1982:179; Hudson 1989:140; Heine 1978:74. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *tūf-* ‘to spit’. Reinisch 1895:223. Central Cushitic: Bilin *ṭif-*, *ṭiff y-*/*tif y-* ‘to spit’; Xamir *təf y-* ‘to spit’; Awngi / Awiya *ətəf y-* ‘to spit’. Reinisch 1887:347; Appleyard 2006:128. Proto-Chadic **tuf-* ‘to spit’ > Hausa *tóófàà* ‘to spit’; Fyer *tùf* ‘to spit’; Karekare

*təf-* ‘to spit’; Dafo-Butura *tûf* ‘to spit’; Bole *tuf-* ‘to spit’; Bachama *túfɔ* ‘to spit’; Glavda *taf-* ‘to spit’; Daba *tif* ‘to spit’; Masa *túfnā* ‘to spit’; Kotoko-Logone *tufu* ‘to spit’; Mubi *tuffa*, *tàffá* ‘to spit’. Newman 1977:32, no. 121, **təfə/*tufə* ‘to spit’; Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:302—303. Orël—Stolbova 1995:506, no. 2413, **tuf-* ‘to spit’; Ehret 1995:139, no. 162, **tuf-* ‘to spit’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tuppu* (*tuppi-*) ‘(vb.) to spit; (n.) spittle’, *tuppal* ‘saliva, spittle’; Malayalam *tuppuka* ‘to spit’, *tuppu*, *tuppal* ‘spittle’; Toda *tüf ïn-* (*ïḏ-*) ‘to spit’; Kannaḍa *tū* imitative sound of spitting and puffing away with the breath, *tūntiṟi* ‘to spit’, *tūpu* ‘to spit, to blow, to puff away’; Koḍagu *tupp-* (*tuppi-*) ‘to spit’; Telugu *tupukku*, *tuppu* the sound made in spitting suddenly, *tuppuna* with the sound *tuppu*, *tūpoḍucu* ‘to spit’; Gondi *tuhkul* ‘spit, saliva; expectoration’; Kuṛux *tuppnā* ‘to spit’, *tuppalxō* ‘saliva, spittle’; Malto *tupe* ‘to spit’, *tupgle*, *tulgpe* ‘spittle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:290, no. 3323.

C. Proto-Altaic **tʰŭpʰi-* ‘(vb.) to spit; (n.) spittle, saliva’: Proto-Tungus **tupi-* ‘(vb.) to spit; (n.) spittle, saliva’ > Manchu *čife-le-* ‘to spit’, *čifeŋgu* ‘spit, saliva’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *čivələ-* ‘to spit’; Ulch *tipụ(n)* ‘spittle, saliva’; Orok *tụpịn* ‘spittle, saliva’; Nanay / Gold *topịn-* ‘spittle, saliva’; Oroch *tupin-* ‘spittle, saliva’. Proto-Turkic **tüpkür-* ‘to spit’ > Turkish *tükür-* ‘to spit’, *tükürük*, *tükrük* ‘spittle, saliva’; Azerbaijani *tüpür-* ‘to spit’; Turkmenian *tüykür-* ‘to spit’; Uzbek *tupur-*, *tup-la-* ‘to spit’; Uighur *tükür-*, *tükär-* ‘to spit’; Tatar *töker-* ‘to spit’; Bashkir *tökör-* ‘to spit’; Kirghiz *tükür-* ‘to spit’; Kazakh *tükir-* ‘to spit’; Noghay *tükir-* ‘to spit’; Tuva *dükpür-* ‘to spit’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1477—1478 **tʻŭpʻi* ‘(vb.) to spit; (n.) spittle’.

Buck 1949:4.56 spit (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2399, **ṭ̂ûpV* ‘to spit, to drip’.

216. Proto-Nostratic root **tʰur-* (~ **tʰor-*):
(vb.) **tʰur-* ‘to cram, to push in, to stuff, to thrust in, to press in’;
(n.) **tʰur-a* ‘pressure, force, thrust’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *tuṟu* (*tuṟuv-*, *turr-*) ‘to be thick, crowded, full; to be closed’, *tuṟu* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to cram (as food into the mouth), to stuff, to press or crowd into a bag or a box’, *tuṟumpu* (*tuṟumpi-*), *tuṟumu* (*tuṟumi-*) ‘to be close, crowded’; Malayalam *tuṟuka* ‘to be thronged, stuffed; to cram, to push in’, *tuṟuttuka* ‘to force in, to cram, to stuff’; Kannaḍa *tuṟuku*, *tuṟaku* ‘to force or crowd things into; to cram, to stuff; to cause to enter’; Tuḷu *turkalyuni* ‘to be distended (as an overloaded stomach)’; Telugu *tuṟugu*, *turugu* ‘to insert, to stick in (as flowers), to cram in, to gag by thrusting a cloth in the mouth’, *tuṟumu*, *turumu* ‘to cram or stick, to thrust in, to deck the head with flowers’; Konḍa *tuṟbi-* ‘to insert, to thrust in’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:294—295, no. 3367.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$t^hr$- (*$t^hr$-ew-$d^h$-/*$t^hr$-ow-$d^h$-/*$t^hr$-u-$d^h$-; *$t^hr$-en-$k^h$-, etc.), *$t^h\underline{r}$- ‘to cram, to push in, to stuff, to thrust in, to press in’: Latin *trūdō* ‘to push, to press, to thrust’; Gothic *þreihan* ‘to press upon, to throng, to crowd’, *us-þriutan* ‘to threaten, to trouble’; Old Icelandic *þrúga* ‘to press’, *þryngva* ‘to press, to thrust’, *þröng* ‘throng, crowd’, *þrýsta* ‘to thrust, to press’, *þrøngva* ‘to press on one’, *þraut* ‘hard struggle, great exertion, labor, hard task’; Old English *þringan* ‘to press, to crowd’, *þrang* ‘crowd’, *þrēat* ‘crowd, troop; violence, ill-treatment, punishment, threat’, *þrēotan* ‘to weary’, *þrīetan* ‘to weary, to urge, to force’, *þrūtian* ‘to swell with pride or anger; to threaten’; Old Frisian *thringa* ‘to press’; Old Saxon *thringan* ‘to press’; Dutch *verdrieten* ‘to vex’, *drang* ‘crowd’, *dringen* ‘to push’; Old High German *ar-driozan*, *bi-driozan* ‘to oppress, to trouble’, *dringan* ‘to press, to throng’ (New High German *dringen*); Middle High German *dranc* ‘pressure; crowd’ (New High German *Drang*), *verdriezen* ‘to vex, to annoy, to displease’ (New High German *verdrießen*), *drōz* ‘displeasure, dismay, annoyance’ (New High German *-druß* in *Verdruß*); Old Church Slavic *trudъ* ‘effort’, *truždǫ*, *truditi* ‘to trouble, to toil’; Czech *trk* ‘thrust’; Lithuanian *tręšiu*, *trękšti* ‘to squeeze, to press’; Avestan *θraxta-* ‘crowded together’. Rix 1998a:590 **trank-* ‘to thrust’, 592—593 **treu̯d-* ‘to push, to thrust’; Pokorny 1959:1093 **trenk-* ‘to thrust, to press together’, 1095—1096 **tr-eu-d-* ‘to squash’; Walde 1927—1932.I:755 **treud-*, I:758—759 **trenq-*; Mann 1984—1987:1422 **treik-* ‘to force, to crush’, 1423 **trenkō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to force, to browbeat, to bully’, 1423 **trēkstō*, *-i̯ō* (**trēksk̂ō*, *-i̯ō*) ‘to squeeze, to crush, to press, to oppress’, 1424—1425 **tresk-* ‘to press, to tread, to trample, to urge, to egg on’, 1426 **treudō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to force, to press’, 1428—1429 **trīp-* (**trīpō*, *-i̯ō*; **trīpos*) ‘to tread, to press, to push, to force, to beat’, 1430—1431 **troikō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to oppress, to squeeze, to strain’, 1432—1433 **tropei̯ō* ‘to press, to urge, to force, to constrain’, 1435 **troud-* ‘toil, labor; pressure, force, thrust’, 1436—1437 **trŭd-* (**trŭdō*) ‘to thrust, to force, to compress, to break out’, 1437 **trug-* ‘to press; pressure’, 1439 **truks-* ‘to press, to squeeze’, 1441 **trŭs-* ‘hardship, toil’, 1444 **tr̥k-* ‘to thrust, to poke, to pierce’; Watkins 1985:72 **treud-* and 2000:93 **treud-* ‘to squeeze’; Mallory—Adams 1997:451 **treud-* ‘to thrust, to press’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:704; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:710 **tr-eu-d-*; De Vaan 2008:630 **treud-(e/o-)* ‘to push, to thrust’; Feist 1939:501—502 **treŋkō* and 535—536; Lehmann 1986:365 **trenk-* ‘to push, to press on’ and 383—384 **tr-ew-d-* ‘to thrust, to press’; Orël 2003:424 Proto-Germanic **þranǥwjanan*, 424 **þranǥwō* ~ **þranǥwan*, 426 **þrenǥwanan* ~ **þrenxwanan*, 426 **þreutanan*, 427 **þrūǥanan*; Kroonen 2013:544 Proto-Germanic **þrangwjan-* ‘to press’; De Vries 1977:620, 624, and 625; Onions 1966:919 and 920; Klein 1971:763 **treud-* and 764; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:143 and 812; Kluge—Seebold 1989:153, 155, and 758 **trend-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1116; Smoczyński 2007.1:684.

C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *turie-* ‘to offend, to persecute’. Nikolaeva 2006:439.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.); 10.67 push, shove (vb.); 13.19 multitude, crowd. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:294—295, no. 110.

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| t’- | t’- | t- | t’- | t’- | t- | t- | t- |
| -t’- | -t’- | -t(t)- | -t’- | -t’- | -t- | -t- | -t- |

217. Proto-Nostratic root **t’ab-* (~ **t’əb-*):
(vb.) **t’ab-* ‘to be or become warm; to make warm, to heat up; to cook’;
(n.) **t’ab-a* ‘heat, warmth’; (adj.) ‘hot, warm; cooked, baked’
Note also:
(vb.) **t$^{h}$ep$^{h}$-* ‘to warm, to burn’;
(n.) **t$^{h}$ep$^{h}$-a* ‘heat, warmth’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t’ab-* ‘to be or become warm; to make warm, to heat up’: Proto-Semitic **t’ab-ax-* ‘to cook, to bake’ > Arabic *ṭabaḫa* ‘to cook; to be or get cooked’; Hebrew *ṭabbāḥ* [טַבָּח] ‘a cook’; Syriac *ṭəβaḥ* ‘to be parched, broiled; to roast, to bake, to scorch’; Phoenician *ṭbḥ* ‘to cook’; Ugaritic *ṭbḫ* ‘to cook’; Epigraphic South Arabian *ṭbḥ* ‘meat (that which is cooked)’; Mehri (rare) *ṭáwbəx* ‘to cook’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ṭəbxún* ‘baked’, *ṭēx* ‘to wrap *bēḏəḥ* (edible corms) in cow pats and bake’; Ḥarsūsi *ṭebōx* ‘to cook, to boil’. Klein 1987:239; Murtonen 1989:202—203. In Semitic, this stem has fallen together with **t’ab-ax-* ‘to slay, to kill, to slaughter, to sacrifice’. Proto-Semitic **t’ab-as-* ‘to roast, to fry, to broil’ > Geez / Ethiopic *ṭabasa* [ጠበሰ], *ṭabsa* [ጠብሰ] ‘to roast, to parch, to broil’; Tigrinya *ṭäbäsä* ‘to fry’; Tigre *ṭäbsa* ‘to roast’; Amharic *ṭäbbäsä* ‘to fry, to roast (meat, corn), to toast, to scorch, to broil, to bake (clay), to fire (clay)’; Gurage *ṭäbäsä* ‘to fry, to roast’. Leslau 1979:611 and 1987:586.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **t’eb-*/**t’b-* ‘to warm, to heat; to warm oneself’: Georgian *tb-* ‘to warm, to heat; to warm oneself’ (Old Georgian *t’ep-*/*t’p-* < **t’eb-*/**t’b-*); Svan *li-t’b-ide* ‘to heat somebody or something; to be heated, to heat up’, *t’ebid*, *t’ebedi*, *t’ebdi* ‘warm’; Mingrelian *t’ib-*, *t’ub-*, *t’əb-* ‘to warm, to heat; to warm oneself’; Laz *t’ub-*, *t’ib-* ‘to warm, to heat; to warm oneself’. According to Klimov (1998:192), the Svan forms may have been borrowed from Ossetic. Schmidt 1962:112—113 **ṭep-*; Klimov 1964:179 (**ṭab-*)/**ṭb-* and 1998:186 **ṭep-*/**ṭp-* (Klimov suggests that the Kartvelian forms may have been borrowed from Indo-European); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:879 **t’ep-*/**t’p-* and 1995.I:226 **t’ep-*/**t’p-* ‘to get warm’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:326—327 **ṭep-*/**ṭp-*; Fähnrich 2007:396—397 **ṭep-*/**ṭp-*. Proto-Kartvelian **t’b-il-* ‘warm’: Georgian *tbil-* (Old Georgian *t’pil-* < **t’epil-* < **t’ebil-*) ‘warm’; Mingrelian *t’ibu-*, *t’əbu-* ‘warm’; Laz *t’ibu-*, *t’ubu-* ‘warm’. Klimov 1964:180 **ṭbid-* and 1998:192 **ṭp-il-*. Comparison with Afrasian supports

the older Proto-Kartvelian reconstruction **t'eb-/*t'b-* 'to warm, to heat; to warm oneself' (as in Klimov 1964:179) as opposed to **t'ep-/*t'p-*.

(?) Sumerian *tab* 'to burn, to blaze; fever'.

Buck 1949:5.21 cook (vb.); 5.22 boil; 5.23 roast, fry; 5.24 bake; 15.85 hot, warm. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:314—315, no. 134. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2398, **ṭæ[p]V* 'to warm, to be warm'.

218. Proto-Nostratic root **t'ad-* (**t'əd-*):
(vb.) **t'ad-* 'to hinder, to stop, to obstruct';
(n.) **t'ad-a* 'hindrance, obstacle, impediment, obstruction'

A. (?) Afrasian: Egyptian *ḏḏḥ* 'to shut up, to lock up, to imprison', *ḏḏḥw* 'prison, jail'. Hannig 1995:1019; Faulkner 1962:326; Erman—Grapow 1921:223 and 1926—1963.5:635; Gardiner 1957:604.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *taṭu* '(vb.) to hinder, to stop, to obstruct, to forbid, to prohibit, to resist, to dam, to block up, to partition off, to curb, to check, to restrain, to control, to ward off, to avert; (n.) hindering, checking, resisting', *taṭuppu* 'hindering, obstructing, resisting, restraint', *taṭakku* (*taṭakki-*) '(vb.) to be obstructed, impeded, detained; to obstruct, to hinder, to detain; (n.) obstacle, hindrance, impediment, obstruction', *taṭaṅku* (*taṭaṅki-*) 'to be obstructed', *taṭavu* 'prison', *taṭukkal* 'stumbling block, impediment', *taṭukku* (*taṭukki-*) '(vb.) to obstruct, to impede; (n.) impediment', *taṭai* '(vb.) to hinder, to stop; (n.) resisting, obstructing, hindrance, obstacle, impediment, objection, coat of mail, guard, watch, door, gate, bund, embankment', *taṭṭu* (*taṭṭi-*) '(vb.) to obstruct, to hinder, to ward off, to oppose, to frustrate; (n.) warding off, averting, impediment, frustration'; Malayalam *taṭa* 'resistance, warding off (as with a shield); what impedes, resists, stays, or stops; prop', *taṭa-kūṭuka* 'to hinder', *taṭaṅṅal* 'hindrance, stoppage', *taṭaccal* 'impeding, stop, stumbling', *taṭayuka* 'to be obstructed, to stop between, to stop', *taṭavu* 'what resists, wards off; a prison', *taṭassu* 'obstruction, hindrance', *taṭukkuka* 'to stop, to hinder', *taṭekka* 'to stop', *taṭṭuka* 'to ward off, to beat off, to oppose'; Kota *taṛv-* (*taṛt-*) 'to obstruct, to stop', *taṛ*, *taṛv* 'obstruction'; Toda *taṛf-* (*taṛt-*) 'to delay, to prevent, to screen', *taṛ* 'prevention, screen', *taḍgïl* 'hindrance, obstruction, delay'; Kannaḍa *taḍa* 'impeding, check, impediment, obstacle, delay', *taḍata* 'act of restraining, state of being stopped (as water), wearing well (cloth)', *taḍapa* 'delay, slowness', *taḍapu* 'hindrance, impediment', *taḍavu* '(vb.) to stop; (n.) delay', *taḍasu* 'to stay, to wait; to stop, to hinder, to impede, to cause to halt or stop', *taḍahu* 'stop, cessation', *taḍissu* 'to stop, to detain, to hinder, to keep off', *taḍe* '(vb.) to delay, to wait, to stop, to detain, to restrain, to check, to keep down, to endure, to bear patiently, to last, to wear well (cloth, etc.); (n.) check, impediment, obstacle,

restraint’; Koḍagu *taḍe-* (*taḍev-*, *taḍand-*) ‘to be obstructed (by person or thing)’, *taḍï-* (*taḍïp-*, *taḍït-*) ‘to stop, to obstruct, to endure’, *taḍu* ‘lateness, delay’; Tuḷu *taḍavu* ‘delay, hindrance, impediment’, *taḍè* ‘hindrance, obstacle, a charm for serpents’, *taḍepāvuni* ‘to hinder, to impede, to obstruct’, *taḍepini*, *taḍepuni* ‘to hold off, to hinder, to keep back, to prevent, to stop, to oppose’, *taḍeppu* ‘stoppage, resistance, anything put up to stop a passage’, *taḍeyuni*, *taḍevuni* ‘to halt, to stop, to tarry, to bear, to endure’, *taḍevu* ‘a halt, stopping, tarrying, impediment, hindrance’, *taḍevoṇuni* ‘to bear, to suffer, to be patient’, *daḍè* ‘an obstacle, hindrance’, *taṭṭaṅkų* ‘an obstacle, hindrance’; Telugu *taḍayu* ‘to delay’, *taḍa* ‘hindrance, prevention’, *taḍavu* ‘delay, loss of time’, *taṭāyincu* ‘to hinder, to prevent’; Gondi *taṭṭi* ‘bund, dam’; Kuṛux *ṭaṇḍnā* ‘to prevent, to hinder, to impede’; Brahui *taḍ* ‘power to resist’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:262—263, no. 3031.

C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *tatti:* ‘dam used with a fish trap’. Nikolaeva 2006:427.

D. Proto-Altaic **tāde-* ‘(vb.) to obstruct; (n.) trap’: Proto-Tungus **dad-* ‘ferret trap’ > Manchu *dadari* ‘a trap for weasels and marmots’. Proto-Mongolian **čidör* ‘hobbles, shackles’ > Mongolian *čidür* ‘hobbles for horses, shackles for the feet’, *čidürle-* ‘to hobble a horse, to shackle the feet, to handicap or hinder’; Khalkha *čödör* ‘hobbles, shackles’; Buriat *šüder* ‘hobbles, shackles’; Kalmyk *čödr* ‘hobbles, shackles’; Ordos *čödör* ‘hobbles, shackles’; Dagur *šider* ‘hobbles, shackles’; Monguor *ćudor* ‘hobbles, shackles’. Proto-Turkic **dīd-* ‘to hinder, to obstruct’ > Old Turkic *tïd-* ‘to hinder, to obstruct’; Karakhanide Turkic *tïð-* ‘to hinder, to obstruct’; Turkmenian *dïy-*, *dī-γï* ‘to stop’; Uzbek *tiy-* ‘to hinder, to obstruct’; Karaim *tïy-* ‘to hinder, to obstruct’; Tatar *tïy-* ‘to hinder, to obstruct’; Bashkir *tïy-* ‘to hinder, to obstruct’; Kirghiz *tïy-* ‘to hinder, to obstruct’; Kazakh *tïy-* ‘to hinder, to obstruct’; Noghay *tïy-* ‘to hinder, to obstruct’; Chuvash *čar-* ‘to hinder, to obstruct’; Yakut *tīt-* ‘to touch’; Dolgan *tīt-* ‘to touch’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1346—1347 **tāde* ‘to obstruct; trap’.

Buck 1949:19.59 hinder, prevent.

219. Proto-Nostratic root **t’aħ-* (~ **t’əħ-*):
(vb.) **t’aħ-* ‘to break, to split; to crush, to grind, to pound’;
(n.) **t’aħ-a* ‘break, split, division; anything ground or pulverized’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t’aħ-* ‘to break, to split; to crush, to grind, to pound’: Proto-Semitic **t’aħ-an-* ‘to grind, to mill, to crush’ > Hebrew *ṭāḥan* [טָחַן] ‘to grind, to mill, to crush’; Aramaic *ṭəḥan* ‘to mill, to grind’; Ugaritic *ṭḥn* ‘to grind’; Akkadian *ṭēnu* ‘to grind, to mill’; Arabic *ṭaḥana* ‘to grind, to mill, to pulverize (something, especially grain); to crush, to ruin, to

destroy’, *ṭiḥn* ‘flour, meal’; Sabaean *ṭḥn* ‘flour, meal’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ṭaḥán* ‘to grind, to mill’; Ḥarsūsi *ṭeḥān* ‘to grind, to mill’; Soqoṭri *ṭáḥan* ‘to grind, to mill’; Mehri *ṭəḥān* ‘to grind, to mill’, *məṭḥənēt* ‘grindstone, quern’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṭaḥana* [ጠሐነ], *ṭəḥna* [ጥሕነ] ‘to grind flour, to grind fine’, *ṭāḥn* [ጣሕን] ‘grindstone, fine flour’; Tigrinya *ṭäḥanä* ‘to grind’; Tigre *ṭäḥana* ‘to grind’, *mäṭḥän* ‘mill, lower millstone’; Harari *ṭäḥana* ‘to to be finely ground (flour), to be clever’. Klein 1987:242; Leslau 1987:590; Murtonen 1989:205. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **t’aħ-t’aħ-* ‘to break, to shatter, to smash’ > Arabic *ṭaḥṭaḥa* ‘to break, to shatter, to smash (something)’. Proto-Semitic **t’aħ-am-* ‘to split’ > Geez / Ethiopic *ṭaḥama* [ጠሐመ] ‘to split in half, to thin out plants’. Leslau 1987:590. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ḍaħ-* ‘to knock’ > Iraqw *daḥ-* ‘to knock over, to knock down’; Alagwa *daḥit-* ‘to faint’; Dahalo *ɗaḥ-* ‘to pound’, *ɗaḥaniṯe* ‘pestle’. Ehret 1980:189. West Chadic **t’aHan-* ‘to press down, to forge’ > Angas *ten* ‘to press down’; Tangale *toni* ‘to forge’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:515, no. 2455, **ṭaḥan-* ‘to grind, to forge’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **t’ex-* ‘to break’: Georgian *t’ex-* ‘to break’, *t’exa-* ‘breaking’, *t’exil-* ‘broken’; Mingrelian *t’ax-* ‘to break’, *t’axa-* ‘breaking, ache’, *t’axil-* ‘broken’; Laz *t’ax* ‘to break’, *t’axa-* ‘breaking’, *mo-t’axer-* ‘broken’; Svan *la-t’x-i* ‘chisel’. Schmidt 1962:134; Klimov 1964:180—181 **ṭex-* and 1998:187 **ṭex-* : **ṭx-* ‘to break’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:327—328 **ṭex-*; Fähnrich 2007:397—398 **ṭex-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **t’eh̯h-* [**t’aḫh-*] > **t’ā-* ‘to cleave, to split, to divide’; (extended form) **t’eh̯h-y/i-* [**t’aḫh-y/i-*]: Sanskrit *dā́ti*, *dyáti* ‘to cut, to divide, to reap, to mow’, *dáyati* ‘to divide, to destroy, to divide asunder’; Greek δαΐζω ‘to cleave asunder, to cleave, to slay, to smite, to rend, to tear, to divide’; Old Icelandic *tíð* ‘time’, *tími* ‘time, proper time; good luck, prosperity’; Faroese *tíð* ‘time’, *tími* ‘hour’; Norwegian *tid* ‘time’, *time* ‘time, proper time’; Swedish *tid* ‘time, season’, *timme* ‘hour’; Danish *tid* ‘time’, *time* ‘time, proper time’; Old English *tīd* ‘time, date, period’, *tīma* ‘time, date’; Old Saxon *tīd* ‘time’; Dutch *tijd* ‘time’; Old High German *zīt* ‘time’ (New High German *Zeit*). Rix 1998a:87 **deh₂-* ‘to divide’; Pokorny 1959:174—179 **dā-* : **də-*; **dāi-*, **dəi-*, **dĭ-* ‘to divide’; Walde 1927—1932.I:763—767 **dā(i)-*, **dĭ-*, **də-*; Mann 1984—1987:131 **daḭō* (**dəḭō*) ‘to divide’; Mallory—Adams 1997:160—161 **deh$_a$(i)-* ‘to cut up, to divide’; Watkins 1985:10 **dā-* ‘to divide’ (contracted from **daə̯-*; variant form **dai-* from extended root **daə̯i-*) and 2000:14 **dā-* ‘to divide’ (oldest form **deə̯$_2$-*, colored to **daə̯$_2$-*, contracted to **dā-*; variant form **dai-*, contracted from **deə̯$_2$i-*, colored to **daə̯$_2$i-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:10—21 and II:31; Boisacq 1950:162 **dā(i)-*, **də(i)-*, **dī-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:340; Beekes 2010.I:297 and I:297—298 **deh₂-*, **deh₂-i-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:247—248; Hofmann 1966:50 **dā(i)-*, **dĭ-*, **də-*; Orël 2003:407 Proto-Germanic **tīðiz*, 408 **tīmōn*; Kroonen 2013:516 Proto-Germanic **tīdi-* ‘time’ and 517 **tīman-* ‘time’; De Vries

1977:587 and 588—589; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:360 and II:364; Onions 1966:923 **dī-*, **dāi-* and 924; Klein 1971:765—766 and 767; Skeat 1898:642 and 644; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:878 **dī-* : **dā(i)-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:808 **dāi-*.

Buck 1949:9.26 break (vb. tr.); 12.23 separate (vb.); 12.232 divide. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:312, no. 130.

220. Proto-Nostratic root **t’ak$^{h}$-* (~ **t’ək$^{h}$-*):
(vb.) **t’ak$^{h}$-* ‘to be fit, appropriate, suitable, proper’;
(n.) **t’ak$^{h}$-a* ‘fitness, appropriateness, suitability, propriety’; (adj.) ‘fit, appropriate, suitable, proper’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *taku* (*takuv-*, *takk-*/*takunt-*) ‘to be fit, appropriate, suitable, proper, worthy, adequate, proportionate, excellent; to begin; to get ready; to be obtained; to be deserved; to resemble’; Kannaḍa *tagu* (*takk-*) ‘to be fit or proper, to suit’; Tuḷu *takka* ‘fit, suitable, proper, deserving, worthy’; Malayalam *taku* ‘to be fit, to suit’; Telugu *tagu* ‘to be proper, becoming, fit, suitable, decent, worthy, competent’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:260, no. 3005.

B. Proto-Indo-European **t’ek$^{h}$(s)-*/**t’ok$^{h}$(s)-* ‘to do what is fit, appropriate, suitable, proper’: Sanskrit *daśasyáti* ‘to serve, to oblige, to honor, to worship,’ *dasā́* ‘condition, circumstance, fate’, *dákṣati* ‘to act to the satisfaction of; to be able or strong’, *dákṣa-ḥ* ‘able, fit, adroit, clever, dexterous, industrious, intelligent’; Latin *decus* ‘distinction, honor, glory, grace’, *decet* ‘it is fitting, proper, seemly’; Old Irish *dech*, *deg* ‘best’; Greek δεκτός ‘acceptable’; Old High German *gi-zehōn* ‘to arrange’. Rix 1998a:93—95 **deĥ-* ‘to take, to take up’; Pokorny 1959:189—191 **deĥ-* ‘to take’; Walde 1927—1932.I:782—785 **deĥ-*; Mann 1984—1987:136—137 **deĥər-* (**deĥos*) ‘accepted, decency, acceptable’, 137 **deĥō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to find, to get, to deem, to judge’, 137—138 **deĥos* ‘fit, fitting, fitness’, 138 **deĥsos*, *-i̯os* ‘fit, fitting, right, proper’; Watkins 1985:10—11 **dek-* and 2000:15 **dek-* ‘to take, to accept’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:110 **t’eĥ[$^{h}$]-*/**t’eĥ[$^{h}$]-s-* and 1995.I:95 **t’eĥ$^{h}$-*/**t’eĥ$^{h}$-s-* ‘to serve, to worship’; Mallory—Adams 1997:271 **deĥes-* ‘to honor’; Beekes 2010.I:320—321 **deḱ-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:267—269; Frisk 1970—1973.I:373—374 **deĥ-*, **doĥ-*; Hofmann 1966:54 **deĥ-*; Boisacq 1950:172—173; De Vaan 2008:164; Ernout—Meillet 1979:166—167; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:330—331 **deĥ-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:10 and II:27.

Buck 1949:9.943 fitting, suitable; 16.73 right (adj., in a moral sense, vs. wrong). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:312—313, no. 131; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2255, **tAḴæ* ‘to suit, to be appropriate, to fit’.

221. Proto-Nostratic root **t'al-* (~ **t'əl-*):
(vb.) **t'al-* 'to lick';
(n.) **t'al-a* 'licking'

A. Proto-Kartvelian **t'lek'-/*t'lik'-* 'to lick, to lick oneself': Georgian *t'lek'-/t'lik'-* 'to lick, to lick oneself'; Mingrelian *t'irk'-* (< **t'rik'-* < **t'lik'-*) 'to lick, to lick oneself'. Klimov 1998:190 **ṭleḳ-* : **ṭrḳ-* 'to lick, to lick oneself'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:333 **ṭleḳ-/*ṭliḳ-*; Fähnrich 2007: 406 **ṭleḳ-/*ṭliḳ-*.
B. Proto-Altaic **tālV-* 'to lick': Proto-Tungus **dala-* 'to lap, to swill; to feed (animals)' > Evenki *dala-* 'to lap, to swill'; Lamut / Even *dal-* 'to lap, to swill'; Negidal *dala-* 'to lap, to swill'; Ulch *dala-n-* 'to feed (animals)'; Nanay / Gold *dalo-* 'to feed (animals)'; Oroch *dalau-* 'to feed animals'; Udihe *dala-* 'to lap, to swill'. Proto-Mongolian **dol[u]ɣa-* 'to lick' > Mongolian *doliya-*, *doluɣa-* 'to lick'; Khalkha *dolō-* 'to lick'; Buriat *doĺō-* 'to lick'; Kalmyk *dolā-* 'to lick'; Ordos *dolō-* 'to lick'; Moghol *dōl-* 'to lick'; Dagur *dolō-* 'to lick'; Monguor *dōli-* 'to lick'. Proto-Turkic **dāla-* 'to bite' > Turkish *dala-* 'to bite'; Azerbaijani *dala-* 'to bite'; Turkmenian *dāla-* 'to bite'; Tatar *tala-* 'to bite'; Chuvash *tula-* 'to bite'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1352 **tālV* 'to lick'.

Buck 1949:4.59 lick (vb.).

222. Proto-Nostratic root **t'al-* (~ **t'əl-*):
(vb.) **t'al-* 'to plunge, sink, dive, dip, or fall into; to immerse';
(n.) **t'al-a* 'immersion; depth'

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *ṭalaḳa* [ጠለቀ] 'to be deep, to be soaked, to be drenched'; Amharic *ṭälläḳä* 'to dip, to sink (sun), to be deep', *äṭälläḳä* 'to drench'; Tigrinya *ṭäläḳ̄ä* 'to immerse', *ṭəlḳi* 'depth', *ṭälḳäyä* 'to be drenched'; Harari *ṭäläḳa* 'to dip, to plunge (tr.)'; Gurage *ṭäläḳä* 'to dip into a dish, to sink, to drown, to set (sun)'. Leslau 1963:154, 1979:618, and 1987:592.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **t'el-* 'to fall into the mud': Georgian *t'l-ek'v-a* 'to fall into the mud'; Mingrelian *t'al-ik'-u-a* 'to be covered with mud'. Fähnrich 2007:394 **ṭel-*.
C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (reduplicated) **tæltæl* 'merganser' [a diving bird]: Alyutor *taltal*, (Palana) *teltel* 'merganser'; Kamchadal / Itelmen (Eastern) *tiltil* 'merganser', (Southern) *tidel* 'greater merganser' [note also (Eastern) *tilkozik* 'to take a bath', *tiltezik* 'bath']. Fortescue 2005:280.

Buck 1949:1.214 mud; 9.36 wash; 10.33 sink (vb.).

223. Proto-Nostratic root **t'al-* (~ **t'əl-*):

(vb.) **t’al-* ‘to stretch out, to extend’;
(n.) **t’al-a* ‘length; height’; (adj.) ‘long, tall; high’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **t’a/wa/l-* ‘to stretch out, to extend’ > Hebrew *ṭūl* [טוּל] ‘to hurl, to cast’; Arabic *ṭāla* ‘to be or become long; to last long; to lengthen, to grow longer, to extend, to be protracted, to become drawn out; to surpass, to excel’, *ṭūl* ‘length; size, height, tallness’; Sabaean *ṭwl* ‘to extend, to lengthen’; Ḥarsūsi *aṭwáyl* ‘to lengthen, to prolong’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ṭol* ‘length’; Mehri *aṭwīl* ‘to prolong someone’s life’, *ṭōl* ‘length’, *ṭəwáyl* ‘long’. Klein 1987:241; Murtonen 1989:294; Militarëv 2008a:206 and 2011:85; Zammit 2002:274. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **t’al-t’al-* ‘to throw’ > Hebrew *ṭilṭēl* [טִלְטֵל] ‘to throw, to fling, to hurl’, *ṭalṭēlāh* [טַלְטֵלָה] ‘throwing (to) a great distance’; Arabic *ṭalṭala* ‘to move’. Proto-Semitic **na-t’al-* ‘to lift’ > Hebrew *nāṭal* [נָטַל] ‘to lift, to bear’; Biblical Aramaic *nəṭal* ‘to take, to lift up, to raise, to carry (away)’. Murtonen 1989:280; Klein 1987:413.

B. Proto-Indo-European (**t’el-/*t’ol-/*t’l̥-* ‘to stretch, to extend, to lengthen’:) (extended forms) **t’l̥-E-g$^{h}$o-* ‘long’, **t’l-e-Eg$^{h}$-* > **t’lēg$^{h}$-* ‘(vb.) to stretch, to extend, to lengthen; (n.) length’: Sanskrit *dīrghá-ḥ* ‘long, tall, deep’ (comp. *drā́ghīyān* ‘longer’), *drāghmán-*, *drāghimán-* ‘length’, *drā́ghate* ‘to lengthen, to stretch’ (causative *drāghayati* ‘to lengthen, to extend, to stretch’); Greek δολιχός ‘long’, ἐνδελεχής ‘continuous, perpetual’; Gothic *tulgus* ‘firm, steady’; Old English (adv. comp.) *tulge*, *tylg*, (superl.) *tylgest* ‘strongly, firmly, well’; Old Saxon (adv.) *tulgo* ‘very’; Old Church Slavic *dlъgъ* ‘long’, *dlъžǫ*, *dlъžiti* ‘to extend’; Hittite (nom. pl.) *da-lu-ga-e-eš* ‘long’, *da-lu-ga-aš-ti* ‘length’, (3rd sg. pres.) *ta-lu-kiš-zi*, *ta-lu-ki-iš-zi* ‘to become long’. Walde 1927—1932.I:812—813 **del-*; **delēgh-*; **d$_{e}$ləghó-* (**dl̥̄ghó-*); **(d)longho-s*; Pokorny 1959:196—198 **del-*; **delēgh-*; **dl̥̄ghó-*; **(d)longho-s* ‘long’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:230 **t’el-*, **t’l̥-H-g[$^{h}$]-* and 1995.I:177, I:180, I:199 **t’el-* ‘long’, **t’elHg$^{h}$-*, **t’l̥-H-g$^{h}$-*; Mann 1984—1987:150 **dl̥ghis*, *-i̯ə* ‘length, distance’, 151 **dl̥̄ghos* (**dələghos* with variants) ‘long, lasting, durable’, 153 **dolĭgh-*; Watkins 1985:11 **del-* and 2000:15 **del-* ‘long’; Mallory—Adams 1997:357 **dl̥h$_{1}$ghós* ‘long’, **dlonghos* ‘long’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:47; Boisacq 1950:194—195 **delā$^{x}$gh-*; Beekes 2010.I:345—346 **d(o)lh$_{1}$g$^{h}$ó-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:291—292; Frisk 1970—1973.I:406—407; Hofmann 1966:62 **delēgh-*; Orël 2003:411 Proto-Germanic **tulɣuz*; Kroonen 2013:525 Proto-Germanic **tulgu-* ‘firm’; Lehmann 2008:349 **dl̥gh-*, **delēgh-*; Feist 1939:482—483 **dl̥ghu-*, **delēgh-*; Derksen 2008:133 **dlh$_{1}$g$^{h}$-ó-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:819—821 **dólug$^{h}$-i-*.

Sumerian *dalla* ‘to widen, to stretch, to extend, to enlarge’.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 10.25 throw (vb.); 12.57 long. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2268, **tæL$\underline{\text{Ł}}$E(-ga)* ‘to be long’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:306—307, no. 123.

224. Proto-Nostratic root **t’alʸ-* (~ **t’əlʸ-*):
(vb.) **t’alʸ-* ‘to drip, to fall in drops, to sprinkle, to wet, to moisten’;
(n.) **t’alʸ-a* ‘dew, (rain) drop, drizzle’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t’al-* (vb.) ‘to drip, to fall in drops, to sprinkle, to wet, to moisten’, (n.) **t’al-* ‘dew, drop’: Proto-Semitic **t’al-al-* (vb.) ‘to bedew, to wet, to moisten’, (n.) **t’all-* ‘dew, drop’ > Hebrew *ṭal* [טַל] ‘dew’; Ugaritic *ṭl* ‘dew’; Arabic *ṭalla* ‘to bedew’, *ṭall* ‘dew’; Ḥarsūsi *ṭel* ‘dew’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ṭɛl* ‘dew’; Mehri *ṭal* ‘dew’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṭall* [ጠል] ‘dew, moisture, humidity’, *ṭalla* [ጠለ], *ṭalala* [ጠለለ] ‘to be moist, wet, humid; to be covered with dew; to be soft, fertile, verdant, fat’; Tigrinya *ṭälälä* ‘to be fresh, verdant’, *ṭälli* ‘dew’; Tigre *ṭälla* ‘to be wet’, *ṭälṭäl* ‘moisture’, *ṭäll* ‘dew’; Amharic *ṭäll* ‘dew’. Klein 1987:244 and 245; Leslau 1987:591; Murtonen 1989:206; Zammit 2002:271—272. Geez / Ethiopic *ṭalaya* [ጠለየ] ‘to be soft, tender, humid, fresh’. Leslau 1987:592. Central Chadic **t’Vl-* ‘drop’ > Buduma *tolo* ‘drop’. West Chadic **t’al-* ‘to flow’ > Bokkos *tal-* ‘to flow’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:515, no. 2459, **ṭal-* ‘dew, drop’ and 516, no. 2460, **ṭal-*/**ṭul-* ‘to flow, to pour’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *teḷi* ‘(vb.) to strew, to scatter, to sprinkle, to sow (as seed), to cast up in sifting; (n.) sowing (as of seeds in a field)’, *teḷippu* ‘winnowing, sprinkling, scattering, sowing’, *teḷḷu* (*teḷḷi-*) ‘to winnow, to waft (as the sea), to cast upon the floor’, *taḷi* ‘(vb.) to drip (as rain); to sprinkle (tr.); (n.) drop of water, raindrop, first shower of rain’; Malayalam *teḷḷuka* ‘to sift or winnow by casting up gently in a fan’, *teḷḷi* ‘sifted powder’, *teḷḷal* ‘winnowing’, *taḷi* ‘sprinkling water’, *taḷikka* ‘to sprinkle’; Kota *teḷ* (*teyḷ-*) ‘to winnow (flour) gently’, *teyḷ-*/*teḷc-* (*teḷc-*) ‘to sprinkle (tr.)’; Kannaḍa *taḷi* ‘(vb.) to spread by scattering, to strew, to sprinkle; to be scattered about; (n.) scattering, sprinkling’, *taḷisu* ‘to sprinkle, to cause to sprinkle’, *teṇṭu* ‘to winnow corn’; Koḍagu *taḷi-* (*taḷip-*, *taḷic-*) ‘to sprinkle (liquid)’; Tuḷu *talipu* ‘sprinkling’, *talipuni*, *taḷipu* ‘to sprinkle’, *telluni* ‘to winnow, to sift’; Koraga *talpi* ‘to sprinkle’; Gondi *tehc-*, *tahcānā*, *tahcītānā* ‘to winnow’; Kuṛux *telnā* ‘to winnow flour so as to separate it from stones or unground grain’; Malto *téle* ‘to sift’. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:301, no. 3435. Note: Two separate stems may be involved here.

C. Proto-Indo-European **t’el-*/**t’ol-* ‘to drip, to fall in drops, to sprinkle, to wet, to moisten’: Middle Irish *delt* ‘dew’; Armenian *teł* ‘heavy rain’; Swedish *talg* ‘tallow’; Danish *talg* ‘tallow’; Middle English *talȝ*, *talȝen*, *taluȝ* ‘tallow’; Middle Low German *talg*, *talch* ‘tallow’; Dutch *talk* ‘tallow’; New High German *Talg* ‘tallow, grease, suet’. Pokorny 1959:196 **del-* ‘to dribble’; Watkins 1985:11 **del-* ‘to drip’; Mallory—Adams

1997:207 **del-* ‘to flow’; Orël 2003:400 Proto-Germanic **talɣō* ~ **talɣan*; Kroonen 2013:508 Proto-Germanic **talga/ō-* ‘tallow’; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:351; Onions 1966:901; Klein 1971:743; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:768; Kluge—Seebold 1989:719.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:302—303, no. 118. Different (false) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2366, **ṭUĺV* (= **ṭüĺV* ?) ‘to drip; drops of water, dew’.

225. Proto-Nostratic root **t’am-*:
(vb.) **t’am-* ‘to make or construct (something) in a skillful manner’ (> ‘to build’);
(n.) **t’am-a* ‘the act of making or constructing (something) in a skillful manner’ (> ‘craft, skill’); ‘that which is made or constructed in a skillful manner’ (> ‘building, structure’); ‘one who makes or constructs (something) in a skillful manner’ (> ‘craftsman, carpenter’)

A. Dravidian: Tamil *tamukkam* ‘place where elephants are sent together to battle; summer house; royal pavilion, as the Nāyak building at Madura’; Malayalam *tamukkam* ‘place where elephants fight’; Kannaḍa *tamaṅga*, *tavaga*, *tavaṅga* ‘platform, stage’; Telugu *tamagamu* ‘platform; tabernacle or summer house, having no walls but a roof on pillars’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:268, no. 3081.
B. Proto-Indo-European **t’em-*/**t’om-*/**t’m̥-* (vb.) ‘to build, to construct’, (n.) **t’om-o-s*, **t’om-u-s* ‘house, building, structure’: Sanskrit *dáma-ḥ* ‘house, home’; Avestan *dąman-* ‘dwelling’; Greek δέμω ‘to build, to construct’, δόμος ‘house; house of a god, temple; abode (of animals)’, δέμνιον ‘bedspread, mattress’, δέμας ‘body, stature, form’, δῶ ‘house’, δῶμα ‘house, home, temple’, δεσπότις ‘master (of the house), lord’; Armenian *tamal* ‘roof, house-top; building’, *tun* ‘house; family, tribe’; Latin *domus* ‘house, home; building, townhouse; dwelling-place of a bird or animal’; Old Irish *dám* ‘tribe, family, kindred, relationship; church, house’, *damna* ‘the stuff or matter from which anything is produced’; Old Welsh *daum*, *dauu* ‘son-in-law, member of a retinue, guest’; Gothic *gatiman* ‘to suit’, **timrjan* ‘to build (up), to strengthen, to benefit, to edify’, **ga-timrjō* ‘building’, *timrja* ‘carpenter’, **ga-timrjan* ‘to build up’, **ana-timrjan* ‘to build upon’, **timreins*, **ga-timreins* ‘edification’; Old Icelandic *timbr* ‘timber, wood felled for building’, *timbra* ‘to build with timber’, *timbran* ‘building’; Faroese *timbur* ‘timber’; Norwegian *timber* ‘(standing) timber, (cut) logs, (trimmed) lumber’; Swedish *timmer* ‘timber’, *timra* ‘to build with timber’, *timmerman* ‘carpenter’; Danish *tømmer* ‘timber’; Old English *timber* ‘timber, building material; act of building; building, structure’, *timbran*, *timbrian* ‘to build, to construct, to erect’, *timbre* ‘building, structure’; Old Frisian *-timbria* ‘to build’, *timber* ‘building’; Old Saxon *giteman* ‘to befit, to suit; to be fitting, suitable, proper’, *timbar*

'construction material', *timbrian* 'to build', *timbrio* 'carpenter'; Middle Dutch *timmer*, *timber*, *temmer* 'building'; Old High German *zeman* 'to befit, to suit; to be fitting, suitable, proper', *zimbar* 'dwellings, room' (New High German *Zimmer* 'room, chamber'); Old Church Slavic *domъ* 'house', *doma* 'at home'; Russian *dom* [дом] 'house, home', *dóma* [дома] 'at home'; Hieroglyphic Luwian *tama-* 'to build'. Pokorny 1959:198—199 **dem-*, **demə-* 'to build', **domo-s*, **domu-s* 'house'; Walde 1927—1932.I:786—788 **dem-*, **demā-*; **dĕm-*, **dŏm-*, **dm-*, **dm̥-*; **domo-s*, **domu-s*; Mann 1984—1987:140 **demō* 'to fit, to form, to build', 154 **domos*, *-ŭ̆s* 'building, house', 154 **dōmn-* 'dwelling'; Watkins 1985:11 **demə-*, **dem-* 'house, household', **dom-o-*, **dom-u-* 'house', **dem(ə)-* 'to build' and 2000:16 **dem-* 'house, household' (suffixed *o*-grade form **dom-o-*, **dom-u-* 'house'); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:645—646 **t'om-* 'house, building', (fn. 7) **t'em-* 'to build, to erect'; Mallory—Adams 1997:87 **dem(h$_a$)-* 'to build (up)' and 281 **dṓm* (gen. **déms*) 'house; **dóm(h$_a$)os* 'house'; Rix 2001:115—116 **demh$_2$-* 'to fit or join (together), to build'; Frisk 1970—1973.I:364 and I:408—409; Boisacq 1950:176 and 195—196 **dĕm-*, **dŏm-*, **dm-*, **dm̥-*; **domo-*, **domu-*; **demā-* 'to build'; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:261—262 and I:292—293 **domo-*; Hofmann 1966:55 **dem-* and 62 **domos* (**domos*); Beekes 2010.I:314—315, I:319 **dems-pot-*, I:343, I:346—347 **dōm*, **domo-*, I:362 **dōm*, and I:362—363 **dem-*; Martirosyan 2008:599—600 and 618 **dom-o-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:182—183 **domu-*, **domo-*; **dem-*; De Vaan 2008:178—179 **dom-o-*, **dom-u-*; **dōm*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:369—370 **dĕm-*, **dŏm-*, **dm-*, **dm̥-*; Matasović 2009:88—89 **demh$_2$-*; Falileyev 2000:40 Brittonic **dāmo-* < Proto-Indo-European **domos* 'house(hold)'; Orël 2003:404 Proto-Germanic **temanan* and 404 Proto-Germanic **temran*; Kroonen 2013:517 Proto-Germanic **timbra-* 'timber, lumber' (< Proto-Indo-European **dem(H)-ro-*); Feist 1939:478 **dem-ro-*, **dem-*; Lehmann 1989:150—151 and 345—346 **dem-*, **demH-* 'to join, to construct'; Falk—Torp 1910—1911.II:1217 Proto-Germanic **temra-* (< Proto-Indo-European **demro-*); De Vries 1977:588; Onions 1966:924 **demron*; **dĕm-*, **dŏm-*, *dm̥-*; Klein 1971:767 **dem-*, **demā-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:409 **demH-ro-* and 410; Walshe 1951:258; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:884 Proto-Germanic **timbra-* (< **temra-* < Proto-Indo-European **dem-ro-*); Kluge—Seebold 1989:813 Proto-Germanic **temra-*; Derksen 2008:112 and 113 **dom-u-*; Benveniste 1935:65—68.

C. Etruscan *tmia* 'place, sacred building, temple (?)'. Bonfante—Bonfante 2002:219.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **tæminŋə* 'to be skilled' > Chukchi *teminŋə-lʔən* 'master craftsman', *nə-teminŋə-qin* 'skilled', *teminŋ-ineŋ* 'tool', *tamenŋə-ran* 'workshop'; Kerek *tamin$^{j}$n$^{j}$-aat-* 'to be skilled', *tamin$^{j}$n$^{j}$i-lʁan-* 'skilled person'; Koryak *tamenŋə-jav-enaŋ* 'tool',

*tamenŋə-jan* ‘workshop’; Alutor (Palana) *teminŋ-et-* ‘to be skilled, to fix a sled’, *teminŋ-inaŋ* ‘tool’. Fortescue 2005:280.

Buck 1949:7.12 house; 9.41 craft, trade; 9.42 artisan, craftsman; 9.422 tool; 9.43 carpenter; 9.44 build.

226. Proto-Nostratic root **t’an-* (~ **t’ən-*):
(vb.) **t’an-* ‘to fill, to stuff, to pack or load tightly together’;
(n.) **t’an-a* ‘closeness, thickness, density; load, burden’; (adj.) ‘tightly packed or pressed together; close, thick, dense’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *dns* ‘to be loaded heavily’, *dns* ‘weight, load, burden; heavy’, *dnsw* ‘weights’. Hannig 1995:982; Faulkner 1962:314; Gardiner 1957:602; Erman—Grapow 1921:215 and 1926—1963.5:468—469.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **t’en-* ‘to fill, to stuff, to pack (tight) with’: Georgian *t’en-* ‘to fill, to stuff, to pack (tight) with’; Mingrelian *t’in-* ‘to fill, to stuff, to pack (tight) with’. Klimov 1964:183 **ṭṭen-* and 1998:186 **ṭen-* ‘to fill, to stuff, to pack (tight) with’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:325—326 **ṭen-*; Fähnrich 2007:394—395 **ṭen-*. Common Kartvelian (reduplication of the simple verbal stem **t’en-*) **t’it’in-* ‘to stuff, to fill tight’: Mingrelian *t’it’in-* ‘to fill, to stuff (tight)’; Svan *t’ət’ən-*, *t’t’ən-* ‘to fill to the brim’. Klimov 1998:188 **ṭiṭin-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **t’n̥s-u-* ‘closely packed or pressed together; thick, dense’: Greek δασύς ‘thick with hair, hairy, shaggy, rough’; Latin *dēnsus* ‘thick, dense, close, compact, set close together’, *dēnseō* ‘to make thick, to press together, to thicken’; (?) Hittite *daššuš* ‘massive, mighty’ (according to Melchert 1994a:163, Proto-Anatolian **-VnsV-* > Hittite *-VssV-*). Pokorny 1959:202—203 **dens-* ‘thick’; Walde 1927—1932.I:793—794 **dens-*; Mann 1984—1987:151—152 **dn̥s-*, **dn̥t-* ‘close, thick’; Watkins 1985:11 **dens-* and 2000:16 **dens-* ‘dense, thick’; Mallory—Adams 1997:574 (?) **dénsus*, **dn̥sóus* ‘thick’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:175 **t’ens-*, (zero-grade) **t’n̥s-* and 1995.I:150 **t’ens-* ‘dense, solid’, (zero-grade) **t’n̥s-*, I:173 **t’n̥s-u-*; Hofmann 1966:52 **dn̥sús*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:253 **dn̥s-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:351 **dens-os*, **dn̥s-os*, **densu̯os*, **dn̥t-tos* (?); Boisacq 1950:167 **den-*: **den-t-*, **den-s-*; Beekes 2010.I:305; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:341—342 **dn̥sús*, **dens-os*, **dn̥s-os*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:169—170; De Vaan 2008:167 **d(ĕ)ns-o-* ‘thick’. Note: This etymology is rejected by Kloekhorst (2008b:853—855) — Kloekhorst compares Hittite *daššu-*, *daššau-* (adj.) ‘strong, powerful, heavy; well-fed; difficult, important’ with Sanskrit *dáṁsas-* ‘miraculous power’, *daṁs-* ‘to have miraculous power’ and Greek διδάσκω ‘to learn’ instead.

Buck 1949:12.63 thick (in dimension); 12.64 thick (in density). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:308, no. 126.

227. Proto-Nostratic root **t'an-* (~ **t'ən-*):
(vb.) **t'an-* 'to tie, to bind, to plait, to weave';
(n.) **t'an-a* 'anything woven or plaited'

A. Proto-Afrasian **t'an-* 'to tie, to bind, to plait, to weave': Proto-Semitic **t'an-aʔ-* 'to plait, to weave' > Akkadian *ṭenū* 'to weave'; Hebrew *ṭeneʾ* [טֶנֶא] 'wicker basket'. Murtonen 1989:207 (Murtonen considers Hebrew *ṭeneʾ* to be original and not a loan); Klein 1987:246 (Klein considers Hebrew *ṭeneʾ* to be an Egyptian loan). Egyptian *dnỉt* 'basket'. Hannig 1995:982; Faulkner 1962:314; Erman—Grapow 1921:215 (borrowed from Hebrew) and 1926—1963.5:467. West Chadic **t'aʔan-* (metathesis from **t'anaʔ-*) 'to sew', **t'yan-H-* 'rope' > Sura *taan-* 'to sew', *tɛŋ* 'rope'; Mupun *taan-* 'to sew', *teŋ* 'rope'; Angas *ten-* 'to sew', *tang* 'rope'; Montol *tan-* 'to sew', *teng* 'rope'; Ankwe *tan-* 'to sew', *tieng* 'rope'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:516, no. 2461, **ṭanaʔ-* 'to weave, to sew'.
B. Proto-Altaic **tanŋu-* '(vb.) to bind; (n.) rope': Proto-Tungus **daŋ-* 'tight, bound tight, stuffed tightly' > Evenki *daŋama* 'tight, bound tight, stuffed tightly'; Manchu *dan* 'trap, snare (for wild fowl, wolves, and foxes)'. Proto-Turkic **daŋ-* 'to bind together' > Karakhanide Turkic *taŋ-* 'to bind together'; Turkmenian *daŋ-* 'to bind together'; Kirghiz *taŋ-* 'to bind together'; Kazakh *taŋ-* 'to bind together'; Sary-Uighur *taŋ-* 'to bind together'; Tuva *doŋ-na-* 'to bind together'; Yakut *taŋ-* 'to bind together'; Dolgan *taŋ-* 'to put on'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1354 **tanŋu* 'to bind; rope'.
C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **təni-* 'to sew': Chukchi *təni-*, *rəni-* 'to sew, to sew up, to darn'; Kerek *-nni-* 'to sew' as in *Xattu-nni-* 'to sew skin of boat'; Koryak *təni-* 'to sew'; Alyutor *təni-* 'to sew'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *ceʔnŋete-s*, *ceʔnŋete-ɬ-kas* 'to sew'. Fortescue 2005:299.

Buck 1949:6.35 sew; 9.19 rope, cord; 9.75 plait (vb.); 9.76 basket.

228. Proto-Nostratic root **t'ap$^{h}$-* (~ **t'əp$^{h}$-*):
(vb.) **t'ap$^{h}$-* 'to strike, to beat, to pound';
(n.) **t'ap$^{h}$-a* 'stroke, blow'
Note also:
(vb.) **t$^{h}$ap$^{h}$-* 'to strike, to knock, to hit, to beat, to pound; to trample';
(n.) **t$^{h}$ap$^{h}$-a* 'stroke, slap, blow, hit'

A. Proto-Afrasian **t'ap-* 'to strike, to hit': Proto-Semitic **t'ap-aħ-* 'to strike (with the hand), to hit' > Hebrew *ṭāφaḥ* [טָפַח] 'to extend, to spread out' (perhaps by striking); Post-Biblical Hebrew *ṭāφaḥ* [טָפַח] 'to strike (with

the hand), to knock, to clap’; Aramaic *ṭəφaḥ* ‘to hit, to strike’; Arabic *ṭalfaḥa* (with augmented *l*) ‘to make thin (by spreading, hitting)’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṭafḥa* [ጠፍሐ] ‘to clap (the hands), to make flat by patting with the hand, to make bricks’; Tigre *ṭäfḥa*, *ṭälfäḥa* (with augmented *l*) ‘to be even, to be flat (from being patted by the hand)’; Tigrinya *ṭäfḥe*, *ṭälfəḥe* (with augmented *l*) ‘to flatten’; Amharic (reduplicated) *ṭäfäṭṭäfä* ‘to make flat, to slap repeatedly’; Gurage (reduplicated) *ṭəfäṭäfä* ‘to flatten, to flatten dough’, *ṭäfṭaffa* ‘flat’, *ṭifäṭäfä* ‘to clap hands’. Murtonen 1989:208; Klein 1987:247; Leslau 1979:614, 615 and 1987:588.

B. Proto-Indo-European **t’ep$^h$-/*t’op$^h$-* ‘to pound, to trample’: Greek δέφω ‘to soften by working with the hand’, δέψω ‘to work or knead a thing until it is soft’ (> Latin *depsō* ‘to knead’); Armenian *top$^h$em* ‘to trample, to beat’; Polish *deptać* ‘to trample down’; Serbo-Croatian *dȅpiti* ‘to hit’. Pokorny 1959:203 **deph-* ‘to stamp, to thrust’; Walde 1927—1932.I:786 **deph-*; Mann 1984—1987:140—141 **dĕ̆psō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to pound, to trample’, 155 **dops-* ‘to trample, to tramp’; Watkins 1985:11—12 **deph-* and 2000:16 **deph-* ‘to stamp’; Mallory—Adams 1997:550 (?) **deph$_x$-* ‘to strike’; Boisacq 1950:180; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:267; Frisk 1970—1973.I:372—373; Hofmann 1966:56; Beekes 2010.I:320.

C. Proto-Altaic **tāp$^h$V-* ‘to strike, to press’: Proto-Tungus **dap-* ‘to flatten, to press’ > Evenki *dapča-* ‘to flatten, to press’; Orok *dapāw-* ‘to flatten, to press’. Proto-Mongolian **dabta-* ‘to forge, to hammer’ > Middle Mongolian *dabta-* ‘to forge, to hammer’, *dabši-* ‘to knock, to hit’; Written Mongolian *dabta-* ‘to knock, to hit’; Khalkha *davta-* ‘to forge, to hammer’; Buriat *dabta-* ‘to forge, to hammer’; Kalmyk *dawt-* ‘to forge, to hammer’; Ordos *dabta-* ‘to forge, to hammer’; Dagur *dabete-* ‘to forge, to hammer’; Shira-Yughur *dapta-* ‘to forge, to hammer’. Proto-Turkic **dāp-* ‘to trample’ > Karakhanide Turkic *tabrï-* ‘to jump about (of a camel)’; Turkmenian *dābala-* ‘to trample (of a camel’), *dābïra-* ‘to ride, to stamp’; Tatar (dial.) *tapa-* ‘to trample’; Bashkir *tapa-* ‘to trample’; Kazakh *tapa-* ‘to trample’; Yakut *tabïy-* ‘to hit with front hooves (of a horse)’; Dolgan *tabïn-* ‘to scratch with a hoof’. Poppe 1960:104; Street 1974:27 **tepē-* ‘to strike with the feet, to paw at’, **tepē-k*; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1355—1356 **tāp‘V* ‘to stamp, to press’.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat).

229. Proto-Nostratic root **t’aq’-* (~ **t’əq’-*):
(vb.) **t’aq’-* ‘to cover, to protect’;
(n.) **t’aq’-a* ‘covering’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **t’q’aw-* ‘skin, hide’: Georgian *t’q’avi* ‘skin, hide’; Mingrelian *t’q’ebi* ‘skin, hide’; Laz *t’k’ebi* ‘skin, hide’. Klimov 1964:183—184 **ṭq̇aw-* and 1998:192 **ṭq̇aw-* ‘hide’; Schmidt 1962:134;

Fähnrich 2007:410 **ṭq̇aw-*. Proto-Kartvelian *ma-t'q'ɻ-* 'wool': Georgian *mat'q'li* 'wool'; Mingrelian *mont'q'ori* 'wool'; Laz *mont'k'ori* 'wool'; Svan *mät'q'* 'wool, yarn'. Klimov 1964:129 **maṭq̇ɻ-* and 1998:117 **maṭq̇l-* 'wool (of sheep), fleece'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:231—232 **maṭq̇l-*; Fähnrich 2007:281 **maṭq̇l-*; Schmidt 1962:123. The relationship of **t'q'aw-* 'skin, hide' to *ma-t'q'ɻ-* 'wool' was first proposed by Deeters (cf. Klimov 1998:117). Semantic development as in Old Icelandic *staka* 'skin, hide' cited below.

B. Proto-Indo-European **(s)t'ek'-/*(s)t'ok'-* > (with regressive deglottalization) **(s)t$^{h}$ek'-/*(s)t$^{h}$ok'-* 'to cover': Sanskrit *sthagati* 'to cover, to veil, to make invisible, to cause to disappear', *sthagita-ḥ* 'covered, concealed, hidden'; Greek στέγω 'to cover, to conceal, to shelter, to protect', στέγος, τέγος 'a roof, any covered part of a house', στέγη, τέγη 'a roof'; Latin *tegō* 'to cover; to bury, to cover with earth; to hide, to conceal; to cover so as to protect, to shield', *tēctum* 'a covering, a roof', *tegulum* 'a covering, a roof', *teges* 'a mat, rug, covering', *toga* 'a covering, especially the white woolen upper garment worn by Romans in time of peace when they appeared in public'; Old Irish *tech* 'house', *étach* 'garment', *tugid* 'to roof over, to cover', *tugatóir* (poet.) 'thatcher'; Old Welsh *tig* 'house'; Old Icelandic *þak* 'bed cover; roof, thatch', *þekja* 'to thatch, to cover', *þekja* 'thatch, roof', *staka* 'skin, hide'; Norwegian *tekja* 'to cover', *tekkja*, *tak* 'roof'; Swedish *täcke* 'to cover', *tak* 'roof'; Danish *tække* 'to cover', *tag* 'roof'; Old English *þeccan* 'to cover', *þecan* 'roof, cover', *þæc* 'roof, thatch', *þaca* 'roof'; Old Frisian *thekka* 'to cover', *thek* 'roof'; Old Saxon *thekkian* 'to cover'; Middle Low German *dack* 'roof'; Dutch *dak* 'roof', *dekken* 'to cover'; Old High German *decchen* 'to cover' (New High German *decken*), *decchi* 'covering, roof' (New High German *Decke*), *dah* 'roof' (New High German *Dach*); Lithuanian *stógas* 'roof'; Old Prussian *steege* 'barn', *stogis* 'roof'; Old Church Slavic *o-stegъ* 'garment'. Rix 1998a:535 **(s)teg-* 'to cover'; Pokorny 1959:1013—1014 **(s)teg-* 'to cover'; Walde 1927—1932.II:620—621 **(s)teg-*; Mann 1984—1987:1315 **stheg-* (**steg-*) 'to cover, to hide', 1323 **sthogos*, *-ā*, *-is* 'enclosure, cover', 1371 **tĕ̆gō*, *-i̯ō* 'to cover, to roof-over, to shelter', 1371 **tegos*, *-es-* (**teget-*, **tegt-*, **tegus*) 'cover, lid, roof, house', 1406—1407 **tog-*, 1407 **togos*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* 'cover, covering, roof, thatch'; Mallory—Adams 1997:134 **(s)teg-* 'to cover'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:55 **(s)t[$^{h}$]eK'-* and 1995.I:49 **(s)t$^{h}$eK'-* 'to cover'; Watkins 1985:65 **(s)teg-* and 2000:85 **(s)teg-* 'to cover'; Frisk 1970—1973.II:780—781; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1046; Boisacq 1950:905 **st(h)ĕ̆g-*; Beekes 2010.II:1393 **(s)teg-*; Hofmann 1966:333 **(s)teg-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:678—679; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:654—655 **steg-*; De Vaan 2008:608 **(s)teg-e/o-* 'to cover'; Orël 2003:415 Proto-Germanic **þakan*, 415 **þakjanan*, 415 **þakjō(n)*; Kroonen 2013:531—532 Proto-Germanic **þaka-* 'roof', **þakjan-*, **þakinō-*; De Vries 1977:542, 605, and 607; Falk—Torp 1903—

1906.II:349 **(s)togo-*; Klein 1971:758 **(s)teg-*; Onions 1966:914 **tog-*, **teg-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:119 **teg-* and 124; Kluge—Seebold 1989:125 **teg-*, **steg-* and 130; Derksen 2015:429 **stog-o-*, **(s)teg-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:605; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:911; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:634—636 **(s)teg-*.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin; hide; 6.22 wool; 7.12 house; 12.26 cover (vb.); 12.27 hide, conceal. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:315—316, no. 135. Different (doubtful) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2411, **ṭo[ʔü]q̇a* ‘hide, skin’.

230. Proto-Nostratic root **t’ar-* (~ **t’ər-*):
(vb.) **t’ar-* ‘to tear, to rend, to cut, to sever’;
(n.) **t’ar-a* ‘rip, tear, cut, slice’
Extended form:
(vb.) **t’ar-V-p$^h$-* ‘to tear, to rend, to pluck’;
(n.) **t’ar-p$^h$-a* ‘tearing, rending, plucking’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t’Vr-* ‘to take away’: Proto-Semitic **ʔa-t’ar-* ‘to take away’ (**ʔa-* is a prefix) > Akkadian *eṭēru* ‘to take something away (from somebody), to take out; (passive) to be taken away’. D. Cohen 1970— : 16. Egyptian *dr* ‘to subdue (enemies), to expel, to drive out (people, illness), to remove (need, evil), to repress (wrongdoer, wrongdoing), to destroy (places)’. Faulkner 1962:314—315; Hannig 1995:983; Erman—Grapow 1921:215 and 1926—1963.5:473—474; Gardiner 1957:602. Orël—Stolbova 1995:520, no. 2486, **ṭVr-* ‘to take away’. For the semantics, cf. Gothic *dis-tairan* ‘to tear down, to remove’ and *ga-tarnjan* ‘to rob, to take away’ cited below.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *ta<u>r</u>i* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to lop, to chop off, to cut off’, *ta<u>r</u>i* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to be cut off, broken’, *ta<u>r</u>i* ‘a cutting off, wooden post, stake, weaver’s loom, a kind of axe’, *ta<u>r</u>ikai* ‘a kind of axe, chisel’; Malayalam *ta<u>r</u>ikka* ‘to cut down’, *ta<u>r</u>i* ‘pot, hedge-stake, stick, cutting, weaver’s loom’; Kota *tayr-* (*tarc-*) ‘to cut (using an implement with one hand); to cut a path through jungle’; Kannaḍa *ta<u>r</u>i*, *ta<u>r</u>e* ‘to strip off, to cut off, to cut’, *ta<u>r</u>i* ‘cutting, slaughter; stake, post, sharp knife or sword’; Koḍagu *tari-* (*tarip-*, *taric-*) ‘to chop to small bits’, *tarip* ‘cutting’; Tuḷu *taripuni* ‘to lop off, to clear (jungle)’; Telugu *ta<u>r</u>ugu*, *targu*, *ta<u>r</u>uvu*, *tarvu* ‘to slice, to chop’; Kolami *targ-* (*tarakt-*) ‘to cut, to cut off’; Naikṛi *targ-* ‘to cut’; Kuṛux *tārnā* (*tāryas*) ‘to fell (tree), to lop off (bough)’; Malto *táre* ‘to cut down, to fell’, *tare* ‘to break (as a stick), to injure’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:273, no. 3140.

C. Proto-Indo-European **t’er-*/**t’or-*/**t’r̥-* ‘to tear, to rend, to flay’: Sanskrit *dṛṇā́ti* ‘to tear, to rend, to split open’; Greek δέρω ‘to skin, to flay’; Armenian *teṙem* ‘to flay’; Welsh *darn* ‘fragment’; Gothic *dis-tairan* ‘to tear down, to remove’, *dis-taurnan* ‘to tear apart’, *af-taurnan* ‘to tear off’,

*ga-taurnan* ‘to vanish’ *ga-tarnjan* ‘to rob, to take away’; Old English *teran* ‘to tear’, *taru* ‘tear, rent’; Old Frisian *tera* ‘to tear’; Old Saxon *terian* ‘to tear’; Dutch *teren* ‘to tear’; Old High German *zeran*, *firzeran* ‘to tear’ (New High German *zehren*, *verzehren* ‘to destroy, to consume’), *zerren* ‘to pull, to drag, to haul’ (New High German *zerren*), *(in)trennen* ‘to separate, to divide, to part, to sever’ (New High German *trennen*); Lithuanian *diriù*, *derù*, *dìrti* ‘to flay’; Old Church Slavic *derǫ*, *dьrǫ*, *dьrati* ‘to tear, to flay’. Rix 1998a:102—103 **der-* ‘to tear, to rend’; Pokorny 1959:206—211 **der-*, **derə-*, **drē-* ‘to skin’; Walde 1927—1932.I:797—803 **der-*, **derē-*; Mann 1984—1987:141—142 **derō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to flay, to tear, to wear, to waste’, 142 **dĕros*, *-ā*, *-is* ‘rending; rip, tear, rupture’, 156 **doros*, *-ā* ‘rip, rag, torn piece’, 157 **doru̯os* ‘tearing, dragging’, 164 **dr̥ō*, *-i̯ō* (**dər-*) ‘to skin, to tan, to tear’; Watkins 1985:12 **der-* and 2000:16 **der-* ‘to split, to peel, to flay’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:707 **t’er-* and 1995.I:192, I:201, I:202, I:612, I:780 **t’er-* ‘to remove bark, to skin’; Mallory—Adams 1997:567 **der-* ‘to tear off, to flay’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:59; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:365—366; Boisacq 1950:178 **der-*; Beekes 2010.I:318—319 **der-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:368—370; Hofmann 1966:55—56; Kroonen 2013:513 Proto-Germanic **teran-* ‘to tear’ (< **dér(H)-e-*); Orël 2003:405 Proto-Germanic **teranan*, 413 **turnōjanan*; Lehmann 1986:91—92 **der-* and 150 **der-*; Feist 1939:120 and 203—204; Skeat 1898:628; Onions 1966:906 **der-*; Klein 1971:748 **dere-*, **der-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:788 **der-*, 877 **der(ē)-*, 880, and 888—889 **der-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:738 **der-*, 807, 810 **der-*, and 816; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:96—97; Smoczyński 2007.1:115—116; Derksen 2008:99 **der(H)-* and 2015:132—133 **d(e)r-*.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **tærʁæŋ-* ‘to cut or break into pieces’ > Chukchi *tæræŋ-* ‘to break to pieces’; Koryak *tacʁan(ə)-* ‘to cut fish into pieces’; Alyutor *tarʔaŋ-* ‘to break or cut to pieces’. Fortescue 2005:282.

Sumerian *dar* ‘to split’.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 9.29 flay, skin. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:301—302, no. 116. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2289, **terV* ‘to tear, to burst’.

231. Proto-Nostratic root **t’ar-* (~ **t’ər-*):
Extended form:
(vb.) **t’ar-V-p*$^{h}$- ‘to tear, to rend, to pluck’;
(n.) **t’ar-p*$^{h}$*-a* ‘tearing, rending, plucking’
Derivative of:
(vb.) **t’ar-* ‘to tear, to rend, to cut, to sever’;
(n.) **t’ar-a* ‘rip, tear, cut, slice’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **t’ar-ap-* ‘to tear, to rend, to pluck’ > Hebrew *ṭāraφ* [טָרַף] ‘to tear, to rend, to pluck’, (hif.) *haṭrīφ* [הַטְרִיף] ‘to let someone enjoy (food)’, *ṭereφ* [טֶרֶף] ‘prey, food, nourishment’; Aramaic *ṭəraφ* ‘to tear, to seize’; Arabic *ṭarafa* ‘to graze on the borders of a pasture-ground (separate from the others)’, *ṭaraf* ‘utmost part, outermost point, extremity, end, tip, point, edge, fringe, limit, border; side; region, area, section; a part of, a bit of, some’. Klein 1987:251; Murtonen 1989:209; Zammit 2002:268. Coptic *tōrp* [**ⲧⲱⲣⲡ**] ‘to seize, to rob, to carry off’ (Semitic loan). Vycichl 1983:220; Černý 1976:194.

B. Proto-Indo-European **t’rep$^{h}$-*/**t’rop$^{h}$-* ‘to tear, to rend, to pluck’: Greek δρέπω ‘to pluck, to cull’; Albanian *drapër* ‘sickle’ (< Greek δρέπανον ‘scythe’); Old Icelandic *trefill* ‘tatter, rag’, *trefr*, *tröf* ‘fringes’; Russian (dial.) *drápat'*, *drapát'* [драпать] ‘to scratch, to scrape’. Rix 1998a:111 **drep-* ‘to tear or pull off’; Pokorny 1959:211 **drep-*, **drop-*; Walde 1927—1932.I:801—802 **dre-p-*; Mann 1984—1987:160 **dropō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to pluck, to tear’; Mallory—Adams 1997:567 **drep-* ‘to scratch, to tear’; Boisacq 1950:200 **drep-*; Beekes 2010.I:353 **drep-*; Hofmann 1966:64 **dre-p-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:297—298 **dr-ep-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:417; Prellwitz 1905:121; Orël 2003:408 Proto-Germanic **traƀō*; Kroonen 2013:520 Proto-Germanic **trabō-* ‘fringe’ (< **drop-éh$_2$-*); De Vries 1977:597 **der-*; Derksen 2008:115.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 12.35 end; 12.352 point; 12.353 edge; 12.36 side; 13.23 part (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:302, no. 117.

232. Proto-Nostratic root **t’aw-* (~ **t’əw-*):
(vb.) **t’aw-* ‘to go, to leave, to go away; to let go’;
(n.) **t’aw-a* ‘distance, remoteness’; (adj.) ‘far away, remote, at a distance’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t’aw-* ‘to go, to go away’: Semitic: Arabic *ṭāʔa* (< **t’aw-aʔ-*) ‘to come and go; to go far away’. West Chadic **t’aʔ-* ‘to go’ > Warji *ṭa-n* ‘to go’; Siri *ṭa* ‘to go’; Jimbin *da* ‘to go’. Central Chadic **t’uw-* ‘to go’ > Banana *tuwwa* ‘to go’. East Chadic **tawi-* ‘to go, to walk’ > Tumak *tiw* ‘to go, to walk’; Sokoro *teui* ‘to go, to walk’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:511—512, no. 2440, **ṭaʔ-*/**ṭaw-* ‘to go, to come’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **t’ew-* ‘to leave, to let go’: Georgian *t’ev-* ‘to leave, to let go’; Mingrelian *t’al-* ‘to leave, to let go’; Laz *t’al-* ‘to leave’. Klimov 1964:180 **ṭew-* and 1998:185 **ṭew-* ‘to leave, to let go’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **t’ew(A)-*/**t’ow(A)-*/**t’u(A)-* ‘(vb.) to go, to leave, to go away; (adv.) far off, far away, distant’: Sanskrit *dávati* ‘to go’, *daváyati* ‘to make distant, to remove’, *dūtá-ḥ* ‘messenger, envoy’, *dūrá-ḥ* ‘distant, far, remote, long (way)’, *dávīyas-* ‘farther, very distant’, *daviṣṭhá-ḥ* ‘remotest, very far away’; Avestan *dūrāṯ* ‘far’; Old Persian *dūraiy* ‘afar, far away, far and wide’, (adv.) *dūradaša* ‘from afar’, *duvaišta-* ‘very long,

very far'; Greek (adv.) δήν (< *δϜᾱ́ν) 'long, for a long time, (of place) far'; Middle High German *zouwen* 'to hasten, to proceed, to succeed' (New High German *zauen*); Middle Low German *touwen* 'to hasten, to proceed'; Hittite *tu-u-wa* 'to a distance, afar', (neut. pl.) *tu-u-wa-la* 'far off, distant'; Old Church Slavic *davě*, *davьnъ* 'ancient, long-standing'. Pokorny 1959:219—220 **deu-*, **deu̯ə-*, **du̯ā-*, **dū-* 'to move forward'; Walde 1927—1932.I:778—780 **deu̯(ā)-*; Mann 1984—1987:133 **dāu̯-*, **dāu̯n-*, **dū-* 'long ago; long-standing', 144 **deu̯əros* 'lasting, firm', 144 **deu̯-* – 'long, lasting', 144—145 **dĕu̯ō* 'to last', 158 **dou̯ō* (?), **douu̯ō* 'to go', 169 **dūros* 'far, long-lasting, long', 170 **du̯āros* 'long-lasting'; Watkins 1985:12 **deuə-* (also **dwaə̯-*) and 2000:17 **deuə-* 'long (in duration)' (oldest form **deuə̯$_2$-*, with variant [metathesized] form **dweə̯$_2$-*, colored to **dwaə̯$_2$-*, contracted to **dwā-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:349 **deuh$_4$-* 'to leave, to go away'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:230 **t'eu̯-*, **t'u̯-aH-* and 1995.I:200 **t'ew-*, **t'w-aH-* 'to remain'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:25, II:26, and II:56—57 **deu̯(ā)-*; Beekes 2010.I:326 **dueh$_2$-m*; Boisacq 1950:183; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:274—275 **dwā-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:381—382; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:875; Kluge—Seebold 1989:806; Derksen 2008:97; Kloekhorst 2008b:904—905 **dueh$_2$m*.

Sumerian *du* 'to go, to leave, to depart, to go away', *du-rí* 'long time', *du$_8$* 'to let go, to let loose, to release, to set free', *duh* 'to release, to set free, to loosen, to untie, to release, to open'.

Buck 1949:12.18 leave; 12.44 far (adv.); 12.57 long. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:319—320, no. 139. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2448, **ṭäwħV* 'to abandon, to leave, to get lost'.

233. Proto-Nostratic root **t'aw-* (~ **t'əw-*):
(vb.) **t'aw-* 'to hit, to strike';
(n.) **t'aw-a* 'stroke, blow, injury, harm, damage'

A. Proto-Afrasian **t'aw-* 'to hit, to strike': Proto-East Cushitic **ɗaw-* 'to hit, to strike' > Elmolo *ɗa-* 'to hit, to strike'; Galla / Oromo *ɗa(w)-* 'to hit, to strike'; Konso *ɗaw-* 'to hit, to strike'; Burji *ɗaw-* 'to hit, to strike'; Dasenech *ɗo-* 'to hit, to strike'; Gidole *ɗaw-* 'to hit, to strike'; Arbore (perf.) *ɗa-y-iy* 'to hit, to strike'. Sasse 1979:43.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **t'wr-* 'to break, shatter, or smash to pieces, to destroy': Georgian *m-t'vr-ev-a*, *da-m-t'vr-ev-a* 'to break, shatter, or smash to pieces, to destroy'; Svan *li-t'wr-am-aw-i* 'to break, shatter, smash, or split to pieces'. Fähnrich 2007:399 **ṭwr-*.
C. Proto-Indo-European **t'ew-*/**t'ow-*/**t'u-* 'to hit, to strike': Welsh *dwrn* 'fist'; Old Irish *dorn* 'fist', *·durni* 'to strike with fists'; Breton *dourn* 'hand'; Latvian *dùre*, *dûris* 'fist', *duŕu*, *dũru*, *duřt* 'to sting, to thrust'; Old

Icelandic *tjón* ‘damage, loss’, *týna* ‘to lose, to destroy, to put to death’, (reflexive) *týnast* ‘to perish’, *týning* ‘destruction’; Old English *tēona* ‘injury, suffering, injustice, wrong, insult, contumely, quarrel’, *tēonian* ‘to irritate’, *tīenan* ‘to annoy, to irritate’; Old Frisian *tiōna*, *tiūna* ‘to damage’; Old Saxon *tiono* ‘evil, harm, injury, wrong, hostility, enmity’, *gitiunian* ‘to do wrong’. Pokorny 1959:203 **dṷer-* : **dur-* or **dṷōr-* : **dṷər-* : **dur-*; Walde 1927—1932.I:794—795 **dṷer-* : **dur-* or **dṷōr-* : **dṷər-* : **dur-*; Watkins 1985:12 **deu-* ‘to harm, to hurt’; Orël 2003:405 Proto-Germanic **teunō(n)*, 405—406 **teunjanan*; Kroonen 2013:515 Proto-Germanic **teuna-* ‘damage’, **teuna/ōn*, **teunjan-*; De Vries 1977:592 and 603; Onions 1966:907; Klein 1971:749; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:410.

Sumerian $du_7$ ‘to butt, to gore’.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 9.21 strike (hit, beat). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:311—312, no. 129.

234. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **t’ay-a* ‘(elder) male in-law, (elder) male relative’:

A. Proto-Indo-European **t’ay-wer-*/**t’ay-wr̥-* ‘brother-in-law on husband’s side’: Sanskrit *devár-* ‘brother-in-law’; Greek δᾱήρ (< *δαιϝήρ) ‘husband’s brother, brother-in-law’; Armenian *taigr* ‘brother-in-law’; Latin *lēvir* (for **laever*, with *l* for *d*) ‘brother-in-law’; Old English *tācor* ‘husband’s brother, brother-in-law’; Old Frisian *tāker* ‘husband’s brother’; Old High German *zeihhur* ‘brother-in-law’; Lithuanian *dieverìs* ‘brother-in-law’; Latvian *diẽveris* ‘brother-in-law’; Russian Church Slavic *dĕverь* ‘brother-in-law’. Pokorny 1959:179 **dāiu̯ēr-* ‘husband’s brother, brother-in-law’; Walde 1927—1932.I:767 **daiu̯er-*; Mann 1984—1987:130—131 **daigu̯ĕ̆r-* (**daiu̯ĕ̆r-*, **daiu̯r̥-*) ‘brother-in-law on husband’s side’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:760 **t’aiu̯ĕ̆r-* and 1995.I:662 **t’aiwĕ̆r-* ‘husband’s brother’; Watkins 1985:10 **daiwer-* and 2000:14 **daiwer-* ‘husband’s brother’; Mallory—Adams 1997:84 **daih$_a$u̯ér-* ‘husband’s brother’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:64; Boisacq 1950:160 **daiu̯ér-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:338—339; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:245—246; Lejeune 1972:247, §265, Greek δᾱήρ (< *δαιϝήρ); Hofmann 1966:50 Greek δᾱήρ (< *δαιϝήρ); Beekes 1969:135 **daiu̯er-* and 2010.I:296 **deh$_2$i-uer-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:352—353; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:787—788 **dā́iu̯ēr*; De Vaan 2008:336 Proto-Italic **daiwēr*; Orël 2003:399 Proto-Germanic **taikuraz*; Kroonen 2013:506 Proto-Germanic **taikwer-* ‘brother-in-law’; Derksen 2008:105 **deh$_2$i-uer-* and 2015:128 **deh$_2$i-uer-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:111 **deh$_2$iu̯er-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:94; Lehmann 1952:50—51, §5.4e, */deXywer/; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008: 58—60 **daiu̯ér-*.

B. Proto-Altaic **tāyV* ‘elder male in-law, elder male relative’: Proto-Tungus **dā-* ‘(elder) in-law, elder brother of father, grandfather’ > Manchu *dančan* ‘in-law’; Evenki *dā* ‘elder in-law’; Lamut / Even *dā* ‘elder in-law’; Negidal *dāŋta* ‘in-law’; Nanay / Gold *dā-mịn* ‘elder brother of father, grandfather’. Proto-Turkic **dāy-* ‘uncle’ > Old Turkic *taγay* ‘maternal uncle’; Karakhanide Turkic *taγay* ‘maternal uncle’; Turkish *dayı* ‘maternal uncle’; Azerbaijani *dayï* ‘uncle’; Turkmenian *dāyï* ‘uncle’; Uzbek *tɔγa* ‘uncle’; Uighur *taγa* ‘uncle’; Kirghiz *tay*, *taγa* ‘uncle’; Sary-Uighur *taγïy* ‘uncle’; Kazakh (dial.) *taγa* ‘uncle’; Tuva *dāy* ‘uncle’; Yakut *tāy* ‘uncle’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1350 **tājV* ‘elder in-law, elder relative’.

Buck 1949:2.51 uncle; 2.65 brother-in-law (husband’s brother, Proto-Indo-European **daiwer-*). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2307, **ta[q|g]ayû* ‘relative-in-law (person of the opposite exogamous moiety)’.

235. Proto-Nostratic root **t’ay-* (~ **t’əy-*) or **t’iy-* (~ **t’ey-*):
(vb.) **t’ay-* or **t’iy-* ‘to shine, to gleam, to be bright, to glitter, to glow; to burn brightly’;
(n.) **t’ay-a* or **t’iy-a* ‘light, brightness, heat’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *tī*, *tīy* ‘to be burnt, charred, blighted’; Malayalam *tī* ‘fire’; Kota *ti·y-* (*ti·c-*) ‘to be singed, roasted’; Toda *ti·y-* (*ti·s-*) ‘to be singed’, *ti·y-* (*ti·c-*) ‘to singe, to roast’; Kannaḍa *tī* ‘to burn, to scorch, to singe, to parch’; Telugu *tīṇḍrincu*, *tī̃ḍirincu* ‘to shine’, *tīṇḍra* ‘light, brightness, heat’; Brahui *tīn* ‘scorching, scorching heat’, *tīrūnk* ‘spark’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:285, no. 3266.

B. Proto-Indo-European **t’ey-*/**t’oy-*/**t’i-* ‘to shine, to be bright’: Sanskrit *dī́deti* ‘to shine, to be bright; to shine forth, to excel, to please, to be admired’, *devá-ḥ* ‘(n.) a deity, god; (adj.) heavenly, divine’, *dyótate* ‘to shine, to be bright or brilliant’, *dyáuḥ* ‘heaven, sky, day’, *divá-ḥ* ‘heaven, sky, day’, *divyá-ḥ* ‘divine, heavenly, celestial; supernatural, wonderful, magical; charming, beautiful, agreeable’, *dīpyáte* ‘to blaze, to flare, to shine, to be luminous or illustrious; to glow, to burn’, *dīptá-ḥ* ‘blazing, flaming, hot, shining, bright, brilliant, splendid’, *dína-ḥ* ‘day’; Greek δῖος ‘heavenly; noble, excellent; divine, marvelous’, Ζεύς ‘Zeus, the sky-god’; Armenian *tiw* ‘day’; Latin *diēs* ‘day’, *deus* ‘god’; Old Irish *die* ‘day’; Old Icelandic *teitr* ‘glad, cheerful, merry’, *tívorr* (pl. *tívar*) ‘god’; Old English *Tīw* name of a deity identified with Mars; Lithuanian *dienà* ‘day’, *diẽvas* ‘god’, *dailùs* ‘refined, elegant, graceful’; Old Church Slavic *dьnь* ‘day’; Hittite (dat.-loc. sg.) *šiwatti* ‘day’, (gen. sg.) *ši-(i-)ú-na-aš* ‘god’; Luwian (acc. pl.) *ti-wa-ri-ya* ‘sun’, (nom. sg.) *Ti-wa-az* name of the sun-god (= Sumerian $^{d}$UTU, Akkadian *ŠAMŠU*, Hittite *Ištanu-*); Hieroglyphic Luwian SOL-*wa/i-za-sa* (**Tiwats* or **Tiwazas*) name of the sun-god; Palaic (nom. sg.) *Ti-ya-az(-)* name of the sun-god. Rix 1998a:91—92 **deḭh$_2$-* ‘to shine

brightly’; Pokorny 1959:183—187 **dei-*, **deḭə-*, **dī-*, **dḭā-* ‘to shine brightly’; Walde 1927—1932.I:772—774 **dei-*, **deḭā-*, **deḭə-*, **dī-*, **dḭā-*; Mann 1984—1987:136 **deiu̯os*, *-ḭos* ‘divine, inspired’, 136 **deḭō* (**dǐdēmi*) ‘to appear’, 148 **dītis* ‘brightness, daytime’, 148 **diu̯-*; **diu̯os*, *-om* (**dḭu-*) ‘sky, day’, 149 **dīu̯i̯ō* ‘to shine, to light up’, 149 **diu̯i̯os* ‘heavenly, divine, wonderful, strange’, 149 **dḭĕ̆u̯-* ‘to shine, to burn’, 150 **dḭēu̯s* (obl. **diu̯-*) ‘god, sky’; Watkins 1985:10 **deiw-* ‘to shine’ and 2000:22 **dyeu-* ‘to shine’ (and in many derivatives, ‘sky, heaven, god’), zero-grade **dyu-* (before consonants) and **diw-* (before vowels), (noun) **deiwos* ‘god’ (formed by *e*-insertion in zero-grade **diw-* and suffixation of [accented] *-o-*); variant form **dyē-* (< earlier **dyeə́₁-*); variant form **deiə-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:227, I:243, II:791 **t’eḭ-*; I:36, I:226, I:242 **t’eḭu̯-*; I:242, II:791 **t’eḭu̯-o-*; I:272 **t’eḭu̯-om*; I:271, I:272, II:799 **t’eḭu̯-os*; I:243 **t’i-*; I:242, II:791 **t’i-u̯-*; I:223 **t’i-u̯-es*; I:250 **t’iu̯i̯os*; I:36, I:223, I:243, II:475, II:481, II:684, II:791 **t’i̯eu̯-*; II:475, II:476, II:792, II:798 **t’i̯eu̯-*/**t’iu̯-*; I:46 **t’i̯eu̯s*; and 1995.I:196, I:211, I:212, I:693 **t’ei-* ‘to give off light, to shine’; I:32, I:196, I:210, I:211 **t’ei-w-* ‘god’; I:210, I:692 **t’eiw-o-*; I:237 **t’eiw-om*; I:236, I:237, I:700 **t’eiw-os*; I:211, I:396 **t’i-w-*; I:32, I:192, I:196, I:210, I:211, I:212, I:396, I:401, I:590, I:692, I:693, I:699 **t’y-eu-*; I:192 **t’i-w-es*; I:218 **t’iwyos* ‘divine’; I:41 **t’yeus*; I:693 **t’iu-* ‘day’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:42 **diu̯es-*, II:43, II:45, and II:70—71 (nom. sg.) **dḭeus*, (acc. sg.) **dḭeum* (> **dḭēm*); Boisacq 1950:189—190 **diu̯-*, **deiu̯os* and 308 **dḭēus*; Hofmann 1966:60 **diu̯-*, **deiu̯os* and 102 **dḭēus*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:396—397 **diu(i)i̯o-* and I:610—611 **d(i)i̯ḗus*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:285—286 **dei-* and I:399 **dy-ēu-*; Beekes 2010.I:338 **dieu-* and I:498—499 **dieu-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:170—171 **deiwo-*, **dyeu-* and 174—175 **dei-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:345—346 **déiu̯os* and I:349—351 **d(i)i̯ēus*; De Vaan 2008:167—168 and 170; Mallory—Adams 1997:149 **deino-* ~ **dino-* ‘day’, 149 **dḭe(u)-* ‘day’, 230 **deiu̯ós* ‘god’, 513 **dei-* ‘to shine, to be bright (primarily of the sky’; Orël 2003:408 Proto-Germanic **tīwaz*; Kroonen 2013:519 Proto-Germanic **tīwa-* ‘Tyr’ (< **dei-u̯o-*); De Vries 1977:586 and 590; Derksen 2008:134—135 **d(e)i-n-* and 2015:127 **d(e)in-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:109—110 and 1:110—111; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:93 **dǐ-*, **dei-* and I:93—94 **diēu-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:763—764 **diēu-* and 766—767 **dieu-ot-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:69—81 **deḭ-*.

C. Etruscan *tin* ‘day’, *tiu*, *tiv-*, *tiur* ‘moon, month’; Rhaetic *tiu-ti* ‘to the moon’.

Sumerian *dé* ‘to smelt’, *dé*, *dè*, *dè-dal* ‘ashes’, *dè*, *di₅* ‘glowing embers’, *dè-dal-la* ‘torch’, *di₅* ‘to flare up, to light up; to be radiant, shining; to sparkle, to shine’.

Buck 1949:1.51 sky, heavens; 1.52 sun; 1.53 moon; 1.84 ashes; 1.85 burn (vb.); 14.41 day; 14.71 month; 15.56 shine; 16.71 good (adj.); 16.81 beautiful (also pretty). Caldwell 1913:620. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:303—304, no. 119. Different (unlikely) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2241, **tiʔû* ‘to shine, to be bright, to be seen’.

236. Proto-Nostratic root **t’eʔ-*:
(vb.) **t’eʔ-* ‘to say, to speak’;
(n.) **t’eʔ-a* ‘sound, speech’

A. Proto-Indo-European **t’eʔ-* (> **t’ē-*) ‘to say, to speak’: Old Church Slavic *dějǫ*, *děti* ‘to say’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *te-iz-zi*, *te-e-iz-zi* ‘to speak’. Mann 1984—1987:140 **dē-mi* (**dēi̯ō*) ‘to say, to speak’; Sturtevant 1951:120, §220a, **deyty*; Tischler 1977— .III/9:291; Melchert 1994a:103 Proto-Anatolian **dǽ-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:857—858 **dʰéh₁-ti*; Derksen 2008:104 **dʰéh₁-*.
B. Proto-Altaic **tē-* ‘to say, to sound’: Proto-Turkic **dē-* ‘to say’ > Old Turkic *te-* ‘to say’; Turkish *de-* ‘to say, to tell’; Gagauz *de-* ‘to say’; Azerbaijani *de-* ‘to say’; Turkmenian *dī-* ‘to say’; Uzbek *de-* ‘to say’; Uighur *dä-* ‘to say’; Tatar *di-* ‘to say’; Bashkir *ti-* ‘to say’; Kirghiz *te-* ‘to say’; Kazakh *de-* ‘to say’; Noghay *de-* ‘to say’; Sary-Uighur *di-* ‘to say’; Tuva *de-* ‘to say’; Chuvash *te-* ‘to say’; Yakut *die-* ‘to say’; Dolgan *die-* ‘to say’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1358 **tē* ‘to say, to sound’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also compare Proto-Tungus **de(b)-* ‘(n.) song, tune; (vb.) to shamanize’ and Proto-Mongolian **dawu-* ‘sound, voice, song’.

Sumerian *dé* ‘to call, to cry out’, *di* ‘to say, to speak, to call’.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say.

237. Proto-Nostratic root **t’el-*:
(vb.) **t’el-* ‘to ask for, to request, to beg, to beseech’;
(n.) **t’el-a* ‘request, wish, desire’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **t’al-ab-* ‘to ask for, to request, to beg, to beseech’ > Arabic *ṭalaba* ‘to look, to search (for someone, for something); to request, to apply (for); to seek, to try to obtain; to ask, to beg; to want, to wish; to request, to entreat, to beseech’, *ṭalab* ‘what is sought, request, desire, demand’, *ṭaliba*, *ṭilba* ‘desire, wish, request, demand; application’, *ṭalba* ‘litany, prayer’, *maṭlab* ‘quest, search, pursuit; demand, call (for); request, wish; claim; problem, issue’; Ḥarsūsi *ṭelōb* ‘to ask, to beg, to request’, *ṭelēb* ‘request’, *meṭláyb* ‘aim, desire’; Mehri *ṭəlūb* ‘to request’, *ṭəlēb* ‘request’, *məṭláwb* ‘aim, desire’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ṭólɔ́b* ‘to request, to

demand, to ask for; to take revenge for’, *ṭélėb* ‘request’, *múṭlub* ‘aim, desire’. Zammit 2002:271.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *telucu* ‘to praise, to worship, to request, to pray’; Gondi *talehkānā*, *talahkáná* ‘to beg, to ask for something (especially a bride)’, *talk-* ‘to ask’, *talp-* ‘to ask, to beg’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:300, no. 3427.

Buck 1949:18.35 ask; request; 22.17 pray.

238. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **t’id-a* ‘elevated ground, hill, mountain’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *tiṭṭu* ‘rising ground, bank, elevation, hillock, sandbank, wall separating elephant stables’, *tiṭṭi* ‘raised ground’, *tiṭṭai* ‘rising ground, bank, elevation, raised floor’, *tiṭar*, *tiṭal* ‘rising ground, bank, elevation, island, rubbish heap, prominence, protuberance’, *tiṭaṟu* ‘mound’; Malayalam *tiṭṭa* ‘raised ground, hillock, shoal, raised seat (as in a veranda)’, *tiṭṭu* ‘mound, shoal’, *tiṇṭu* ‘earthen wall, bank, shoal’; Kota *tiṭ* ‘hill’; Toda *tïṭ* ‘mountain’; Kannaḍa *tiṭṭu*, *tiṭṭe* ‘rising ground, hillock’, *diḍḍa*, *diḍḍu* ‘eminence, elevation, hillock’; Tuḷu *diḍḍu* ‘mound, elevated ground’, *tiṭṭe* ‘the foundation platform of a house’; Telugu *tiṭṭa* ‘heap, mound’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:279, no. 3221.

B. Proto-Altaic **tīdu* ‘elevated ground, hill, mountain (ridge)’: Proto-Tungus **dīdü* (~ *ǯ-*) ‘mountain ridge’ > Manchu *ǯidun* ‘the back side of a mountain’; Evenki *ǯīdi* (dial. *didi*) ‘mountain ridge’; Lamut / Even (Okhotka) *gidan* ‘mountain ridge’ (= /*didan*/ ?); Ulch *ǯiḍų* ‘mountain ridge’; Orok *ǯiḍų(n)* ‘mountain ridge’; Oroch *ǯidi* ‘mountain ridge’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1369—1370 **tīdu* ‘elevation’.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill.

239. Proto-Nostratic root **t’il-* (~ **t’el-*):
(vb.) **t’il-* ‘to say, to tell; to recount, to list, to enumerate’;
(n.) **t’il-a* ‘talk, speech, discourse, tale’
Derivative:
(n.) **t’il-a* ‘tongue, language’

A. Proto-Indo-European **t’el-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **t’ol-*) ‘(vb.) to say, to tell, to recount; to list, to enumerate; (n.) talk, speech, language; list, enumeration’: Common Germanic **taljan* ‘to say, to tell, to recount’, **talō* ‘talk, speech, tale, number’ > Old Icelandic *telja* ‘to tell, to say, to set forth; to count, to number’, *tal* ‘talk, conversation; speech, language; tale, list, series’, *tala* ‘speech, discourse; tale; number’, *tala* ‘to talk, to speak; to record, to tell’; Old English *talian* ‘to enumerate, to consider, to account’, *talu* ‘series, statement, discussion, story, tale’, *tellan* ‘to count, to reckon,

to calculate; to consider, to account', *tæl* 'number'; Old Frisian *talia* 'to reckon, to count'; Old Saxon *tellian* 'to count, to tell', *talōn* 'to reckon, to count', *tala* 'number, speech'; Dutch *tellen* 'to reckon, to count', *taal* 'speech', *tal* 'number'; Old High German *zellen* 'to count, to reckon to relate, to tell' (New High German *zählen*), *zalōn* 'to count' (New High German *zahlen*), *zala* 'number' (New High German *Zahl*). Orël 2003:400 Proto-Germanic **talan*, 400 **taljanan*, 400 **talōjanan*, 401 **talō(n)*; Kroonen 2013:508 Proto-Germanic **talō(n)*- 'speech, recount'; De Vries 1977:580, 581, and 586; Skeat 1898:629; Onions 1966:900 and 908; Klein 1971:742 and 750; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:872; Kluge—Seebold 1989:804.

B. Proto-Eskimo **təli*- 'to tell someone to do something': Seward Peninsula Inuit *tili*- 'to tell someone to do something, to send (someone) on an errand'; North Alaskan Inuit *ɬili*- 'to tell someone to do something'; Western Canadian Inuit *tili*- 'to tell someone to do something'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *tili*- 'to tell someone to do something'; Greenlandic *tili*- 'to tell someone to do something'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:339.

(?) Sumerian *dilib* 'calculation, computation', *díli-ì*, *díli-tur* '(mathematics) the writing down of a number'.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2353, **ṭeLV* 'to shout, to call'.

240. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **t'il-a* 'tongue, language':
Derivative of:
(vb.) **t'il*- 'to say, to tell; to recount, to list, to enumerate';
(n.) **t'il-a* 'talk, speech, discourse, tale'

A. (?) Dravidian: Kui *tlēpka* (< *tlēk-p*-, *tlēkt*-) 'to put out the tongue, to thrust forth from a cavity'; Kuwi *tekh*- in: *vendōri tekhmū* 'put out your tongue!'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:300, no. 3430.

B. Proto-Indo-European (**t'l̥g$^{h}$uA*-/**t'l̥g$^{h}$weA*- >) **t'n̥g$^{h}$ū*-/**t'n̥g$^{h}$wā*- 'tongue' (with widely different reflexes in the daughter languages due to taboo): Gothic *tuggō* 'tongue'; Old Icelandic *tunga* 'tongue'; Swedish *tunga* 'tongue'; Danish *tunge* 'tongue'; Old English *tunge* 'tongue'; Old Frisian *tunge* 'tongue'; Old Saxon *tunga* 'tongue'; Dutch *tong* 'tongue'; Old High German *zunga* 'tongue' (New High German *Zunge*); Latin *lingua* 'tongue' (Old Latin *dingua*); Old Irish *teng(a)e* 'tongue' (a shorter form, *teng*, is found only in verse); Sanskrit *jihvā́* 'tongue'; Avestan *hizū*-, *hizvā*- 'tongue'; Armenian *lezu* 'tongue'; Lithuanian *liežùvis* 'tongue'; Old Church Slavic *językъ* 'tongue'; Russian *jazyk* [язык] 'tongue, language'; Ukrainian *jazyk* 'tongue'; Polish *język* 'tongue'; Lower Sorbian *jězyk* 'tongue'; Czech *jazyk* 'tongue'; Slovenian *jézik* 'tongue'; Serbo-Croatian *jèzik* 'tongue'; Macedonian *jazik* 'tongue'; Bulgarian *ezík* 'tongue'.

Pokorny 1959:223 **dn̥ĝhū*, **dn̥ĝhu̯ā* ‘tongue’; Walde 1927—1932.I:792 **dn̥ĝhū*, **dn̥ĝhu̯ā*; Mann 1984—1987:151 **dn̥ĝu̯hā* ‘tongue’; Watkins 1985:15 **dn̥ghū* and 2000:21 **dn̥ghū* ‘tongue’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984:II:814 **t’n̥g[$^{h}$]uH-* and 1995:714 **t’n̥g$^{h}$uH-* ‘tongue’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:436—437; Mallory—Adams 1997:594 **dn̥ĝhuh$_{a}$-* ‘tongue’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:360; De Vaan 2008:343; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:806—807 **dn̥ĝhu̯ā*; Kroonen 2013:526—527 Proto-Germanic **tungōn-* ‘tongue’; Orël 2003:412 Proto-Germanic **tunǥōn*; Lehmann 1986:349; Feist 1939:482 **dn̥ĝh-u̯-ā*; De Vries 1977:600; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:389—390; Onions 1966:930; Klein 1971:771; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:892 **dn̥ĝhu̯-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:818; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:414—415; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:369—370; Smoczyński 2001.1: 353—354; Derksen 2008:159; Winter 1982. According to Pisani, Greek (Ionic) γλῶσσα (also γλάσσα), (Attic) γλῶττα ‘tongue’ belongs here as well. Pisani assumes development from *δλωχϝα (*δλχᾰϝα) < **dl̥(ə)ĝhu̯ā*. However, this proposal is rejected by Lehmann (1986:349) (see also Beekes 1969:246 and 2010.I:278).

C. Proto-Altaic **tilV* ‘tongue, voice’: Proto-Tungus **dilga-n* ‘voice’ > Manchu *ǯilgan* ‘sound, noise, voice’, *ǯilga-* ‘to sound, to shout, to sing (of birds)’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ǯiləhan* ‘voice’; Evenki *dilgan* ‘voice’; Lamut / Even *di̯lgə̣n* ‘voice’; Negidal *di̯lga-n* ‘voice’; Nanay / Gold *ǯi̯lgã* ‘voice’; Ulch *di̯lǯa(n)* ‘voice’; Orok *ǯi̯lda(n)* ‘voice’; Oroch *digga(n)* ‘voice’; Solon *dilgã* ‘voice’; Udihe *digana-* ‘to speak’. Proto-Turkic **dïl-*, **dil-* ‘tongue, language’ > Old Turkic *tïl* ‘tongue, language’; Karakhanide Turkic *tïl* ‘tongue, language’; Turkish *dil* ‘tongue, language’, *dilli* ‘having a tongue’; Gagauz *diĺ* ‘tongue, language’; Azerbaijani *dil* ‘tongue, language’; Turkmenian *dil* ‘tongue, language’; Uzbek *til* ‘tongue, language’; Karaim *tïl*, *til* ‘tongue, language’; Uighur *til* ‘tongue, language’; Tatar *tel* ‘tongue, language’; Bashkir *tel* ‘tongue, language’; Kirghiz *til* ‘tongue, language’; Kazakh *til* ‘tongue, language’; Noghay *til* ‘tongue, language’; Tuva *dïl* ‘tongue, language’; Yakut *tïl* ‘tongue, language’; Dolgan *tïl* ‘tongue, language’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1370—1371 **tilV* ‘tongue, voice’.

D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan (reduplicated) **jilə(jil)* (if from **tilə(til)*) ‘tongue’: Chukchi *jiliil*, *jiləjil* ‘tongue, blade of oar, language’, *jeləcyən* ‘tongue’, *jilə-lʔən* ‘translator’; Kerek *jiləil* (Kamen *ciliil*) ‘tongue’; Koryak *jijil* ‘tongue’, *jiləjil* ‘speech, language’, *jilə-lʁən* ‘translator’, *jilə-lʁət-* ‘to translate’; Alyutor *jiiləjil* (Palana *jelilŋən*) ‘tongue’, *jiilə-lʔat-* ‘translate’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *ɬcel* ‘tongue’. Fortescue 2005:115; Mudrak 1989b:99 **jilvə-jilvə* ‘tongue’.

Buck 1949:4.26 tongue; 18.11 voice (sb.); 18.24 language. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2354, **[t]ilV(-Ḳo)* (¬ **t-* ?) ‘tongue, organs of speech’.

241. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **t'or$^{y}$-a* ‘tree, the parts of a tree’ (> ‘leaf, branch, bark, etc.’):

A. Proto-Afrasian **t'[o]r-* ‘tree’, preserved in various tree names or names of parts of trees (‘leaves, branches, etc.’): Semitic: Akkadian *ṭarpaˀu* (*ṭarpiˀu*) ‘a variety of tamarisk’; Arabic *ṭarfāˀ* ‘tamarisk tree’. Hebrew *ṭārāφ* [טָרָף] ‘leaf’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Aramaic *ṭarpā*, *ṭəraφ* ‘leaf’; Syriac *ṭerpā* ‘leaf, branch’; Samaritan Aramaic *ṭrp* ‘leaf, part of a tree, branch’. Klein 1987:252. Egyptian *dȝb* ‘fig tree’ (< **drb*). West Chadic: Hausa *ɗoorawaa* ‘locust-bean tree’. East Chadic: Bidiya *tirip* ‘a kind of tree’ (assimilation of vowels). Orël—Stolbova 1995:516, no. 2464, **ṭarip-* ‘tree’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **t'er-w/u-*/**t'or-w/u-*, **t'r-ew-*/**t'r-ow-*/**t'r-u-* ‘tree, wood’: Greek δόρυ ‘tree, beam’, δρῦς ‘oak’; Sanskrit *dā́ru* ‘a piece of wood, wood, timber’, *drú-ḥ* ‘wood or any wooden implement’; Avestan *drvaēna-* ‘wooden’, *dāuru-* ‘wood(en object), log’; Albanian *dru* ‘tree, bark, wood’; Welsh *derwen* ‘oak’; Gothic *triu* ‘tree, wood’; Old Icelandic *tré* ‘tree’, *tjara* ‘tar’; Old English *trēow* ‘tree, wood’, *tierwe*, *teoru* ‘tar, resin’; Old Frisian *trē* ‘tree’; Old Saxon *triu*, *treo* ‘tree, beam’; New High German *Teer* ‘tar’; Lithuanian *dervà* ‘resinous wood’, *dãrva* ‘tar’; Old Church Slavic *drěvo* ‘tree’; Russian *dérevo* [дерево] ‘tree, wood’; Serbo-Croatian *drȉjevo* ‘tree, wood’; Czech *dřevo* ‘tree, wood’; Hittite *ta-ru* ‘wood’. Pokorny 1959:214—217 **deru-*, **dŏru-*, **dr(e)u-*, **dreu̯ə-*, **drū-* ‘tree’; Walde 1927—1932.I:804—806 **dereu̯(o)-*; Mann 1984—1987:142 **deru̯os*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* (**dreu̯-*) ‘tree, wood, timber, pitch-pine; pitch, tar, resin; hard, firm, solid, wooden’, 156 **dŏru* ‘timber, pole, spike, spear’, 157 **doru̯os*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* ‘wood (timber); resin’, 161 **dru-* (radical) ‘timber, wood’, 161 **drūi̯ō* (**druu̯ō*, **-i̯ō*; **drūn-*) ‘to harden, to strengthen’, 161 **drukos* ‘hard, firm, wooden’, 162 **drus-*, **drusos* ‘firm, solid’, 162 **druu̯os*, *-om*, *-is* ‘wooden, hard; wood’, 162 **drŭtos* ‘wooden, of oak, of hardwood; solid, firm, strong’, 165 **dru̯is*, *-i̯ə* ‘wood, trees, hardwood’, 165—166 **dru̯os*, *-om*; **drus-*, **dru-* ‘wood, timber, tree’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:192 and I:193 **t'er-w-*, **t'or-w-*, **t'r-eu-*, **t'r-u-* ‘oak (wood), tree’; Mallory—Adams 1997:598 **dóru* ‘wood, tree’; Watkins 1985:12 **deru* (also **dreu-*) and 2000:16—17 **deru* (also **dreu-*) ‘to be firm, solid, steadfast’ (suffixed variant form **drew-o-*; variant form **drou-*; suffixed zero-grade form **dru-mo-*; variant form **derw-*; suffixed variant form **drū-ro-*; lengthened zero-grade form **drū-*; *o*-grade form **doru-*; reduplicated form **der-drew-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:36; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:294 **dor-w-*, **dr-ew-*; Beekes 2010.I:349 **doru*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:411—412; Hofmann 1966:63 **dŏru*; Boisacq 1950:197—198 **doru*; Kroonen 2013:514 Proto-Germanic **terwa/ōn-* ‘tar’ and 522—523 Proto-Germanic **trewa-* ‘tree’; Orël 1998:76 and 2003:405 Proto-Germanic **terwōn* ~ **terwan*, 409—410 **trewan*; Lehmann 1986:347—

348 **deru-*, **drewo-*, **dr(e)w-(H-)*; Feist 1939:480—481 **der-eu̯-o-*; De Vries 1977:591 **dreu-* and 597; Klein 1971:745 **derew(o)-*, **drew(o)-* and 779 **derow(o)-*, **drew(o)-*; Onions 1966:904 and 939 **deru-*, **doru-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:775 **deru-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:725 **deru-*; Huld 1984:56 **dru-n-*; Derksen 2008:99 **deru-o-* and 2015:123—124 **deru-o-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:90—91; Smoczyński 2007.1:103; Benveniste 1969.I:104—111 and 1973:85—91; P. Friedrich 1970:140—149 **dorw-* ‘tree’ or ‘oak’; Osthoff 1901.I:98—180. Note: Indo-European loans (borrowed either from Baltic or from Germanic) in Uralic (Balto-Finnic): Finnish *terva* ‘tar’; Estonian *tõrv* ‘tar’; Livonian *tera* ‘tar’. Campbell 1990:173 and 1994:26. Also (Finno-Permian or Finno-Volgaic): Finnish *terho* ‘acorn’; Vote *turu*, *toro* ‘acorn’; Estonian *tõru*, *toro* ‘acorn’; Livonian *tę’rmə̂z* ‘acorn’. Campbell 1990:170 and 1994:25.

C. Proto-Altaic **tōrʸu* ‘birch bark, vessel made of birch bark’: Proto-Tungus **duri* ‘cradle made of birch bark’ > Evenki *dör* ‘cradle made of birch bark’; Negidal *duj* ‘cradle made of birch bark’; Manchu *duri* ‘a swinging cradle’; Nanay / Gold *duri* ‘cradle made of birch bark’; Ulch *duri* ‘cradle made of birch bark’; Oroch *duji* ‘cradle made of birch bark’; Udihe *düi* ‘cradle made of birch bark’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:217. Proto-Mongolian **duru-sun* ‘bark (specifically the bark of the birch tree)’ > Written Mongolian *duru-sun* ‘shell, bark (specifically, the bark of the birch tree)’; Khalkha *durs* ‘shell, bark (specifically, the bark of the birch tree)’; Buriat *durhan* ‘bark’; Kalmyk *dursn̦* ‘bark’; Ordos *durusu* ‘bark, skin, peel’. Proto-Turkic **Tōrʸ* ‘birch bark; birch cover (for a bow); vessel made of birch bark’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *tōz* ‘birch bark’; Turkish (Osmanli) *toz* ‘a material used to wrap bows’; Uighur *tozda* ‘on birch bark’; Uzbek *tọs* ‘birch bark’; Tatar *tuz* ‘birch bark’; Bashkir *tuð* ‘birch bark’; Kazakh *toz* ‘birch bark’; Oyrot *tos* ‘birch bark’; Tuva *tos* ‘birch bark’; Yakut *tuos* ‘birch bark’. Clauson 1972:571; Tenishev—Dybo 2001—2006.I:103. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1380 **tṓŕu*. Semantic development as in Albanian *dru* ‘tree, bark, wood’ cited above.

Buck 1949:1.42 tree.

242. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **t’oxʷ-*:
(vb.) **t’oxʷ-* ‘to give, to bring’;
(n.) **t’oxʷ-a* ‘giving, gift, present’

A. Proto-Indo-European (**t’oxʷ-C-* >) **t’ō-*, **t’oxʷ-V-* (> **t’ŏw-*) ‘to give’: Sanskrit (reduplicated) *dá-dā-ti* (inf. *dāváne*) ‘to give, to bestow, to grant, to yield, to impart, to present, to offer to, to place, to put, to apply (in medicine), to permit, to allow’; Greek (reduplicated) δί-δω-μι ‘to give, to grant, to offer’, (Cyprian inf.) δοϝεναι ‘to give’; Latin *dō* ‘to give’ (subj. *duim*, *duīs*, *duit*); Lithuanian *dúoti* ‘to give’ (*daviaũ* ‘I gave’), *dovanà*

'present, gift'; Old Church Slavic *dati* 'to give'. Rix 1998a:89—90 **deh$_3$-* 'to give', 90—91 **deh$_3$u̯-* 'to give'; Pokorny 1959:223—226 **dō-* : **də-*, **dō-u-* : **dəu-* : **du-* 'to give'; Walde 1927—1932.I:814—816 **dō-*; Mann 1984—1987:144 **deu-* theme of verb 'to give', 146 **dĭdōmi* (theme: **dō-*) 'to give', 152 **dō-* (**dŏdmi*, *dĭdōmi*) 'to give', 158 **dōu̯-* (theme of **dō-* 'to give'), **dōu̯it-*; Watkins 1985:15 **dō-* (contracted from **doə̯-*) and 2000:21 **dō-* 'to give' (oldest form **deə̯$_3$-*, colored to **doə̯$_3$-*, contracted to **dō-*), zero-grade form **də-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:203 **t'oH-* > **t'ō-* and 1995.I:44, I:175, I:179, I:189, I:655, I:656, I:658, I:660, I:781, I:835 **t'oH-* to give; to take; to take a wife', I:147 **t'oH$^o$-* > **t'oHw-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:224 **deh$_3$-* 'to give'; Derksen 2008:96; Schmalstieg 1980:150—157; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:13—14; Boisacq 1950:186 **dō-*, **də-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:388—389; Hofmann 1966:59 **dō-*, **də-*; Beekes 2010.I:331—332 **deh$_3$-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:279—281 **deə̯$_3$-*; De Vaan 2008:174—175; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:360—363 **dō-*, **də-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:178—180; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:111—112 **dō-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:134—135 **deh$_3$-*; Illič-Svityč 1965:338 **deH$^u$-*. Note: Sturtevant (1951:52, §76) compares Hittite (3rd sg.) *da-a-i* 'takes' here and reconstructs Indo-Hittite **deh-* (see also Sturtevant 1942:43, §41c; Kloekhorst 2008b:803—805 **dóh$_3$-ei*) ; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:60—69 **deh$_3$-*.

B. Proto-Uralic **toxe-* 'to give, to bring': Finnish *tuo-* 'to bring'; Estonian *too-* 'to bring'; Lapp / Saami (Southern) *duokĕ-* 'to sell'; Mordvin (Erza) *tuje-*, *tuva-* 'to bring'; Vogul / Mansi *tuu-* 'to bring'; Ostyak / Xanty *tu-* 'to bring' (Southern pret. *təwə-*, *tæwə-*); Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *taa-* 'to give, to bring'; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *taa-* 'to bring'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *te-d'a-* 'to give, to bring'; Selkup Samoyed *ta-da-* 'to bring'; Kamassian *de$^ʔ$-*, *deþ-* 'to give, to bring'. Collinder 1955:64, 1960:408 **toγõ-*, 1965:32, and 1977:81; Rédei 1986—1988:529—530 **toγe-*; Décsy 1990:109 **tonga* 'to bring, to get, to receive'; Joki 1973:331 **tōke-*; Sammallahti 1988:550 **toxi-* 'to bring'; Janhunen 1977b:145 **tə̂-*; Illič-Svityč 1965:338 **tōγe-*.

Sumerian *du* 'to bring'.

Buck 1949:11.21 give. Illič-Svityč 1965:338 **to/H/л* 'to give' ('давать'); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:305—306, no. 121; Collinder 1965:32; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2251, **toH[ü]* ~ **ta|æH[ü]* (= **to[Γ][ü]* ~ **ta|æ[Γ][ü]* ?) 'to bring, to fetch, to give'; Fortescue 1998:158.

243. Proto-Nostratic root **t'uʔ$^w$-* (~ **t'oʔ$^w$-*):
(vb.) **t'uʔ$^w$-* 'to separate, divide, or split into two parts; to cut in half';
(n.) **t'uʔ$^w$-a* 'separation or division into two; two halves'

Note: used as the base for the numeral ‘two’ in Indo-European and Altaic.

A. Proto-Indo-European (*t’u$^{ə w}$-o-, *t’u$^{ə w}$-i- >) *t’(u)wo-, *t’(u)wi- ‘two’: Sanskrit (m.) *dváu*, *dvā́* (Vedic also *duváu*, *duvā́*), (f./n.) *dvé* (Vedic also *duvé*), *dvi-* (in composition) ‘two’, *dviká-ḥ* ‘consisting of two’, *dvíḥ* ‘twice’; Avestan (m.) *dva*, (f./n.) *baē* ‘two’, *biš* ‘twice’; Greek δύω ‘two’ (uninflected δύο), δίς ‘twice, doubly’; Latin *duo*, (f.) *duae* ‘two’, *bīnī* ‘twofold, twice’, *bis* ‘twice’; Umbrian (m. nom.) *dur* ‘two’; Old Irish *dáu*, *dóu*, *dó* ‘two’, *dé-* (in composition) ‘two-, double’; Old Welsh *dou* ‘two’; Old Breton *dou*, *dau* ‘two’; Cornish *dow*, *dew* ‘two’; Albanian (Gheg) (m.) *dy*, (f.) *dȳ* ‘two’; Gothic (m.) *twai*, (f.) *twōs*, (n.) *twa* ‘two’; Old Icelandic (m.) *tveir*, (f.) *tvær*, (n.) *tvau* ‘two’, *tvennr*, *tvinnr* ‘consisting of two different things or kinds, twofold, in pairs’, *tví-* (in compounds) ‘twice, double’, *tvisvar*, *tysvar* ‘twice’; Faroese *tveir* ‘two’, *tvinnur* ‘twofold’; Norwegian *to* ‘two’, *tvinn*, *tvenne* ‘twofold’; Old Swedish (m.) *tu*, (f) *twār* ‘two’, *twiswar*, *tyswar* ‘twice’ (Modern Swedish *två* ‘two’, *tvänne* ‘twofold’); Old Danish *tva*, *tve* ‘two’, *tysver*, *tysser*, *tøsser* ‘twice’ (Modern Danish *to* ‘two’, *tvende* ‘twofold’); Old English (m.) *twēgen*, (f./n.) *twā*, (n.) *tū* ‘two’, *twi-* (prefix) ‘two’, *twinn* ‘double’, *twiwa* ‘twice’; Old Frisian (m.) *twēne*, *tvēne*, (f./n.) *tva* ‘two’, *twi-* (prefix) ‘twice, double’, *twia* (adv.) ‘twice, double’; Old Saxon (m.) *twēne*, (f.) *twā*, *twō*, (n.) *twē* ‘two’; Dutch *twee* ‘two’; Old High German (m.) *zwēne*, (f.) *zwā*, *zwō*, (n.) *zwei* ‘two’ (New High German *zwei*), *zwi-* (prefix) ‘twice, double’; Lithuanian (m.) *dù*, (f.) *dvì* ‘two’; Latvian (m./f.) *divi* ‘two’; Old Prussian (m./f.) *dwai* ‘two’; Old Church Slavic (m.) *dъva*, (f./n.) *dъvě* ‘two’; Russian (m./n.) *dva* [два]. (f.) *dve* [две] ‘two’; Czech (m.) *dva*, (f./n.) *dvě* ‘two’; Polish (m./n.) *dwa*, (f.) *dwie* ‘two’; Bulgarian *dva* ‘two’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *tuwa-* ‘two’; Lycian *kbi-*, (Milyan) *tbi-* ‘two’. Pokorny 1959:228—232 (m.) *dṷō(u)* ‘two’ (*duṷōu*), (f.) *dṷai*; *dṷei-*, *dṷoi-*, *dṷi-*; Walde 1927—1932.I:817—821 *dṷōu*; Mann 1984—1987:171 *dṷeiios* (*dṷeiios*) ‘twofold, paired; two, pair’, 171 *dṷəi* (fem. form of *dṷōu*), 171 *dṷi-* (prefix) ‘two-, bi-’, 172 *dṷidh-* ‘divided, in two’, 172 *dṷiǩ-* ‘in two, twofold, halved’, 172 *dṷiǩsos*, *-ios* ‘double, twin, divided’, 173 *dṷīnos*, *-is* ‘double, twin’, 172 *dṷis* ‘twofold, twice’, 173 *dṷisios* ‘double’, 173 *dṷism̥* ‘in two, through the middle’, 174 *dṷist-* ‘twofold, divided, in two’, 174 *dṷitos*, *-ios* (*-īios*) ‘second’, 174 *dṷō*, 174 *dṷoidh-* ‘double, half, two-way’, 174 *dṷoiiō* ‘to divide, to pair, to double’, 174 *dṷoil-* ‘division, pair, double’, 174 *dṷoin-* ‘two, in twos, doubly’, 174 *dṷoios* (*dṷoiios*) ‘double; couple, pair’, 174—175 *dṷōu*, *duṷōu*, *dṷō*, (f./n.) *dṷəi*, *duṷəi* ‘two’; Watkins 1985:15—16 *dwo-* (variant form *duwo-*) and 2000:21—22 *dwo-* (variant form *duwo-*) ‘two’; Mallory—Adams 1997:399—400 *dṷéh$_3$(u)* ~ *duṷéh$_3$(u)* (dual) ‘two’, *dṷi-ios*, *dṷi-tos* ‘belonging to two, second’, *dṷoi* ~ *d(u)ṷoiios* ‘two, group of two’, *dṷi-* ‘bi-’ (prefix)’, *dṷis* ‘twice’,

*dṵoi̯os* ‘double(d), twofold’, **dṵ(e)i-plos* ‘double, twofold’ and 2006:308—310 **dwéh₃(u)* ‘two’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:844—845 **t’ṵo-* (earlier **t’ºo-*), II:845 **t’ṵis*, II:849 and 1995.I:742—743 **t’wo-* (earlier **t’ºo-*), **t’w-i-* ‘two’, I:743 **t’wis* ‘twice’, I:746; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:82, II:84, II:85, II:85—86, and II:86; Boisacq 1950:190 **d(u)ṵis* and 205—206 **d(u)ṵō(u)*; Hofmann 1966:60 **dṵis* and 65 **d(u)ṵō(u)*, **dṵi-*, **dṵoi-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:398—399 **dṵi-s* and I:424—425 **duṵŏ̄*, **duṵōu*, **dṵō(u)*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:287 and I:301—301 **duwō-*, **dwō*; De Vaan 2008:183; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:106 **dṵī-no-* or **dṵei-no-*, **dṵei̯ino-*, I:107 **dṵi-*, and I:381—383 **d(u)ṵŏ̄*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:71 and 181—188 **duwŏ*; Orël 2003:414 Proto-Germanic **twiz*, 414—415 **twō(u)*; Kroonen 2013:529 Proto-Germanic **twa-* ‘two’ and 530 **twis* ‘twice’; Feist 1939:484—485 **dṵōṵ*, **dṵŏ̄*; Lehmann 1986:350—351 **dwō(u)*, (f.) **dwai*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:367 and II:392; De Vries 1977:601, 601—602 **dṵis-no-*, and 602; Onions 1966:952 **d(u)wo(u)*; Hoad 1986:511; Barnhart 1995:841; Skeat 1898:671—672; Klein 1971:790 **duwŏ̄-*, **duwōu-*, **dwō(u)-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:415—416 **duoh₁* and 417; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:894 **d(u)ṵōṵ*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:820 **dwōu*; Huld 1984:56—57; Orël 1998:79; Derksen 2008:130 **duo-h₁*; Brugmann 1904:364 **d(u)ṵō(u)*; Beekes 1995:212 (m.) **duo-h₁*, (f./n.) **duo-ih₁* and 2010.I:359 **duṵo*, **duṵ-eh₃*; Szemerényi 1996:222 (m.) **duwō*/**dwō*, (f.) **duwoi*/**dwoi*; Fortson 2010:146 **d(u)ṵoh₁*; Blažek 1999b:161—184 **duwŏ̄*, earliest form **du*; Clackson 2007:198 **duó-*. Note: There is some evidence that this term may have been a borrowing from Northwest Caucasian (see Chapter 19, §19.10. Numerals, for details).

B. Proto-Altaic **tṵu(wi)* ‘two’: Proto-Tungus **ǯu-* ‘two’ > Evenki *ǯūr* ‘two’; Lamut / Even *ǯō̃r* ‘two’; Manchu *ǯuwe* ‘two’, *ǯuru* ‘pair’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ǯū* ‘two’; Jurchen *ǯuwe* ‘two’; Ulch *ǯuel(i)* ‘two’; Orok *dū* ‘two’; Nanay / Gold *ǯū*, *ǯuer* ‘two’; Oroch *ǯū* ‘two’; Udihe *ǯū* ‘two’; Solon *ǯūr* ‘two’. Proto-Mongolian **ǯiw-* ~ **ǯui-* ‘two’ > Middle Mongolian *ǯirin* ‘two’; Written Mongolian *ǯiren* ‘two’; Khalkha *ǯirin* ‘two’; Dagur *ǯūr(ū)* ‘pair’; Monguor *ǵuru* ‘two’. Poppe 1955:243—244 **ǯi* ‘two’. Proto-Turkic **TV-bVr-* ‘second’ > Old Turkic (Old Bulgar) *tvirem* ‘second’; Chuvash *tebər*, *tebərew* ‘two’. Poppe 1960:28; Street 1974:14 **ǰi-* (and ? **ǰü-*) ‘two’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1374—1375 **tṵubu* ‘two’; Blažek 1999b:177 Proto-Altaic **töwi* ~ **tüwi* ‘two’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2243, Proto-Altaic **tüwu* ‘two’. Note: The Proto-Altaic reconstruction given here is based upon Blažek’s modified Proto-Altaic reconstruction.

C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian (derivational affix) **-təvæ-* ‘to remove’ > Chukchi *-t(u)we-* ‘to remove (clothes)’; Kerek *-twa-* ‘to remove’ (*namŋətXa-twa-* ‘to unstick’ from *namŋətXa-u-* ‘to glue, to stick’); Koryak *-t(ə)ve-* ‘to remove (clothes)’; Alyutor *-tva-* ‘to remove’. Fortescue 2005:424.

Sumerian *du*$_{8}$ ‘to split apart; to break off, to tear or pull off; to destroy, to demolish, to ruin, to pull down’, *du*$_{8}$*du*$_{8}$ ‘to pull off or apart’.

Buck 1949:12.23 separate (vb.); 12.232 divide. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2243, **tüʔ[o]* ‘two’ Blažek 1999b:178—179 Proto-Nostratic **tu* or **tuwi*.

244. Proto-Nostratic root **t’uk’-* (~ **t’ok’-*):
(vb.) **t’uk’-* ‘to knock, to beat, to strike, to pound, to trample’;
(n.) **t’uk’-a* ‘knock, thump, blow, stroke’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t’uk’-*, **t’ok’-* ‘to knock, to beat, to strike, to pound’: Proto-Semitic **t’ak’-* (**t’ak’-ak’-*, [reduplicated] **tak’-tak’-*, **t’ak’-aw-*, etc.) ‘to knock, to beat, to strike, to pound’ > Arabic *ṭaḳḳa* (‘to make a striking, hitting, or flapping sound’ >) ‘to crack, to pop; to clack, to smack, to flap; to burst, to explode’, *ṭaḳṭaḳa* ‘to crack, to snap, to rattle, to clatter, to clang, to pop, to crash, to crackle, to rustle, to make the ground resound with the hoof, to crack the fingers or joints’, *ṭaḳṭūḳa* ‘crash, bang; clap, thud, crack, pop’; Ḥarsūsi *ṭeḳ* ‘to knock, to grind’, *meṭéḳ* ‘pestle’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ṭeḳḳ* ‘to knock, to bang, to pound, to smash (rocks), to rip (clothes)’, *múṭṭəḳ* ‘pestle’, *ṭéḳaʿ* ‘to push’; Mehri *ṭəḳ* ‘to knock, to pound, to smash, to rip (clothes)’, *məṭáḳ* ‘pestle’; Soqoṭri *ṭəḳ* ‘to tire’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṭaḳʾa* [ጠቅአ]‘to be intrepid, harsh, ruthless’, *ṭaḳawa* [ጠቀወ] ‘to beat, to pound’; Tigrinya *ṭäḳʿe* ‘to oppress’, *ṭäḳṭäḳä* ‘to crush, to pound, to cram, to press’; Amharic *ṭäḳḳa* ‘to strike, to attack’; Gurage *ṭəḳäṭäḳä* ‘to squeeze things together, to stuff in, to level the floor of the house by pressing down the ground’. According to Leslau (1987:595), the following belong here as well: Geez / Ethiopic *ṭaḳʿa* [ጠቅዐ], *ṭaḳʾa* [ጠቅአ] ‘to sound, to blow a trumpet, to ring a bell’, *maṭḳəʿ* [መጥቅዕ] ‘trumpet, horn, church bell, gong’; Tigre *ṭaḳʿa* ‘to play an instrument’, *mäṭḳəʿ* ‘bell, stone used in striking a bell’; Tigrinya *ṭäḳʿe* ‘to strike a bell’; Amharic *ṭäḳḳa* ‘to strike a bell’, *mäṭḳ* ‘small stone used in striking a bell’. Leslau 1979:629 and 1987:595, 596. Egyptian *dqw* ‘flour, powder’, *dq* ‘to pound, to crush’, *dqr* ‘to press (?), to exclude (?)’. Hannig 1995:988; Erman—Grapow 1921:216 and 1926—1963.5:494—495; Gardiner 1957:603; Faulkner 1962:316. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **ɗook’-* ‘to burst (intr.)’ > Hadiyya *t’ook’-* ‘to burst (intr.)’; Kambata *t’ook’-* ‘to burst (intr.)’; Sidamo *ɗook-* ‘to burst, to break (intr.)’, *t’ook-* ‘to burst (intr.)’. Hudson 1989:31 and 34. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ɗuk’-* ‘to be broken to pieces’ > Iraqw *dukteno* ‘kindling’ (semantics: kindling is wood broken into small pieces); Dahalo *ɗuk’-* ‘to be destroyed’, *ɗuk’uð-* ‘to destroy’. Ehret 1980:192. (?) Central Chadic: Guduf *ɗə̃gə̀* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’; Dghwede *ɗgà* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’; Ngweshe *ɗᵊgə̀də̀* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’; Gisiga *ɗugo-* ‘to pound (in a mortar)’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:268—269.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tukai* ‘to tread down, to trample on, to bruise or destroy by treading, to pound in a mortar, to mash, to vex’; Kannaḍa *tōku* ‘to beat, to strike’; Tuḷu *tōku* ‘collision’; Manḍa *tug-* (*tukt-*) ‘to trample’; Pengo *tog-* (*tokt-*) ‘to tread on, to step on’; Kui *tōga* (*tōgi-*) ‘to kick’; Kuṛux *tōknā* ‘to stamp violently with one foot or with both feet (as in *jatra* dance)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:311, no. 3539. Kannaḍa *dūku* ‘to push’; Kuṛux *tukknā* ‘to give a push to, to shove’; Malto *tuke* ‘to push, to remove’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:287, no. 3286.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **t’k’ač-* ‘to hit, to strike’: Georgian *t’k’ac-* ‘to strike, to hit, to crack, to split’; Laz *t’(k’)oč-* ‘to throw, to hurl’. Klimov 1964:182 **ṭḳac$_1$-*. Proto-Kartvelian **t’k’eč-/*t’k’ič-* ‘to beat, to hit, to strike’: Georgian *t’k’ec-/t’k’ic-* ‘to beat’; Mingrelian *t’k’ač-* ‘to hit, to strike’; Svan *t’k’eč-/t’k’č-* ‘to hit, to strike (with a stick)’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:331 **ṭḳec$_1$-/*ṭḳic$_1$-*; Fähnrich 2007:403—404 **ṭḳec$_1$-/*ṭḳic$_1$-*; Klimov 1964:182 **ṭḳec$_1$-* and 1998:189 **ṭḳec$_1$-/*ṭḳc$_1$-* ‘to strike’; Schmidt 1962:134. Proto-Kartvelian **t’k’eb-/*t’k’b-* ‘press, to squeeze’: Georgian *t’k’eb-/t’k’b-* ‘to press’; Laz *(n)t’k’ab-* ‘to press, to squeeze’; Svan *t’k’eb-/t’k’b-* ‘to press’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:329—330 **ṭḳeb-*; Fähnrich 2007:402 **ṭḳeb-*; Klimov 1964:182 **ṭḳeb-* and 1998:188 **ṭḳeb-/*ṭḳb-* ‘to press, to press oneself’. Proto-Kartvelian **t’k’ep’-* ‘to press, to trample’: Georgian *t’k’ep’-* ‘to trample’; Laz *(n)t’k’ap’-* ‘to trample’. Klimov 1998:189 **ṭḳeṗ-* ‘to press, to trample’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:329—330 **ṭḳeb-* (**ṭḳeṗ-* < **ṭḳeb-* through assimilation); Fähnrich 2007:402 **ṭḳeb-* (**ṭḳeṗ-* < **ṭḳeb-* through assimilation).

D. Proto-Indo-European **t’ok’-* > (with regressive deglottalization) **t$^h$ok’-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **t$^h$ek’-*) ‘to knock, to beat, to strike’: Proto-Germanic **θek-/*θak-* ‘to knock, to beat, to strike’ > Old Icelandic *þjaka* ‘to thwack, to thump, to smite’, *þjakaðr* ‘worn, fainting, exhausted’, *þjökka* ‘to thwack, to thump, to beat, to chastise’, *þykkr* (< **þjökk-* < **þekk-*) ‘a thwack, thump, blow, a hurt’; Old English *þaccian* ‘to clap, to pat, to stroke, to touch gently, to smack, to beat’; Middle English *þakken* ‘to pat, to stroke’. Mann 1984—1987:1371 **teg-* ‘weary; to fail, to droop, to waste away’; Onions 1966:921; Klein 1971:765; Skeat 1898641—642. Different etymology in De Vries 1977:630.

E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **tukɜ-* (**tuγɜ-*) ‘to break, to crush’ > Cheremis / Mari *tuγe-* ‘to break, to crush’; Votyak / Udmurt *tijal-* ‘to break, to break off’. Rédei 1986—1988:800 **tukɜ-* (**tuγɜ-*). Semantic development as in Greek κλάω ‘to break, to break off’ < Proto-Indo-European **k$^h$el-* ‘to strike, to wound, to injure’ (cf. Latin *calamitās* ‘loss, misfortune, damage, calamity’, *clādēs* ‘disaster, injury’; Lithuanian *kalù*, *kálti* ‘to forge, to strike’; Old Church Slavic *kolǫ*, *klati* ‘to prick, to hew’). Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *tuknə* ‘nail’, *tuknəš-* ‘to knock in’, *tuktujə* ‘blacksmith’s tools’. Nikolaeva 2006:438.

F. (?) Altaic: Mongolian *tuyila-* ‘to strike with the feet, to rear, to buck (of a horse)’; Khalkha *tuil-* ‘to strike with the feet, to rear, to buck (of a horse)’. Turkic: Sagai (dialect of Khakas) *tuγula-* ‘to strike with the feet, to rear, to buck (of a horse)’. Poppe 1960:61; Street 1974:28 **tugï-la-* ‘to strike with the feet, to rear, to buck (of a horse)’.

Sumerian *dug$_4$-ga* ‘to strike, to beat, to hit, to smite, to kill’.
Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.26 break (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:316—318, no. 136; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2349, **ṭ[ü]Ḳa* ‘to thrust, to stab, to push’.

245. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **t’ul$^y$-a* ‘wedge, peg’:

A. Proto-Indo-European **t’ul-* ‘pin, wedge, peg’: (?) Greek -δυλος in κόν-δυλος ‘knuckle’, σφόν-δυλος ‘(sg.) a vertebra; (pl.) the backbone, spine, or neck’, κορ-δύλη ‘club, cudgel’; Old Irish *dul* ‘pin, wedge’, *dula* ‘peg’; Middle High German *zol* ‘log’ (New High German *Zoll*); Low German *tolle* ‘top-knot’; Frisian *tulle* ‘peg (in the game of tipcat)’; Lithuanian *dùlas* ‘rowlock’. Pokorny 1959:194—196 **del-* ‘to split, to cleave’; Walde 1927—1932.I:809—812 **del-*; Mann 1984—1987:167 **dulos*, *-ā*, *-ō(n)* ‘knob, plug, peg, thole-pin, rowlock’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:887—888 **del-* ‘to split, to cleave’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:816.
B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Volgaic **tola* ‘wedge, peg’ > Mordvin (Erza) *tulo* ‘cork, plug; wedge’, (Moksha) *tula* ‘wedge’; Zyrian / Komi *tul* ‘peg, plug, wedge’. Rédei 1986—1988:797—798 **tola*; Sammallahti 1988:554 **tola* ‘wedge’.
C. Proto-Altaic **ṭi̯ūl$^y$u* ‘wedge, peg’: Proto-Tungus **ǯul-* ‘wedge’ > Evenki *ǯulamaptin* ‘wedge’; Lamut / Even *ǯulъmptiŋ* ‘wedge’; Ulch *ǯilemeče* ‘wedge’; Udihe *ǯolomopti* ‘wedge’. Proto-Turkic **dīl$^y$-* ‘tooth’ > Old Turkic *diš* ‘tooth’; Turkish *diş* ‘tooth, cog’; Gagauz *diš* ‘tooth’; Azerbaijani *diš* ‘tooth’; Turkmenian *dīš* ‘tooth’; Uzbek *tiš* ‘tooth’; Uighur *tiš*, *čiš* ‘tooth’; Karaim *tiš* ‘tooth’; Tatar *teš* ‘tooth’; Bashkir *teš* ‘tooth’; Kirghiz *tiš* ‘tooth’; Kazakh *tis* ‘tooth’; Noghay *tis* ‘tooth’; Tuva *diš* ‘tooth’; Yakut *tīs* ‘tooth’; Dolgan *tīs* ‘tooth’. Perhaps also Mongolian *duldui* ‘stick, staff, pilgrim’s staff’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1375 **ṭi̯ūĺu* ‘wedge, peg’.

Buck 1949:4.27 tooth.

246. Proto-Nostratic root **t’um-* (~ **t’om-*):
(vb.) **t’um-* ‘to quiet, to calm, to pacify, to tame’;
(n.) **t’um-a* ‘quietness, calmness, peace, tranquility’; (adj.) ‘quiet, calm, tame, peaceful’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ṭammana* ‘to quiet, to calm, to appease, to pacify, to allay, to assuage, to soothe’, *ṭamn* ‘quiet, tranquil’, *ṭamʔana*, *ṭaʔmana* ‘to calm, to quiet, to pacify, to appease, to assuage, to soothe’. Zammit 2002:273.

B. Proto-Indo-European **t’om-H-/*t’m̥-H-* ‘to tame, to subdue’: Sanskrit *dā́myati* ‘to tame, to subdue, to conquer’, *damáyati*, *damāyáti* ‘to subdue, to overpower’; Prakrit *dāmiya-* ‘tamed’; Greek δαμάζω ‘to overpower, to tame, to subdue, to conquer’, δμῆσις ‘taming, breaking in (horses)’; Latin *domō* ‘to tame, to subdue, to overcome, to conquer’; Middle Irish *damnaim* ‘to subdue’; Gothic *ga-tamjan* ‘to tame’; Old Icelandic *temja* ‘to tame, to break in’, *tamr* ‘tame’, *tamning* ‘taming, breaking in’; Old English *temian* ‘to tame, to subdue’, *tama* ‘tameness’, *tam* ‘tame’; Old Frisian *temja* ‘to tame’, *tam* ‘tame’; Dutch *tam* ‘tame’, *temmen* ‘to tame’; Old High German *zemmen* ‘to tame’ (New High German *zähmen*), *zam* ‘tame’ (New High German *zahm*); Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *da-ma-aš-zi* ‘to press, to oppress’. Rix 1998a:99—100 **demh$_2$-* ‘to tame, to domesticate, to subdue, to control’; Pokorny 1959:199—200 (**demə-*) **domə-* : **d$_o$mə-* ‘to tame, to subdue’; Walde 1927—1932.I:788—790 (**demā-*) **domā-*, **dəmə-*; Mann 1984—1987:153—154 **domāi̯ō* (**dəmāi̯ō*, **dm̥māi̯ō*), *-ei̯ō* ‘to tame, to domesticate’; Watkins 1985:11 **demə-* and 2000:16 **demə-* ‘to constrain, to force, especially to break in (horses)’ (oldest form **dem$_2$-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:205 **t’emH-/*t’m̥H-* > **t’m̄-* and 1995.I:177 **t’emH-/*t’m̥H-* > **t’m̄-* ‘to tame’; Mallory—Adams 1997:565 **demh$_x$-* ‘to subdue, especially to break a horse’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:19 and II:35; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:250—251; Boisacq 1950:165—166; Frisk 1970—1973.I:346; Hofmann 1966:51 **domā-*, **dəmə-*; Beekes 2010.I:301 **demh$_2$-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:181—182; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:367—368; De Vaan 2008:178; Orël 2003:401 Proto-Germanic **tamaz*, 401 **tamjanan*; Kroonen 2013:508 Proto-Germanic **tamjan-* ‘to tame’; De Vries 1977:581 and 586; Feist 1939:203 **dom-ā-*; Lehmann 1986:149—150; Skeat 1898:623; Onions 1966:901; Klein 1971:744; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:872; Kluge—Seebold 1989:804; Sturtevant 1951:61, §83; Kloekhorst 2008b:822—824 **dméh$_2$-s-ti*.

C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *tumnerii-* ‘to be reserved about; to tell in secret’. Nikolaeva 2006:439.

D. Proto-Altaic **t̪iŭm(k)u* ‘silent, calm’: Proto-Tungus **duŋk-* ‘(adj.) dark, sullen; quiet, peaceful; (vb.) to bow the head; to knit the brows; to bow the head and slumber; to become silent, calm’ > Manchu *duŋki* ‘tired, exhausted, weak (in judgment)’; Evenki *duŋkin-* ‘to bow the head’; Lamut / Even *duŋkun-* ‘to bow the head, to knit the brows’; Ulch *duŋgu* ‘quiet, peaceful’; Orok *duŋgalị-* ‘to bow the head and slumber’; Nanay / Gold *duŋgirien-* ‘to become silent, calm’, *duŋgu* ‘quite, peaceful’. Proto-Mongolian **düŋ-* ‘to become dull, murky (of sky), sullen, melancholic’ > Mongolian *düŋsüi-* ‘to be silent, to maintain one’s silence; to be morose,

sulky, pensive, melancholic; to look askance’, *düŋsüger* ‘moroseness, melancholy, sorrow’, *düŋsüilče-* ‘to be silent, pensive, or melancholic’; Khalkha *dünsī-* ‘to become dull, murky (of sky), sullen, melancholic’; Buriat *dünyē-* ‘to become dull, murky (of sky), sullen, melancholic’; Kalmyk *düŋgē-*, *düŋgī-* ‘to be silent’, *düŋsī-* ‘to become dull, murky (of sky), sullen, melancholic’; Ordos *düŋ* ‘obscure’. Proto-Turkic **dïm-* ‘to be silent’ > Turkmenian *dïm-* ‘to be silent’; Bashkir *dïm-* ‘to be silent’; Kirghiz *tim*, *tïm* ‘silently’; Kazakh *tïm* ‘silently’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1375—1376 **ṭi̯ŭm(k)u* ‘silent, calm’.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **təmɣə-* ‘still’ > Chukchi *təmɣ-ew-* ‘to grow still (wind or storm)’, *təmɣətəm* ‘calm, still (weather)’; Kerek *təmɣ-au-* ‘to grow calm (weather)’, *nə-təmɣ-at-Xi* ‘quiet’, *təmək* ‘quiet (outside)’; Koryak *təmɣ-et-* ‘to grow still’; Alyutor *təmɣətəm* ‘calm, still (weather)’. Kamchadal / Itelmen (Eastern) *tymsazin* ‘to calm, to pacify’. Fortescue 2005:297.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:307—308, no. 125. Slightly different etymology in Dolgoposky 2008, no. 2379, **ṭ[i]m[Vn]V* ‘to be quiet, to be calm’.

247. Proto-Nostratic root **t’uq’*$^{w}$- (~ **t’oq’*$^{w}$-):
(vb.) **t’uq’*$^{w}$- ‘to be dark, cloudy, dusty, dirty, sooty, smoky’;
(n.) **t’uq’*$^{w}$*-a* ‘darkness, (dark) cloud, dust, dirt, soot, smoke’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t’o(o)k’*$^{w}$- ‘(vb.) to be dark, cloudy, dusty, sooty, smoky; (n.) fog, cloud, darkness, soot, smoke’: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *ṭāḳā* [ጣቃ] ‘darkness, obscurity, gloominess, fog’; Tigre *ṭaḳyat* ‘fog, cloud, darkness’; Tigrinya *ṭaḳa* ‘fog, cloud, darkness’; Amharic *ṭaḳa* ‘fog, cloud, darkness’. Geez / Ethiopic *ṭaḳara* [ጠቀረ] ‘to be black, dusty, sooty’, *ṭaḳar* [ጠቀር] ‘soot’; Tigrinya *ṭäḳḳärä* ‘to be black’; Amharic *ṭäḳḳ*$^{w}$*ärä* ‘to be black, to turn black, to tan (in the sun), to grow dark’, *ṭəḳur* ‘black, dark (skin)’; Gurage *ṭäḳ*$^{w}$*ärä* ‘to be black’, *ṭäḳär* ‘soot on the roof’; Harari *ṭiḳär* ‘soot’. Leslau 1979:628 and 1987:595, 596. Egyptian *dqr* ‘incense’. Hannig 1995:988; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:496. Proto-Southern Cushitic **ḍeek’*$^{w}$- ‘to be dark’ > Ma’a *kiduɣú*, *kidugú* ‘darkness’; Dahalo *ḍeek’*$^{w}$*ááni* ‘shadow’. Ehret 1980:190. According to Ehret, “[t]he back vowel of the Oromo reflex suggests that we have here another instance of pre-Southern Cushitic *o(o) becoming proto-Southern Cushitic *e(e) after a retroflex consonant — a rule note[d] in Chapter 2, section I, and if the environment proposed for the rule is correct, then an original verb must be reconstructed to account for the vowel shift.”

B. Dravidian: Tamil *tuka̲ḷ* ‘dust, particle of dust, pollen; fault, moral defect’; Telugu *dūga̲ṛa* ‘dust, dirt, soot’; Kolami *tu·k* ‘dust, earth, clay’; Naikṛi *tūk* ‘earth, clay’; Parji *tūk*, *tūkuḍ* ‘earth, clay, soil’; Gadba (Ollari) *tūkuḍ* ‘earth, clay’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:287, no. 3283.

C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **təqi-* '(vb.) to smoke; (n.) smoke': Koryak *təqəŋ-* 'having the taste of strong tobacco'; Alyutor *tqi-* 'to smoke', *tqitəq-* 'smoke'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *t'it'im* 'smoke', *t'e-kas-*, *t'i-* 'to smoke' (this may be a borrowing from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:300—301.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 1.73 cloud; 1.83 smoke (sb.).

## 22.9. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *dʸ

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| dʸ- | dʸ- | c- | ǯg- | dʰ- | tʸ- | ǯ- | c- |
| -dʸ- | -dʸ- | -c(c)-/ -y- | -ǯg- | -dʰ- | -tʸ- | -ǯ-/ -d- | -c- |

248. Proto-Nostratic root **dʸab-* (~ **dʸəb-*):
(vb.) **dʸab-* ‘to beat, to hit, to strike, to harm, to injure’;
(n.) **dʸab-a* ‘stroke, blow, harm, injury; slaughter, killing’

A. Proto-Afrasian **dʸab-* ‘to beat, to hit, to strike, to harm, to injure’: Proto-Semitic **dʸab-aḥ-* ‘to kill, to slaughter’ > Hebrew *zāβaḥ* [זָבַח] ‘to slaughter’; Phoenician *zbḥ* ‘to slaughter, to sacrifice’; Ugaritic *dbḥ* ‘to sacrifice’, *dbḥ(m)* ‘sacrifice(s)’; Arabic *ḏabaḥa* ‘to kill, to slaughter’; Akkadian *zibū* ‘offering’, *zebū* ‘to slaughter, to sacrifice’; Proto-Sinaitic *ḏbḥ* ‘to sacrifice, to kill, to murder’; Sabaean *ḏbḥ* ‘to sacrifice, to kill, to murder’; Geez / Ethiopic *zabḥa* [ዘብሐ] ‘to slaughter, to sacrifice, to offer sacrifices’; Tigre *zäbḥa* ‘to skin an animal’. D. Cohen 1970— :326—327; Murtonen 1989:161; Klein 1987:193; Leslau 1987:631; Zammit 2002: 181—182. Egyptian (reduplicated) *ḏbḏb* ‘to destroy, to demolish’. Hannig 1995:1005. Lowland East Cushitic: Somali *dabaaħ-* ‘to slaughter’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:549—550, no. 2646, **ǯabaḥ*/**ǯibiḥ* ‘to make sacrifice’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *cavaṭṭu* (*cavaṭṭi-*) ‘to destroy, to ruin (as a town), to kill, to beat, to tread upon, to trample’; Malayalam *caviṭṭuka* ‘to kick, to tread’, *caviṭṭika* ‘to cause to tread on’, *caviṭṭu*, *cavaṭi* ‘a kick’; Koḍagu *cavṭ-* (*cavṭi-*) ‘to step on’, *cavṭï-* ‘footprint’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:210, no. 2387.

C. Proto-Indo-European **dʰebʰ-*/**dʰobʰ-* ‘to beat, to hit, to strike, to harm, to injure’: Sanskrit *dabhnóti* ‘to hurt, to injure, to deceive, to abandon’; Pāḷi *dubbhati* ‘to hurt, to deceive’; Prakrit *dūbhaï* ‘to be unhappy’; Gujarati *dubhvũ*, *dubhẵvvũ* ‘to tease, to vex’; Avestan *dab-* ‘to deceive’; Lithuanian *dobiù*, *dóbti* ‘to beat, to hit, to kill’. Rix 1998a:114—115 **dʰebʰ-* ‘to diminish’; Walde 1927—1932.I:850—851 **dhebh-*; Pokorny 1959:240 **dhebh-* ‘to injure’; Mallory—Adams 1997:258 **dhebh-* ‘to harm’; Mann 1984—1987:129 **dabh-* ‘to harm, to hurt, to damage’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:17—18; Turner 1966—1969.I:353; Derksen 2015:124 (etymology unclear); Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:99; Smoczyński 2007.1:117; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:85—86 **dʰebʰ-*.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **tʸappɜ-* ‘to hit, to cut’ > Mordvin (Erza) *čapo-* ‘to cut (framework), to make a notch’, *čapo* ‘notch’; Votyak / Udmurt

*čupy*- ‘to notch, to cut’; Zyrian / Komi *čup*- ‘to make a notch, to make a frame house’, *čupõd* ‘notch’; (?) Hungarian *csap*- ‘to strike, to hit’; Vogul / Mansi *sopam* ‘a kind of timbered chest, a small temporary storehouse’, *šopŋ*, *såpŋ* ‘chest or shed on a tomb (to protect the coffin)’; Ostyak / Xanty (N.) *šŏpam* ‘framework in the forest (to keep berries or game), timbered superstructure on a tomb’. Collinder 1977:91; Rédei 1986—1988:29 **ćappɜ*-; Sammallahti 1988:543 (?) **ćåppi*- ‘to hit, to cut’.

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **ðəpæ(ŋæ)* ‘hammer’: Chukchi *rəpeŋə* ‘hammer’; Kerek *ipaaip* ‘hammer’; Koryak *jəpeŋa* ‘hammer’; Alyutor *təpaŋa* ‘pestle for crushing *tolkuša*’, *kəlʲvə-təpaŋa* ‘stone hammer’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *spe* ‘stone pestle’. Fortescue 2005:72.

Buck 1949:11.28 harm, injure, damage (vb.); 16.68 deceit. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:321, no. 140.

249. Proto-Nostratic root **$d^yak^{wh}$*- (~ **$d^yək^{wh}$*-):
(vb.) **$d^yak^{wh}$*- ‘to blaze, to be bright’;
(n.) **$d^yak^{wh}$-a* ‘(burning) embers, fire, flame’

A. Proto-Afrasian **$d^yak^w$*- ‘to blaze, to be bright’: Proto-Semitic **$d^yak$-aw/y*- ‘to blaze, to be bright’ > Arabic *ḏakā* ‘to blaze, to flare up’, *ḏukāʔ* ‘the sun’, *ʔaḏkā* ‘to light up, to stroke the fire’; Liḥyanite *ḏakaw* ‘flame’. D. Cohen 1970— :332.

B. Dravidian: Telugu *jaggu* ‘shining, brilliancy’; Parji *jagjaga* ‘clean (of clothes), bright’; Gondi *cakk*- ‘to dazzle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:202, no. 2280.

C. Proto-Indo-European **$d^yak^{wh}$*-/**$d^yək^{wh}$*- > (with depalatalization) **$dak^{wh}$*-/**$dək^{wh}$*- > (with progressive voicing assimilation) **$d^heg^{wh}$*-/**$d^hog^{wh}$*- ‘to blaze, to burn’: Sanskrit *dáhati* ‘to burn, to consume by fire, to scorch, to roast’; Pāḷi *dahati* ‘to burn, to roast’, *dahana*- ‘fire; burning’; Hindi *dahnā* ‘to burn, to be burnt, to blaze’; Sindhi *daho*, *dao* ‘strong light of fire, sun’; Avestan *dažaiti* ‘to burn’; Latin *favīlla* ‘glowing ashes’ (with long *ī* [cf. Ernout—Meillet 1979:221]), *febris* ‘fever’, *foveō* ‘to warm, to keep warm’; Middle Irish *daig* ‘fire’; Old Prussian *dagis* ‘summer’; Lithuanian *degù*, *dègti* ‘to burn’; Old Church Slavic *žegǫ*, *žešti* ‘to burn, to ignite’; Greek τέφρᾱ, (Ionic) τέφρη ‘(burning) ashes’, τεφρός ‘ash-colored’; Tocharian A *tsäk*-, *tsak*- ‘to burn’, *tsāk*- ‘to give light, to shine’, B *tsäk*- ‘to burn up, to consume by fire’; Albanian *djeg* ‘to burn’. Rix 1998a:115—116 **$d^heg^{u̯h}$*- ‘to consume by fire, to burn’; Pokorny 1959:240—241 **$dheg^{u̯h}$*- ‘to burn’; Walde 1927—1932.I:849—850 **$dheg^{u̯}h$*-; Watkins 1985:13 **$dheg^wh$*- and 2000:18 **$dheg^wh$*- ‘to burn, to warm’, suffixed basic form **$dheg^wh$-rā*- (> Greek τέφρη); Mann 1984—1987:179 **$dheg_{u̯}hō$* (**$dhog_{u̯}h$*-) ‘to burn; fire’; Mallory—Adams 1997:87 **$dheg^wh$*- ‘to burn’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:154 **$d[^h]eg[^h]^o$*-/**$d[^h]og[^h]^o$*- and 1995.I:133 **$d^heg^{h_o}$*-/**$d^hog^{h_o}$*- ‘to

burn’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:29; Turner 1966—1969.I:357; Hofmann 1966:363 **dhegᵘh-*; Beekes 2010.II:1475—1476 **dʰegʷʰ-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:888—889 **dhegᵘh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1112 **dhegʷh-*; Boisacq 1950:963—964 **dhegᵘh-*; De Vaan 2008:206—207 **dʰouH-V́-* ‘smoke/smoking’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:221, 222 **dhegʷh-ri-s*, and 250—251 **dhₒgʷh-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:466—467 **dhegᵘh-* and I:471—472 **dhegᵘh-ri-s*; Adams 1999:733; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:526 **dhegʰᵘ-*; Orël 1998:68 **dhegʷh-* (> Proto-Albanian **dega*); Huld 1984:53—54 **dhegʷh-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:85—86; Smoczyński 2007.1:97—98 **dʰegᵘh-*; Derksen 2008.554—555 **dʰegʷʰ-* (> **geg-* in Slavic) and 2015:119 **dʰegʷʰ-e/o-*.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 15.87 clean. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:322, no. 142.

250. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **dʸan-w-a* ‘a kind of tree or bush’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **dʸan-w-* ‘a kind of tree’: Egyptian *ḏnw* ‘plant, a kind of bush’. Hannig 1995:1007; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:575. Cushitic: Kambata *dana* ‘a kind of tree’; Gallinya *däna* ‘a kind of tree’.
B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *jāni-giḍa* ‘a small tree’ (= *Grewia abutilifolia*), *jāna* (= *G. asiatica*), *taḍa-jāṇa* (= *G. orbiculata*); Telugu *jāṇa* ‘a kind of tree’, *jāna* (= *G. orbiculata*), *nalla-jāna*, *pedda-jāna* (= *G. asiatica*). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:214, no. 2451.
C. Proto-Indo-European **dʰanw/u-* ‘a kind of tree’: Hittite (ntr.) *tanau* ‘fir(tree)’; Sanskrit *dhánu-ḥ*, *dhánvan-* ‘bow’; Old Saxon *danna*, *dennia* ‘fir’; Old High German *tanna* ‘fir-tree, oak’ (New High German *Tanne*). Pokorny 1959:234 **dhanu-* or **dhonu-* ‘a kind of tree’; Walde 1927—1932.I:825 **dhanu̯o-* or **dhonu̯o-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:202 **dhonu-* ‘fir’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:90—91; Kloekhorst 2008b:827 **dʰn-ṓu* (?); Orël 2003:68 Proto-Germanic **đannōn*; Walshe 1951:224; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:769; Kluge—Seebold 1989:721; P. Friedrich 1970:150—151 Proto-Germanic **danwō*.

Buck 1949:8.65 fir; 20.24 bow. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:321—322, no. 141.

251. Proto-Nostratic root **dʸar-* (~ **dʸər-*):
(vb.) **dʸar-* ‘to hold firmly’;
(n.) **dʸar-a* ‘firm grip; hand, arm’

A. Proto-Afrasian **dʸar-* ‘(vb.) to hold firmly; (n.) hand, arm’: Proto-Semitic **dʸirāʕ-* ‘arm’ > Arabic *ḏirāʿ* ‘arm, forearm’; Hebrew *ʾezrōaʿ* [אֶזְרוֹעַ], *zərōaʿ* [זְרוֹעַ] ‘arm, shoulder’; Aramaic *dərāʿā* ‘arm’; Ugaritic *ḏrʿ* ‘upper arm’; Akkadian *zuruḫ* ‘arm’, *duraʾu* ‘arm, foreleg’ (West Semitic loans); Soqoṭri *derăʿ* ‘forearm’; Ḥarsūsi *ḏerā* ‘forearm’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḏéraʿ*

‘forearm’; Mehri *ḏarʔ* ‘forearm’; Geez / Ethiopic *mazrāʿt* [**መዝራዕት**] ‘arm, shoulder (of an animal), sleeve (of a garment), strength’; Tigrinya *mäzraʿt* ‘arm, forearm’; Tigre *zäraʿ*, *mäzarəʿt* ‘arm, forearm’. Murtonen 1989:171; Klein 1987:16 and 203; D. Cohen 1970— :341; Leslau 1987:379; Zammit 2002:182. Egyptian *ḏr-t* ‘hand’; Coptic *tōre* [**ϯωρϵ**] ‘(hand); handle; spade, pick, oar’. Hannig 1995:1009; Faulkner 1962:323; Gardiner 1957:604; Erman—Grapow 1921:221 and 1926—1963.5:580—585; Vycichl 1983: 219—220; Černý 1976:193. West Chadic: Mupun *ǯár* ‘to take, to pick up’. Takács 2011a:161.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **ǯger-* ‘to make firm, strong, unshakable’ > ‘to convince, to persuade’: Georgian *ǯer-* in *da-ǯer-eb-a* ‘to convince, to persuade’, *m-ǯer-a* ‘I believe, I am convinced’, *ǯer-i* ‘arrangement, order; conviction, belief’; Svan *a-ǯgir* ‘he taught, made understand’, *a-ǯgir-i* ‘he teaches, advises, makes understand’. Fähnrich 2007:714 **ǯer-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **dʰer-/*dʰor-/*dʰr̥-* ‘to hold firmly in the hand, to support’: Sanskrit *dharati* (caus. *dhāráyati*) ‘to hold, to bear, to preserve, to keep’, *dharúṇa-ḥ* ‘bearing, holding, supporting’, *dhṛ́ti-ḥ* ‘firmness, resolution’, *dhartrá-m* ‘support, prop’, *dṛ́hyati* ‘to be strong’; Avestan *dar-* ‘to hold, to keep’, *darz-* ‘to hold, to fasten’, *dərəzra-* ‘firm, strong’, *drva-* ‘firm, sound’; Old Persian *dar-* ‘to hold’; Latin *firmus* ‘firm, strong, stout’; Lithuanian *diržtù*, *diřžti* ‘to grow hard, to become firm’, *diržùs* ‘solid, firm’; Old Church Slavic *drъžjǫ*, *drъžati* ‘to hold, to possess’; Russian *deržát'* [держать] ‘to hold, to keep’. Rix 1998a:126 **dʰer-* ‘to fasten, to fix’; Pokorny 1959:252—255 **dher-*, **dherə-* ‘to hold’; Walde 1927—1932.I:856—860 **dher-*; Mann 1984—1987:184 **dher-* ‘hard, fast, firm’, 185 **dhermos*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* (**dhermn-*, **dherom-*) ‘firm, fixed; fixture, pact, order’, 198 **dhŏreu̯ō* ‘to hold, to keep’, 311—312 **dhr̥ǵh-* ‘to hold’; Watkins 1985:14 **dher-* and 2000:18 **dher-* ‘to hold firmly, to support’; Mallory—Adams 1997:270 **dher-* ‘to be immobile; to support, to hold up’ (Latin *firmus* < **dher-mo-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:61—62, II:93, II:94, II:100, II:111—112, and II:112; De Vaan 2008:223 **dʰer-mo-* ‘holding’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:505—506 **dher(ē)-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:237; Derksen 2008:137—138 **dʰer-* and 2015:133; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:97; Smoczyński 2007.1:116—117.

Buck 1949:4.31 arm; 4.33 hand; 4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 11.15 hold; 17.15 believe. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:322—323, no. 143.

252. Proto-Nostratic root **dʸaw-* (~ **dʸəw-*):
(vb.) **dʸaw-* ‘to run, to flow’;
(n.) **dʸaw-a* ‘stream, current, flow’; (adj.) ‘running, flowing’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **ǯgw-*, **ǯgw-am-/*ǯgw-m-* ‘to defecate’: Georgian *ǯv-*, *ǯvam-/ǯm-* ‘to defecate’; Mingrelian *(n)ʒg(v)-*, *nʒgum-* ‘to defecate’; Laz

*ʒg(v)-*, *zg(v)-*, *ʒgum-* ‘to defecate’; Svan *sgēr-* ‘to defecate’, *la-sg-ar* ‘lavatory, toilet’. Schmidt 1962:160; Klimov 1964:268 **ǯw-*, 268—269 **ǯw-am-/*ǯw-m-* and 1998:343 **ǯw-*, **ǯw-am-/*ǯw-m-* ‘to defecate’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:572—573 **ǯw-*; Fähnrich 2007:715 **ǯw-*. For the semantics, cf. Malayalam *olippu* ‘flowing, looseness of bowels’ from the same stem found in *oliyuka* ‘to flow’, *olikka* ‘to flow, to run (as water, blood from wounds)’, etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:96, no. 999).

B. Proto-Indo-European **dʰew-/*dʰow-* ‘to run, to flow’: Sanskrit *dhavate* ‘to run, to flow’, *dhā́vati* ‘to run, to flow, to stream’, *dhautí-ḥ* ‘spring, well, rivulet’; Greek θέω ‘to run’, θοός ‘quick, swift’; Old Icelandic *dögg* ‘dew’; Faroese *døgg* ‘dew’; Norwegian *dogg* ‘dew’; Swedish *dagg*, *dugg* ‘dew’; Danish *dug* ‘dew’; Old English *dēaw* ‘dew’; Old Frisian *dāw* ‘dew’; Old Saxon *dau* ‘dew’; Dutch *dauw* ‘dew’; Old High German *tou* ‘dew’ (New High German *Tau*). Rix 1998a:128—129 **dʰeu̯-* ‘to run, to flow; to hasten, to hurry’; Pokorny 1959:259—260 **dheu-* ‘to run, to flow’; Walde 1927—1932.I:834 **dheu-*; Mann 1984—1987:188 **dheu̯-* ‘to flow’, 188 **dheu̯nt-* (**dheu̯ənt-*) ‘flowing, flow’, 201 **dhou̯os* (**dhouu̯o-*) ‘running, flowing; run, flow, course’; Watkins 1985:14 **dheu-* and 2000:19 **dheu-* ‘to flow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:491 **dheu-* ‘to run’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:95 and II:101—102; Boisacq 1950:342—343 **dheu̯ā-*; Hofmann 1966:114 **dheu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:668—669; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:433; Beekes 2010.I:544—545 **dʰeu-*; Kroonen 2013:91 Proto-Germanic **dawwa/ō-* ‘dew’; Orël 2003:70 Proto-Germanic **đawwēnan*, 70 **đawwō* ~ **đawwan*; De Vries 1977:92—93 Proto-Germanic **dau̯u̯ō*; Onions 1966:263 **dhawos*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:118; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:68—69; Klein 1971:208; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:772 Proto-Germanic **dawwa-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:723 Proto-Germanic **dauwa-*. Note: The Germanic cognates contain so-called “lengthened *w*”. This phenomenon is commonly referred to in the literature by the German term “Verschärfung”. For details concerning the Germanic “Verschärfung”, cf. Austin 1946; Jasanoff 1978a; Lehmann 1952:36—46 and 1965:213—215; Lindeman 1964. Lehmann (1965:215) reaches the following conclusion concerning the origin of “lengthened *-w-*”: “PGmc. *-w-* was lengthened after short vowels when reflex of a laryngeal followed *-w-*”.

Buck 1949:4.66 void excrement; excrement, dung; 10.32 flow (vb.); 10.46 run (vb.). Brunner 1969:86, no. 469; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:324—325, no. 145.

253. Proto-Nostratic indefinite pronoun stem **dʸi-* (~ **dʸe-*) ‘this one, that one’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **dʸi-* ‘this one, that one’: Proto-Semitic **dʸā*, **dʸī* ‘this one, that one’ > Arabic (m.) *d̲ā*, (f.) *d̲ī* ‘this one, this’; Hebrew (m.) *zeh* [זֶה], (f.) *zōh* [זֹה], (poetical) *zū* [זוּ] ‘this’; Biblical Aramaic *dā* ‘this’; Sabaean *d̲*

‘(he) who, (that) which’; Mehri *d̲(ə)-* ‘who, which, what’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *d̲-* ‘one who, whoever’; Ḥarsūsi *d̲(e)-* ‘who, which, that’; Geez / Ethiopic *za-* [ዘ-] ‘who, that, which’ (*ziʾa-* [ዚአ-] with possessive suffix pronouns), (m. sg.) *zə-* [ዝ-], (f. sg.) *zā-* [ዛ-] ‘this’ (adj. and pronoun); Tigrinya *zə* ‘he who, that’, *ʾəzu* ‘this’; Gurage *za* ‘that, that one, that one here’, *zə* ‘this’; Harari *zi* ‘he, who, that’, *-zo* ‘the’. D. Cohen 1970— :324; Klein 1987:194; Leslau 1979:701 and 1987:629—630; Zammit 2002:181. Perhaps also New Egyptian (adv.) *dy* ‘here, over here; there, over there’ (if from **d̲y*); Coptic *tai* [ⲧⲁⲓ] ‘here, in this place’, *tē* [ⲧⲏ] ‘there, in that place’. Hannig 1995:970; Faulkner 1962:309; Erman—Grapow 1921:211 and 1926—1963.5:420; Vycichl 1983:208 and 212; Černý 1976:177 and 178. Ehret 1995:260, no. 470, **ji* or **dzi* ‘one, someone, somebody’ (indefinite pronoun).

B. Proto-Uralic **tʸe/*tʸi* ‘this one, that one’: Finnish *se/si-* ‘this, that, it’; Mordvin *śe* ‘this, that one’; Cheremis / Mari *sede* ‘this one, that one’; Ostyak / Xanty (N.) *śĭ, śĭt* ‘this, that one’, (S.) *t'i* ‘this one’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *sete* ‘he’, *seti* ‘both of them’, *seteŋ* ‘they’; Kamassian *šõõ* ‘that one here’. Collinder 1955:56 and 1977:73; Rédei 1986—1988:33—34 **će* ~ **ći*; Décsy 1990:109 **tje* ‘that’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:325, no. 146.

254. Proto-Nostratic root **dʸiʔ-* (~ **dʸeʔ-*):
(vb.) **dʸiʔ-* ‘to reach, to arrive at, to come to; to surpass, to exceed’;
(n.) **dʸiʔ-a* ‘arrival, attainment, ripening’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *d̲ʒi̯* ‘to cross over, to ferry across water’, *d̲ʒ-t* ‘ship’. Hannig 1995:992; Faulkner 1962:318; Gardiner 1957:603; Erman—Grapow 1921:218 and 1926—1963.5:512—513. West Chadic: Angas *jĭ* ‘to come’; Sura *jì* ‘to come’. Foulkes 1915:201; Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:82. Takács 2011a:126 and 161 **ǯ-ʔ* ‘to go’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **ǯg-* ‘to exceed, to overcome, to be better than’: Georgian [ǯ-] ‘to exceed, to overcome, to be better than’; Mingrelian [*(r)*ǯg-] ‘to exceed, to overcome, to be better than’; Laz [*(r)*ǯg-] ‘to exceed, to overcome, to be better than’. As noted by Klimov (1998:342), the unbound form of the stem is not attested. In Old Georgian, the stem is extended by *-ob-*: *u-m-ǯ-ob-es-* ‘better’. In Laz, it is extended by *-in-*: Laz *o-rǯg-in-u* ‘good’, *u-ǯg-in* ‘better’. Mingrelian *ǯg-ir-/ǯg-ər-* ‘good’, *rǯg-in-/rǯg-in-ap-/ǯg-un-* ‘to be better’. Klimov 1964:268 **ǯ-* and 1998:342 **ǯ-* ‘to exceed, to overcome’; Fähnrich 2007:712—713 **ǯ-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:571 **ǯ-*.

C. Proto-Altaic **ǯi-* (~ **ǯi̯a-*) ‘to reach, to arrive at, to come to; to strive’: Proto-Tungus **ǯi-* (~ **di-*) ‘to come’ > Manchu *ǯi-* ‘to come’, (imperfect participle) *ǯidere* ‘coming, future, next’; Ulch *diwu* ‘to come’; Nanay /

Gold *ǯi-* ‘to come’. Proto-Mongolian **ǯid-kü-* ‘to strive’ > Mongolian *ǯidkü-* ‘to endeavor, to strive, to exert oneself; to pull’, *ǯidkül* ‘endeavor, effort, zeal, fervor, ardor’, *ǯidkümǯi* ‘endeavor, effort, assiduity, application’; Khalkha *ʒütge-* ‘to strive’; Kalmyk *zütkə-* ‘to strive’; Ordos *ǯüdχü-* ‘to strive’. Proto-Turkic **yẹt-* ‘to reach’ > Old Turkic *yet-* ‘to reach’; Karakhanide Turkic *yet-* ‘to reach’; Turkish *yet-* ‘to suffice, to reach, to attain’, *yet-iş-* ‘to reach, to attain, to suffice; to attain maturity, to grow up; to be brought up; to be ready or on hand in time’, *yet-er* ‘sufficient, enough!’, *yet-iş-kin* ‘arrived at full growth, ripe, perfected’, *yet-iş-mis* ‘arrived, reached maturity, grown up’; Gagauz *yet-* ‘to reach’; Azerbaijani *yet-iš-* ‘to reach’; Turkmenian *yet-* ‘to reach’; Uzbek *yet-* ‘to reach’; Uighur *yät-* ‘to reach’; Tatar *ǯit-* ‘to reach’; Bashkir *yet-* ‘to reach’; Kirghiz *ǯet-* ‘to reach’; Kazakh *žet-* ‘to reach’; Noghay *yet-* ‘to reach’; Chuvash *śit-* ‘to reach’; Yakut *sit-* ‘to reach’; Dolgan *hit-* ‘to reach’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1536 **ǯi* (~ **ǯi̯a*) ‘to come’.

Sumerian (reduplicated) *di-di* ‘to come, to arrive, to approach’. S. Parpola 2016:64, no. 446, *dé-*, *di-* ‘to come, to arrive; to give birth, to carry a child, to beget’.

Buck 1949:10.48 come; 10.54 overtake; 10.55 arrive (intr.) and arrive at, reach (tr.).

255. Proto-Nostratic root **dʸipʰ-* (~ **dʸepʰ-*):
(vb.) **dʸipʰ-* ‘to stink, to give off a strong odor’;
(n.) **dʸipʰ-a* ‘pungent smell, stench’

A. Proto-Afrasian **dʸ[i]p-* ‘(vb.) to stink, to give off a strong odor; (n.) pungent smell, stench’: Proto-Semitic **dʸap-ar-* ‘(vb.) to stink, to give off a strong odor; (n.) pungent smell, stench’ > Arabic *ḏafar* ‘pungent smell, stench’, *ḏafira* ‘to smell strongly or badly’; Sabaean *ḏfrʔ* ‘ill-smelling plants’; Ḥarsūsi *ḏefīr* ‘plant used to prepare medicine for stomach-ache and headache’; Syriac *zəφar* ‘to smell bad’. D. Cohen 1970— :339.
B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *cippa-kasuvu* ‘the fragrant grass *Andropogon schoenanthus*’; Telugu *cippa-kasavu*, *cippa-gaḍḍi* ‘the fragrant grass *Andropogon schoenanthus*’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:221, no. 2533.
C. Proto-Altaic **ǯipʰo* ‘strong odor, pungent smell’: Proto-Mongolian **ǯiɣar* ‘strong perfume, musk’ > Written Mongolian *ǯiɣar*, *ǯaɣar* ‘strong perfume, musk’; Khalkha *ʒāŕ* ‘strong perfume, musk’; Buriat *zār* ‘strong perfume, musk’; Kalmyk *zār* ‘strong perfume, musk’; Ordos *ǯār* ‘strong perfume, musk’; Shira-Yughur *ǯārə* ‘strong perfume, musk’; Dagur *ǯār* ‘strong perfume, musk’. Mongolian loans in: Manchu *ǯarin* ‘musk’; Solon *ǯār* ‘musk’. Proto-Turkic **yïpar* ‘smell, perfume, musk’ > Old Turkic *yïpar* ‘smell, perfume, musk’; Karakhanide Turkic *yïpar* ‘smell, perfume, musk’;

Turkish (dial.) *yıpar* ‘smell, perfume, musk’; Tatar *yifar*, *ǯufar* ‘smell, perfume, musk’; Bashkir *yofar* ‘smell, perfume, musk’; Kirghiz *ǯïpar* ‘smell, perfume, musk’; Kazakh *župar* ‘smell, perfume, musk’; Yakut *sïbar* ‘smell, perfume, musk’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1537 *ǯip‘o* ‘perfume, fumes’; Poppe 1960:47, 80, and 123; Street 1974:14 **ǰïpar* ‘musk’.

Buck 1949:15.21—15.24 smell; 15.26 bad smelling, stinking.

## 22.10. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *tʸʰ

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| tʸʰ- | tʸ- | c- | čk- | tʰ- | tʸ- | čʰ- | c- |
| -tʸʰ- | -tʸ- | -c(c)-/ -y- | -čk- | -tʰ- | -tʸ- | -čʰ- | -c(c)- |

256. Proto-Nostratic deictic stem **tʸʰa-* ‘that over there, that yonder (not very far)’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **tʸa-* ‘that over there, that yonder (not very far)’: Proto-Semitic **tʸa-m-* ‘that over there, that yonder (not very far)’ > Arabic *ṯamma* ‘there, yonder’, *ṯumma* ‘then, thereupon; furthermore, moreover; and again, and once more’, *ṯammata* ‘there, there is’; Sabaean *ṯmm* ‘there’; Hebrew *šām* [שָׁם] ‘there, thither’; Imperial Aramaic *tmh* ‘there’; Biblical Aramaic *tammā* ‘there’; Phoenician *šm* ‘there’; Ugaritic *ṯm* ‘there’. Klein 1987:664; Zammit 2002:112—113. Chadic: Hausa *cân* (adv.) ‘yonder, over there (distant but visible)’; *cân* (demonstrative pronoun — becomes *càn* if preceeded by a word with final high tone) ‘that, those’.

B. Proto-Altaic **čʰa-* ‘that over there, that yonder (not very far)’: Proto-Tungus **čā-* ‘that, further (not very far)’ > Manchu *ča-* ‘over there (not very far)’: *čala* ‘over there, on the other side; previously, before’, *čargi* ‘there, over there, that side, beyond; formerly’, *časi* ‘in that direction, thither, there’; Evenki *čā-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Lamut / Even *čā-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Negidal *čā-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Ulch *ča-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Orok *čō-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Nanay / Gold *ča-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Oroch *čā-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Udihe *ča-* ‘that, further (not very far)’; Solon *sā-* ‘that, further (not very far)’. Proto-Mongolian **ča-* ‘that, beyond’ > Mongolian *ča-* in: *čadu*, *čaγadu* ‘situated on the other or opposite side; beyond’, *čaγaduki* ‘lying opposite, situated on the other side; situated beyond’, *čaγaγur* ‘along or on the other side; farther, beyond’, *čaγan-a*, *čiγan-a* ‘farther, beyond, behind, yonder’, *čaγanaχan* ‘a little further or beyond’; Khalkha *cāna* ‘that, beyond’; Buriat *sā-* ‘that, beyond’; Kalmyk *cā-* ‘that, beyond’; Ordos *čāna* ‘that, beyond’; Dagur *čā-š* ‘that, beyond’, *čāši* ‘thither’; Monguor *ćaɢšə*, *taɢšə* ‘that, beyond’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:406 **č‘a* ‘that, beyond (not very far)’; Poppe 1960:26 and 139; Street 1974:10 **čagā* ‘there, further away’.

C. Proto-Eskimo demonstrative stem **cam-* ‘down below, down-slope (not visible)’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *camna*; Central Alaskan Yupik *camna*; Naukan Siberian Yupik *samna*; Central Siberian Yupik *saamna*; Sirenik *samna*; Seward Peninsula Inuit *samna*; North Alaskan Inuit *samna*; Western Canadian Inuit *hamna*; Eastern Canadian Inuit *sanna*;

Greenlandic Inuit *sanna*. Note: all of the preceding forms are cited in the absolutive singular. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:458.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 374, **ča* demonstrative pronoun stem of distant deixis.

257. Proto-Nostratic root **tʸʰal-* (~ **tʸʰəl-*):
(vb.) **tʸʰal-* ‘to strike with a sharp instrument’;
(n.) **tʸʰal-a* ‘strike, blow; sharp instrument’
Derivative:
(n.) **tʸʰal-m-a* ‘breach, opening, gap; crack, fissure, rift; hole’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **tʸal-* ‘to strike with a sharp instrument’: **tʸal-al-* ‘to destroy’ > Arabic *ṯalla* ‘to tear down, to destroy, to overthrow, to subvert’, *ṯalal* ‘destruction’, (reduplicated) *ṯulṯul* ‘destruction’; Sabaean *ṯll* ‘to plunder, to take as booty’; Hebrew *šālal* [שָׁלַל] ‘to spoil, to plunder’, *šālāl* [שָׁלָל] ‘prey, spoil, plunder, booty’; Akkadian *šalālu* ‘to take people into captivity, to take (goods, animals, gods, etc.) as booty; to plunder, to despoil, to loot (cities, regions, etc.)’, *šallu* ‘snatched away, deported, plundered’, *šālilu* ‘plunderer, looter’. Murtonen 1989:423; Klein 1987: 662. Proto-Semitic **tʸal-aʕ-* ‘to break a person’s head’ > Arabic *ṯalaʿa* ‘to break a person’s head’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *alai* ‘to beat, to slap’; Gondi *hal-*, *halāsnā* ‘to beat’, *halsnā* ‘to beat’, *halhi-halha ā-* ‘to exchange blows’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2374. Tuḷu *selè* ‘chink, crack, flaw (as in a stone)’; Telugu *selagu*, *selayu*, *selāgu*, *celagu*, *celavu* ‘to cut’, *sela* ‘hole’; Kuṛux *calxnā* ‘to open, to uncover’, *calxrnā* (intr.) ‘to open’; Brahui *caling*, *calēnging* ‘to become cracked, split’; Malto *calge* ‘to break or split open’, *calgro* ‘torn asunder’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2377.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **čkalk-* ‘sharp instrument’ > ‘fishing device’: Georgian *čalk-i* ‘fishing device’; Mingrelian *čolk-i* (< **čkolk-* through dissimilation) ‘fishing device’. Fähnrich 2007:538 **čalk-*.
D. Proto-Altaic **čʰalu* ‘(vb.) to cut, to cut off, to cut down; (n.) sharp instrument’: Proto-Tungus **čal-* ‘(vb.) to cut off; to cut into, to engrave; (n.) arrow head’ > Evenki *čalī* ‘arrow head’; Negidal *čōlị-* ‘to cut off’; Manchu *čoli-* ‘to engrave, to carve’; Ulch *čālụ-* ‘to cut off; to cut into, to engrave’, *čaγlị*, *čaị̈lqa* ‘bed in cross-bow’; Nanay / Gold *čālị-* ‘to cut off; to cut into, to engrave’; Oroch *čali* ‘bed in cross-bow’. Proto-Mongolian **čali* ‘sharp; crowbar’ > Written Mongolian *čali* ‘sharp’, *čalir*, *čaril* ‘iron bar for demolishing rocks, breaking ice, etc.; crowbar, wrecking bar’; Khalkha *čalir*, *čaril* ‘iron bar, crowbar’; Buriat *salī-* ‘to be sharp’; Kalmyk *calə́*, *cälə́* ‘sharp’, *calr̥*, *cälr̥* ‘crowbar’; Ordos *čalir* ‘crowbar’. Proto-Turkic **čal-* ‘to whet, to sharpen; to cut, to pierce; to hit, to knock (down)’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *čal-* ‘to hit, to knock (down)’; Karakhanide Turkic *čal-* ‘to hit, to knock (down)’; Turkish *çal-* ‘to give a blow to, to

knock (on a door), to strike (the hour), to ring (a bell), to play (a musical instrument)', *çalım* 'strike, blow, swagger', *çalgı* 'musical instrument'; Gagauz *čalïm* 'blade'; Azerbaijani *čal-* 'to hit, to knock (down); to sting, to pierce; to sweep', *čalγï* 'a kind of broom'; Turkmenian *čal-* 'to whet, to sharpen; to sweep; to sting, to pierce', *čalgï* 'scythe, whetstone'; Uzbek *čal-* 'to hit, to knock (down)', *čalγi ụrɔq* 'scythe'; Uighur *čal-* 'to hit, to knock (down)', *čalγa* 'scythe'; Karaim *cal-* 'to hit, to knock (down); to mow', *calqï*, *calγï* 'scythe'; Tatar *čal-* 'to hit, to knock (down)', *čalγï* 'scythe'; Bashkir *salï-* 'to slaughter'; Kirghiz *čal-* 'to hit, to knock (down); to slaughter', *čalγï* 'scythe'; *čalγïn* 'mowing, hay time'; Kazakh *šal-* 'to trip', *šalγï* 'scythe', *šalγïn* 'mowing, hay time'; Noghay *šal-* 'to hit, to knock (down); to slaughter; to mow', *šalγï* 'scythe'; Sary-Uighur *čal(ï)-* 'to chop'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *čalγï* 'scythe'; Tuva *šalï-* 'to whet, to sharpen'; Chuvash *śol-* 'to mow', *śolъk* 'a kind of broom'; Yakut *sālïn-* 'to fall abruptly'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:413—414 **č'alu* 'to sharpen, to cut'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak speculate that two separate roots may have to be reconstructed here for Proto-Turkic: (1) **čāl-* 'to knock down' and (2) **čal-* 'to whet, to sharpen'.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ðəlqə-* 'to get worn down or notched' > Chukchi *rəlqə-* 'to get worn down (teeth)'; Alyutor *təlq* 'notch, indentation'. Fortescue 2005:69.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.22 cut; 9.26 break (vb. trans.); 9.27 split (vb. trans.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 387, **čalV* 'to beat, to knock down, to fell'.

258. Proto-Nostratic root **t$^{y}$$^{h}$al-* (~ **t$^{y}$$^{h}$əl-*):
Extended form:
(n.) **t$^{y}$$^{h}$al-m-a* 'breach, opening, gap; crack, fissure, rift; hole'
Derivative of:
(vb.) **t$^{y}$$^{h}$al-* 'to strike with a sharp instrument';
(n.) **t$^{y}$$^{h}$al-a* 'strike, blow; sharp instrument'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **t$^{y}$al-am-* 'to blunt, to make jagged, to break the edge of; to make a breach, gap, or opening (in a wall)' > Arabic *ṯalama* 'to blunt, to make jagged, to break the edge of; to make a breach, gap, or opening (in a wall); to defile, to sully', *ṯalm* 'nick, notch; breach, opening, gap; crack, fissure, rift', *ṯālim* 'dull, blunt', *mutaṯallim* 'blunted, blunt; cracking (voice)'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *calame*, *calime*, *calume*, *calme*, *cilume* 'an orifice, a bore, small pit, hole dug in the dried bed of a river or a dried-up tank, spring of water or a fountain head'; Tuḷu *cilimbi*, *cilimè*, *cilmè* 'a small tank'; Telugu *celama* 'hole or pit dug for water in the dry bed of a river or rivulet, etc.'; Kuwi *salma* 'well'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2367.

Buck 1949:12.85 hole. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 391a, **čAlVmV* ‘orifice, pit’, or ‘breach’.

259. Proto-Nostratic root **tʸʰar-* (~ **tʸʰər-*):
(vb.) **tʸʰar-* ‘to advance to or toward an end or a goal; to attain or achieve an end or a goal, to reach, to come to, to arrive at’;
(n.) **tʸʰar-a* ‘advance, arrival, goal, attainment, end, aim; approach’

A. Proto-Afrasian **tʸar-* ‘to advance to or toward, to reach, to come to, to arrive at’: Proto-Semitic **ʔa-tʸar-* ‘(vb.) to advance to or toward, to reach, to come to, to arrive at; (n.) trace, vestige’ > Hebrew *ʔāšar* [אָשַׁר] ‘to go straight on, to advance, to go on, to lead’; Ugaritic *ảṯr* ‘to march’, *ảṯr* ‘place’, *ảṯryt* ‘future, destiny’; Arabic *ʔaṯr* ‘track, trace, vestige; sign, mark; impression, effect, action, influence’, *ʔiṯr* ‘trace’; Sabaean *ʔṯr* ‘after’; Akkadian *ašaru*, *ašru* ‘place, site, location, emplacement’ (semantic development as in Sanskrit *ā́śā* ‘space, region, quarter of heaven’ [cf. Avestan *asah-* ‘place, space’] < *aś-nó-ti* ‘to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to get, to obtain; to master, to become master of’); Geez / Ethiopic *ʔasar* [አሰር], *ʔašar* [አሠር] ‘path, trace, track, sole of foot, footprint, sign, mark’; Amharic *asär* ‘footprint’; Tigre *ʔasar* ‘trace’; Tigrinya *ʔasär* ‘trace’. Klein 1987:59; D. Cohen 1970— :37; Murtonen 1989:103; Zammit 2002:68. Diakonoff 1992:82 **ʔačˀ* ‘place’. Berber: Tuareg *əsrəḍ* ‘to trace, to mark, to draw a line; to be traced’, *təsərriṭ* ‘line, stripe; gutter’; Ghadames *əsrəḍ* ‘to draw a line’, *tasarəṭ* ‘furrow’; Mzab *ssərṭəṭṭ* ‘to align, to arrange; to be aligned’, *tisṛəḍt* ‘line, trace’; Wargla *əsrəḍ* ‘to align; to be aligned’, *tinsərḍt* ‘ruler, straightedge’; Kabyle *asriḍ* ‘stripe’.

B. Proto-Dravidian **cār-* ‘to reach, to approach, to go or come near to’: Tamil *cār* ‘to reach, to approach, to depend upon, to take shelter in, to be near to, to be associated or connected with, to unite, to be related to, to resemble, to lean on, to recline against’, *cārvu* ‘place, residence, pial, refuge, basis, help, support, means, attachment, vicinity, partiality’, *cārpu* ‘place, side, help, support, refuge, shelter, attachment, birth, bias, partiality, friendship, approximation, nearness’, *cārntōr* ‘relatives, friends’, *cārttu* (*cārtti-*) ‘to cause to lean, to support, to join, to unite, to connect’, *cārcci* ‘leaning, uniting, connection, approach, support’, *cārppu* ‘sloping roof’, *cāral* ‘drawing near, side, slope of a mountain’, *cāri* ‘side, wing, row, series’; Malayalam *cāruka* ‘to lean against, to rely upon, to be attached to, to be shut, to place against, to put on’, *cāra* ‘bending sideways, nigh, close’, *cāral* ‘leaning against, inclination, side, declivity of a hill, support’, *cārikka* ‘to lay against in order to support, to shut the door’, *cārnnavar* ‘kinsman’, *cārcca* ‘relation by blood’, *cārttu* ‘joining, assemblage’, *cārttuka* ‘to join (as wood), to put on (a dress), to adorn, to throw on’, *cārttikka* ‘to adorn (as an image with flowers)’; Kota *ca·ry*

'near'; Kannaḍa *sār* 'to come or go near to, to approach, to be or become near, to join, to associate oneself to, to come to hand, to be obtained, to come about, to come or go, to be applied or used', *sāraṇ* 'nearness, proximity', *sārke* 'approach, nearness, proximity', *sārcu* 'to make oneself come or go near or near to, to go near, to approach; to make go or come near or near to, to apply, to put to, to put on, to put in'; Telugu *tāru* 'to move about, to wander, to stroll; to approach, to go near', *tār(u)cu* 'to bring together, to join, to procure (as procurer)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:215, no. 2460; Krishnamurti 2003:527 **cār-*/**cēr-* 'to go reach'.

C. Proto-Indo-European **t$^{h}$er(ḫ̲h)-*/**t$^{h}$or(ḫ̲h)-*/**t$^{h}$r̥(ḫ̲h)-*, **t$^{h}$reḫ̲h-* [**t$^{h}$raḫ̲h-*]/**t$^{h}$roḫ̲h-* > **t$^{h}$rā-*/**t$^{h}$rō-* 'to advance to or toward an end or a goal, to pass across or over, to pass through; to achieve an end or a goal, to reach, to come to, to arrive at, to overcome, to overtake; to master, to become master of, to control': Sanskrit *tárati* 'to pass across or over, to cross over (a river); to get through, to attain an end or aim; to surpass, to overcome, to subdue, to escape; to acquire, to gain; to contend, to compete; to carry through or over', (causative) *tārayati* 'to carry or lead over or across, to cause to arrive at', *tū́rvati* 'to overpower, to excel', *trāyáte* 'to protect, to defend', *tiráḥ* 'through, across, beyond, over'; Latin *intrō* 'to go into, to enter', *trāns* 'over, across'; Hittite (3 sg. pres.) *tar-aḫ-zi* 'to be powerful, to be able, to control, to conquer'. Rix 1998a:575—577 **terh$_2$-* 'to pass through, to cross over, to traverse'; Pokorny 1959:1074—1075 **ter-*, **terə-*, **tr̥̄-*, **trā-*, **teru-* 'to cross over'; Walde 1927—1932.I:732—734 **ter-*; Mann 1984—1987:1386—1387 **terp-* (**terpō*) 'to put through, to pass through; penetrating, passage, penetration', 1414 **tor-*, 1420 **trāi̯ō* 'to go through, to pass, to persist, to last', 1420—1421 **trāt-* 'to cross, to pass', 1442—1443 **tr̥-* (**tr̥̄-*, **tər-*, **trə-*) 'through, across'; Watkins 1985:70 **terə-* and 2000:91 **terə-* 'to cross over, to pass through, to overcome' (oldest form **terə̯$_2$-*, with variant [metathesized] form **treə̯$_2$-*, colored to **traə̯$_2$-*, contracted to **trā-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:205 **t[$^{h}$]erH-*/**t[$^{h}$]r̥H-* and 1995.I:176 **t$^{h}$erH-*/**t$^{h}$r̥H-* 'to cross, to penetrate; to defeat, to conquer, to overcome'; Mallory—Adams 1997:229 **terh$_2$-* 'to bring across, to overcome'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:480, I:503, and I:520; Ernout—Meillet 1979:699—700 **ter-*, **terə-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:700 **ter-*; De Vaan 2008:627; Kloekhorst 2008b:835—839 **terh$_2$-u-ti*, **trh$_2$-u-enti*.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ðərat-* 'to extend' > Chukchi *rə-rərat-at-* 'to spread out (tr.)', *rərateta wa-lʔən* 'flat, extensive'; Kerek *in-nijaat-* 'to spread'; Koryak *jəjat-* 'to spread out'; Alyutor *trat-* 'to spread out'. Fortescue 2005:74.

Buck 1949:9.32 stretch; 10.54 overtake; 10.55 arrive (intr.) and arrive at, reach (tr.); 10.56 approach (vb.); 12.11 place (sb.); 12.43 near (adv.); 20.41 victory. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:328—329, no. 149.

260. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$t^{y}{}^{h}$in-a* ‘the other or opposite side’; (adj.) ‘different, other’:

A. Proto-Afrasian *$t^{y}$in-* ‘two’: Proto-Semitic *$t^{y}$in-ay* ‘two’ > Akkadian (dual) *šinā*, *šenā* ‘two’; Arabic *ʔiṯnāni* ‘two’; Sabaean *ṯny* ‘two’; Qatabanic *ṯnw* ‘two’; Ugaritic *ṯny* ‘two’; Hebrew *šənayim* [שְׁנַיִם] ‘two’; Phoenician *šnm*, *ʔšnm* ‘two’, *šny* ‘second’; Punic *šnm* ‘two’; Imperial Aramaic *tnyn* ‘second’; Aramaic *trēn* ‘two’; Syriac *tərēn* (< **tənēn*) ‘two’; Neo-Aramaic (Mandaic) *tre(n)* ‘two’; Ḥarsūsi *ṯerō* ‘two’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ṯroh* ‘two’; Mehri *ṯərō*, *ṯroh* ‘two’; Soqoṭri *trɔ* ‘two’. Brockelmann 1908.I:484—485; Lipiński 1997:284—285, §35.4; Moscati 1964:116, §§14.1—14.2; Bauer—Leander 1918—1922:622 (gen.-acc.) **þináį*; Gray 1934:68—70, §259, **þinaį*; Klein 1987:670; Tomback 1978:327; Zammit 2002:113. (?) Egyptian *snw* (f. *snty*) ‘two’, *snnw* ‘second’; Coptic *snaw* [ⲥⲛⲁϥ] (f. *snte* [ⲥⲛⲧⲉ]) ‘two’. Hannig 1995:713—714; Faulkner 1962:230; Erman—Grapow 1921:162 and 1926—1963.4:148—150; Gardiner 1957:590; Černý 1976:156; Vycichl 1983:192—193. Note: The Egyptian and Coptic forms may be borrowings from Semitic. The expected Egyptian form would be **ṯn-*, which may be preserved in *ṯnỉ* ‘to distinguish, to make a distinction between, to give preference to (another), to be different from’, *ṯnt* ‘difference’, *ṯnw* ‘distinction’. Hannig 1995:956; Faulkner 1962:305; Gardiner 1957:601; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:374—375 and 5:376. Berber: Tuareg *əssīn* (f. *sənāt*) ‘two’; Siwa *sən* (f. *snət*) ‘two’; Nefusa (f. *snət*) *sən* ‘two’; Ghadames *sin* (f. *sənət*) ‘two’; Wargla *sən* (f. *sənt*) ‘two’; Mzab *sən* (f. *sənt*) ‘two’; Tamazight *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Riff *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Kabyle *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Chaouia *sin* (f. *snat*) ‘two’; Zenaga *cinan* (f. *ciwat*) ‘two’. Ehret 1995:273, no. 503, **tsan-* or **can-* ‘two’ and 274, no. 505, **tsir(n)-* or **cir(n)-* ‘two’ (“vowel reconstruction uncertain; PAA *u, *ee, or *oo are also possible here; contrary to earlier views, this is surely a distinct root from #503”); Diakonoff 1988:67 **čVn-* ‘two’ (Semitic **čin-* > **ṯin-*).

B. Kartvelian: Svan (Upper Bal) *išgen* (< **i-čken*) ‘other, different’.

C. Altaic: Proto-Mongolian **čina* (noun/adjective, adverb, and postposition) ‘the other or opposite side; beyond, further, on the other side’ > Written Mongolian *činadu* (noun/adjective, adverb, and postposition) ‘the other or opposite (side); adversary, opponent; in that direction, beyond, behind, on the other side’, *činaduda* (adv.) ‘on the other side, beyond; in the future’, *činaγsi* (adv.) ‘away from; farther, beyond; from a certain time on, in the future’; Ordos *č'ās* ‘on the other side’; Monguor *ćįagsə* ‘on the other side, further’.

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 396, **čiñV* ‘other’.

261. Proto-Nostratic root *$t^{y}{}^{h}$iq'$^{w}$-* (~ *$t^{y}{}^{h}$eq'$^{w}$-*):

(vb.) *$t^{y^h}iq'^w$- ‘to swell’;
(n.) *$t^{y^h}iq'^w$-*a* ‘swelling, growth’

A. Proto-Kartvelian *$čkiq'w$- ‘goiter’: Georgian $čiq'v$- ‘goiter’; Mingrelian $čiq'v$-, $čiq'vaq'v$- ‘goiter’; Svan $q'wiq'w$-, $q'uq'w$-, $q'wič$- ‘goiter’. Klimov 1964:220 *$čiġw$- and 1998:257 *$čiġw$- ‘goiter’. Different etymology in Fähnrich 2007:523 [*$ġuġw$-].
B. Proto-Uralic *$t^yiklä$ ‘swelling, outgrowth (on the skin), pustule’: Finnish *syylä* ‘wart’ (dial. *syplä*); Lapp / Saami *čiw'hle* ‘blotch’; Mordvin *ćil'ge*, *sil'gä* ‘wart, blotch’; Cheremis / Mari *šəgəl'* ‘wart’; Hungarian *süly* ‘fester, ulceration, tumor, outgrowth (in the form of a fig), scurvy’; Selkup Samoyed *seela* ‘wart’. Collinder 1955:117 and 1977:130; Rédei 1986—1988:36—37 *$ćiklä$ (*$ćüklä$), *$ćikl'ä$ (*$ćükl'ä$); Décsy 1990:108 *$tjiklä$ ‘wart’; Aikio 2020:152 *$ćVklä$ ‘wart’.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:329, no. 150.

262. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$t^{y^h}om$-*a* ‘wild bovine’:

A. Dravidian: Pengo *homa* ‘bison’; Maṇḍa *hama* ‘bison’; Kui *soma* ‘a wild buffalo’ (= ‘bison’); Kuwi *homma* ‘bison’, *hōma* ‘sambar’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:247, no. 2849.
B. Kartvelian: Georgian (Imeruli) *čoma* ‘cattle’.

Buck 1949:3.20 cattle. Dolgopolsky 1998:43, no. 40, *$čoma$ ‘aurochs, wild bovine’ and 2008, no. 394, *$čoma$ ‘wild bovine’.

263. Proto-Nostratic root *$t^{y^h}um$- (~ *$t^{y^h}om$-):
(vb.) *$t^{y^h}um$- ‘to strike, to beat, to pound, to knock; to tire out, to weary; to be or become weak or weary, to fade, to waste away’;
(n.) *$t^{y^h}um$-*a* ‘fatigue, weariness, dullness, stupor’

A. Proto-Afrasian *$t^yum$- ‘to strike, to beat, to pound, to knock; to tire out, to weary; to be or become weak or weary, to fade, to waste away’: Proto-Semitic *$t^yam$-*am*- ‘to lay waste; to waste away; to be devastated, stunned, stupefied, dazed’ > Arabic *ṯamma* (inf. *ʔinṯimām*) ‘to fall from all sides upon, to melt and blend, to waste away, to grow old and weak’; Hebrew *šāmam* [שָׁמַם] ‘to be desolated, deserted, waste, solitary, depopulated; to be stupefied, stunned, astonished, appalled, alarmed, shocked’; Biblical Aramaic *šəmam* ‘to be dazed’; Geez / Ethiopic *samama* [ሰመመ] ‘to be silly’; Tigrinya *sämäm bälä* ‘to have the eyes closed (which indicates daze or stupor)’; Amharic *sämmämä* ‘to be in a daze or stupor, to be half-awake’. Murtonen 1989:427; Klein 1987:666; Leslau 1987:502. Proto-Semitic *$wa$-$t^yam$- ‘to lay waste, to devastate; to be devastated, desolate,

wasted' > Arabic *waṯama* 'to break, to pound, to grind, to crush', *waṯima* 'to produce little grass or food'; Sabaean *wṯm* 'open country'; Hebrew *yāšam* [יָשַׁם] 'to be desolate', *yəšīmōn* [יְשִׁימוֹן] 'waste, wilderness, desolation, wasteland'; Old Aramaic (abs. sg.) *yšmn* 'desert'. Murtonen 1989:223; Klein 1987:266. Arabic *ṯamila* 'to be or become drunk', *ṯamal* 'drunkenness'. Egyptian *ṯmsw* 'injury, harm'. Faulkner 1962:305; Hannig 1995:954; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.I:370; Gardiner 1957:601. Proto-East Cushitic **tum-* 'to strike, to forge' > Burji *tum-áanoo* 'to churn, to thresh, to hit'; Galla / Oromo *tum-* 'to forge'; Somali *tum-* 'hammer', *tumaal* 'blacksmith'. Sasse 1979:10, 24 and 1982:179.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *cōmpu* (*cōmpi-*) 'to be idle, indolent, slothful, lethargic, apathetic, dull; to droop, to fade (as persons, plants); to be spoiled, marred', *cōmāṟu* (*cōmāṟi-*) 'to be lazy, to shirk'; Telugu *soma* 'swoon, fainting, faintness, torpidity', *sōma* 'fatigue'; Kannaḍa *jompu*, *jōmpu* 'inebriation, stupor, suspension of sensibility, paralysis', *jompisu*, *jōmpisu* 'to get intoxicated, bewildered, stupefied'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:249, no. 2882.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **čkum-* 'to calm down': Georgian *čum-* 'to calm down; to fall silent, quiet'; Svan *čkwim* 'quiet, calm'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:438 **čum-*; Fähnrich 2007:544 **čum-*; Klimov 1998:258 **čum-* 'to calm down'.

D. Proto-Indo-European **t*$^{h}$*ṃ-* (secondary full-grade forms: **t*$^{h}$*em-*/**t*$^{h}$*om-*) 'to strike, to hit, to beat, to stun, to stupefy; to be stunned, stupefied, faint, exhausted, dizzy': Sanskrit *tā́myati* 'to gasp for breath; to be faint, stunned, exhausted'; Prakrit *tammaï* 'to be tired', *taṁta-* 'distressed, weary'; Kumaunī *taũro* (< **tamara-*) 'giddiness, dizziness'; Kashmiri *tam* 'fatigue, asthma'; Marathi *tãv*, *tav*, *tavā* (< *támas-*) 'giddiness'; Latin *tēmulentus* 'drunken, intoxicated, tipsy', *tēmētum* 'any intoxicating drink'; New High German *dämlich* 'dull, silly, stupid' (Bavarian *damisch*, older *dämisch*), *Dämel*, *Däm(e)lack* 'blockhead, fathead, asshole', *Dämelei* '(tom)foolery'; Russian Church Slavic *tomiti* 'to torture, to torment, to harass, to tire'; Russian *tomít'* [томить] 'to tire, to wear out; to torment, to torture', *tómnost'* [томность] 'languor'. Rix 1998a:567 **temH-* 'to tire, to exhaust, to weary, to weaken, to wear down; to become faint, weak, exhausted'; Pokorny 1959:1063 **tem-* 'stunned'; Walde 1927—1932.I:720 **tem-*; Mann 1984—1987:1368 **tă̆m-* 'to quieten, to expire; silence, expiry', 1377 **tem-* (**tēm-*) 'to tire, to harass, to exhaust'; Mallory—Adams 1997:549 **temh*$_{x}$- 'to be struck, to be exhausted'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:495; Ernout—Meillet 1979:679—680; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:657; De Vaan 2008:609 **tēmH-* 'intoxication'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:120; Kluge—Seebold 1989:126.

Sumerian *šum* 'to slaughter'.

Buck 1949:4.76 kill; 4.91 tired, weary; 9.21 strike (hit, beat). Brunner 1969:91, no. 499; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:326—327, no. 147. For the semantic developments in the various Nostratic daughter languages, cf. Greek κοπιάω ‘to be tired, to grow weary’ < κόπος ‘toil, trouble, weariness, suffering’, originally ‘striking, beating’ < κόπτω ‘to strike, to beat, to smite, to slaughter, to cut off, to chop off, to hammer, to forge, to pound, to knock; (metaphorical) to tire out, to weary’.

## 22.11. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *t’ʸ

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| t’ʸ- | t’ʸ- | c- | č’k’- | t’- | tʸ- | č- | c- |
| -t’ʸ- | -t’ʸ- | -c(c)-/ -y- | -č’k’- | -t’- | -tʸtʸ- | -č- | -c- |

264. Proto-Nostratic root **t’ʸad-* (~ **t’ʸəd-*):
(vb.) **t’ʸad-* ‘to strike, to beat, to pound, to hammer’;
(n.) **t’ʸad-a* ‘hammer’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *caṭai* ‘to flatten (as the head or point of a nail by repeated blows), to clinch, to rivet’, *cāṭu* (*cāṭi-*) ‘to beat, to trample, to gore, to kill, to destroy’, *cāṭṭu* (*cāṭṭi-*) ‘to beat, to strike’, *cāṭṭam* ‘beating’; Kannaḍa *jaḍi* ‘to beat, to pound, to crush, to beat into (as mud in a hole), to force in, to ram (as a cartridge), to drive in (as a nail)’, (causative *jaḍisu*), *jaḍata*, *jaḍita* ‘beating, ramming, forcing in (as a cartridge), driving in (as a nail)’; Tuḷu *jaḍipini*, *jaḍipuni*, *jaḍiyuni* ‘to ram, to stuff, to load (as firearms)’, *caḍāyisuni* ‘to beat, to strike, to flog’, *caḍi* ‘whip, stripe’; Telugu *saḍincu* ‘to pound, to beat’, *saḍimpu* ‘pounding, beating’, *saḍimpulu* ‘rice beaten and cleaned’, *jaḍiyu* ‘to beat, to hit’; Parji *caḍp-* (*caḍt-*) ‘to strike, to beat, to hammer’; Kui *jaṛsa* ‘a whip, scourge’; Malto *jáṛe* ‘to shake down, to beat down (as fruits)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 203, no. 2300.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **č’k’ed-* ‘to hammer in, to nail’: Georgian *č’ed-* ‘to hammer in, to nail, to shoe’, *č’de-* ‘notch’; Mingrelian *č’k’ad-*, *č’k’and-* ‘to nail, to shoe’; Laz *č’(k’)ad-* ‘to nail, to shoe’; Svan *šk’ād-*, *šk’id-* ‘to forge, to hammer something’, *mə-šk’id* ‘smith’. Klimov 1964:254—255 **ǯed-* and 1998:320 **ǯed-* ‘to hammer in, to nail’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:537—538 **ǯed-*; Fähnrich 2007:666—667 **ǯed-*; Schmidt 1962:157. Proto-Kartvelian **č’k’ed-il-* ‘wrought, forged’: Georgian *č’edil-* ‘wrought, forged’; Mingrelian *č’k’adir-* ‘wrought, forged’; Laz *č’k’ader-* ‘wrought, forged’. Klimov 1998:320 **ǯed-il-*. Proto-Kartvelian **m-č’k’ed-el-* ‘smith, blacksmith’: Georgian *mč’edel-* ‘smith, blacksmith’; Mingrelian *č’k’adu-* ‘smith, blacksmith’. Klimov 1998:133 **m-ǯed-el-* ‘smith, blacksmith’.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (beat, hit); 9.49 hammer (sb.); 9.60 smith; 9.61 forge (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:335—336, no. 158.

265. Proto-Nostratic root **t’ʸakʰ-* (~ **t’ʸəkʰ-*):
(vb.) **t’ʸakʰ-* ‘to cut into small pieces, to chop, to chip’;
(n.) **t’ʸakʰ-a* ‘chip, small piece’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *cakkai* ‘chips, small wooden peg’; Kota *cek* ‘chip’; Kannaḍa *cakke*, *cekke*, *sakke*, *sekke* ‘chip’; Tuḷu *cakke*, *cekkè*, *cekki* ‘chip, split, splinter’; Telugu *cekku* ‘to pare, to cut the side or rind of, to sharpen (pencil), to engrave, to carve’, *cekka* ‘piece, chip, slice’, *cakku-cēyu* ‘to chop, to cut to pieces, to mince’; Kolami *sek-* (*sekt-*) ‘to make pointed (piece of wood)’; Naikṛi *śekk-* ‘to chip, to scrape’; Naiki (of Chanda) *sek-* ‘to plow’; Parji *cekk-* ‘to chip, to scrape, to plane’, *cekka* ‘piece, slice, chip of wood’; Gondi *cekkānā* ‘to cut’, *cekka* ‘piece’; Konḍa *sek* ‘to plane, to fashion things out of wood’; Kuwi *sekali* ‘to scrape (with a hoe)’, *seka* ‘piece’; Kuṛux *caktā*, *caktī* ‘a slice’, *caktaʾānā* ‘to cut in slices’, *ceglā* ‘chip, splinter’; Malto *caka* ‘a slice’, *cagje* ‘to chop up (as meat)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:239, no. 2748.

B. Proto-Indo-European **t’ak$^{h}$-* ‘to cut or tear into shreds’: Gothic *tahjan* ‘to tear apart’; Old Icelandic *tág* ‘stringy root, fiber’; Norwegian (dial.) *tæja* ‘to fray (of a garment)’; Middle Low German *tagge* ‘edge, prong’; Middle High German *zāch*, *zāhe* ‘wick’ (New High German *Zacke*, *Zacken* ‘[sharp] point, peak, jag; spike, prong, tine [of a fork]; tooth [of a saw or comb]; notch, indentation’). Probably also Sanskrit *dáśā* ‘fringe of a garment, wick’. Pokorny 1959:191 **deḱ-* (: **doḱ-*, **dēḱ-*) ‘to rip to pieces’; Walde 1927—1932.I:785 **dēḱ-*, **dəḱ-*; **deḱ-* (: **doḱ-*, **dēḱ-*); Mann 1984—1987:131 **daḱ-* ‘to tear, to bite, to gnaw’, 131 **daḱnos*, *-ā* (**daḱ-*) ‘grip, bite; clamp, tongs’; Watkins 1985:11 **dek-* and 2000:15 **dek-* referring to such things as ‘fringe, lock of hair, horsetail’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:27; Orël 2003:398 Proto-Germanic **taǥǥaz*; Kroonen 2013:504 Proto-Germanic **tagla-* ‘hair’; Feist 1939:470—471 **deḱ-*; Lehmann 1986:338; De Vries 1977:580; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:349; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:871; Kluge—Seebold 1989:804 (origin unclear).

C. Eskimo-Aleut: Proto-Yupik-Sirenik **caki(tə)-* ‘to chop or cut into’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *cakitə-* ‘to hew, to carve’; Central Alaskan Yupik *caki-* ‘to cut out a small piece, to plane (wood)’, *cakitə-* ‘to chop, to cut into accidentally’, *caki(y)un* ‘chopping device’; Sirenik *saki(tə)-* ‘to chop, to dig with front paws (animal)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:65.

Buck 1949:28 tear (vb. tr.); 12.56 small, little; 12.62 narrow. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:336—337, no. 159; Bomhard 1996a:159—160, no. 159.

266. Proto-Nostratic root **t’ʸal-* (~ **t’ʸəl-*) and/or **t’ʸil-* (~ **t’ʸel-*):
(vb.) **t’ʸal-* and/or **t’ʸil-* ‘to overshadow, to cover over, to make dark’;
(n.) **t’ʸal-a* and/or **t’ʸil-a* ‘shade, shadow; covering; darkness’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t’ʸal-* ~ **t’ʸil-* ‘(vb.) to overshadow, to cover over, to make dark; (n.) shade, shadow; covering; darkness’: Proto-Semitic **t’ʸal-al-* ‘to overshadow, to cover over’, **t’ʸill-* ‘shade, shadow’ > Hebrew *ṣālal* [צָלַל] ‘to be or grow dark’, *ṣēl* [צֵל] ‘shade, shadow’; Aramaic *ṭəlal* ‘to

overshadow'; Akkadian *ṣullulu* 'to provide shade, to roof', *ṣillu* 'shade, shadow'; Arabic *ẓalla* 'to shade, to overshadow, to screen, to shelter, to protect', *ẓill* 'shadow, shade; shelter, protection', *ẓulla* 'awning, marquee, canopy, sheltering hut or tent, shelter'; Ugaritic *ẓll* 'shade'; Sabaean *ẓll* 'to roof over'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḍell* 'to give shade'; Mehri *aḍlēl* 'to make shade (by erecting a sunshade)'; Geez / Ethiopic *ṣallala*, *ṣalala* [ጸለለ] 'to shade, to make shade, to overshadow, to be shady, to darken, to conceal, to cover, to screen from view, to blind (an eye), to deafen, to protect', *maṣallat* [መጸለት] 'sunshade, shady place, tent, booth, tabernacle'; Tigre *(ʾa)ṣläla* 'to give shade', *ṣəlal* 'shadow, darkness'; Tigrinya *ʾaṣlälä* 'to shelter oneself', *ṣəlal* 'shade, shadow'; Amharic *ṭällälä* 'to shade, to curtain off', *ṭəla* 'shade, shadow'; Gafat *č̣əlāya* 'shade, shadow'; Argobba *ṭəla* 'shade, shadow'; Gurage *(aṭ)ṭillälä* 'to curtain off'; Harari *č̣āya* 'shade, shadow, luxury' (Galla / Oromo loan). Murtonen 1989:359; Klein 1987:548; Leslau 1963:52, 1979:618, and 1987:555; Zammit 2002:276—277. Proto-Semitic **t'ʸal-am-* 'to be or become dark' > Arabic *ẓalima* 'to be or grow dark', *ẓulma*, *ẓalām* 'darkness, duskiness, gloom, murkiness', *muẓlim* 'dark, dusky, gloomy, tenebrous, murky'; Akkadian *ṣalāmu* 'to become dark, to turn black'; Ḥarsūsi *méḍlem* 'dark'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *eḍlím* 'to become dark'; Mehri *həḍláwm* 'to go dark'; Geez / Ethiopic *ṣalma* [ጸልመ], *ṣalama* [ጸለመ] 'to grow dark, to be darkened, to be black, to be enveloped in mist, to grow blind (eyes), to be obscured (face)', *ṣalmata* [ጸልመተ] 'to be dark, to grow dark' (denominative form *ṣəlmat* [ጽልመት] 'darkness, darkening, eclipse'); Tigre *ṣalma* 'to be dark', *č̣älma* 'to be dark-colored'; Tigrinya *ṣällämä* 'to be dark'; Amharic *č̣älläma* 'to be dark'; Gurage *č̣älläma* 'to be dark', (Muher, Soddo) *č̣älläma* 'darkness', (Selṭi) *č̣ilma* 'darkness'; Gafat *ṣillämä* 'to be dark'; Harari *č̣ēläma* 'to be dark', *č̣ilma* 'darkness; dark'. Leslau 1963:51, 1979:180, and 1987:556; Zammit 2002:277. Cushitic: Bilin *č̣aläl-* 'to give shade', *č̣alälḱ* 'shade', *č̣aläm-* 'to be dark', *č̣alämḱ*, *č̣ilmḱ* 'darkness'; Galla / Oromo *č'āya* (with palatalization of the *l*) 'shade, shadow'. (According to Leslau 1987:555 and 556, the preceding Cushitic forms are loans from Ethiopian Semitic.) Appleyard 2006:52; Reinisch 1887:171. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo *c'aal-*: *c'aal-šiiš-* 'to throw a shadow', *c'aale* 'shade, shadow'. Hudson 1989:356. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *dúluma* 'darkness'. Reinisch 1895:66. North Bauchi Chadic **dlm* 'darkness' > Siryanci *dən-dələmi* 'darkness'; Miyanci *dən-dələm* 'darkness'; Jimbinanci *dan-dilam* 'darkness'. Skinner 1977:17. Central Chadic **čilVm-* 'dark, black' > Buduma *čilim* 'dark'; Gulfey *selem* 'black'. Omotic: Aari *č'ɛlmi* 'black'. Diakonoff 1992:19 **č̣Vl* 'dark', 86 **č̣əll-* 'shade, shadow'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:117—118, no. 503, **č̣al-*/**č̣il-* 'shadow' and 119, no. 511, **č̣ilam-* 'to be dark'; Ehret 1995:293, no. 555, **c'il-* 'to darken, to become dark colored', and 293, no. 556, **c'ilm-*/**c'alm-* 'black'.

B. Proto-Indo-European **t'el-*/**t'ol-* 'to cover over, to stretch over': Old Icelandic *tjald* 'tent', *tjalda* 'to pitch a tent'; Swedish *tjäll* 'tent'; Norwegian *tjeld* 'tent'; Old English *be-telden* 'to cover', *(ge)teld* 'tent', *teldian* 'to spread (tent)', *teldsele*, *tyldsyle* 'tent', *teldsticca* 'tent-peg', *teldwyrhta* 'tent maker'; Middle Low German *telt* 'tent'; Old High German *zelt* 'tent, vault, canopy' (New High German *Zelt*). Pokorny 1959:194—196 **del-*, (**dol-*), **delə-* 'to split'; Walde 1927—1932.I:809—812 **del-*; Mann 1984—1987:139—140 **delt-* 'to flatten, to stretch'; Watkins 2000:15—16 **delə-* 'to split, to carve, to cut'; Orël 2003:404 Proto-Germanic **telđan*; Kroonen 2013:512—513 Proto-Germanic **telda-* 'drape, tent', **teldan-* 'to cover'; De Vries 1977:591; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:357; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:879; Kluge—Seebold 1989:808—809. Semantic development as in Arabic *ẓulla* 'awning, marquee, canopy, sheltering hut or tent, shelter' cited above. Old High German *zelto* 'a small, flat cake' (New High German [dial.] *Zelte[n]*). Kluge—Mitzka 1967:879 Proto-Germanic **teld-* 'to stretch over, to spread out over'; Kluge—Seebold 1989:809 Proto-Germanic **teld-a-*.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 1.63 shade; 7.14 tent. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:332—333, no. 153; Möller 1911:41—42.

267. Proto-Nostratic root **t'ʸam-* (~ **t'ʸəm-*):
(vb.) **t'ʸam-* 'to be sour, bitter';
(n.) **t'ʸam-a* 'that which is sour, bitter, rotten, or spoiled'

A. Proto-Afrasian **t'ʸam-* 'to be sour, bitter': North Omotic: Wolaitta / Wellamo *č'am-* 'bitter'; Kefa / Kaffa *č'āmm-* 'to be bitter'; Mocha *č'ammo* 'bitter'; Anfillo / Southern Mao *s'āmo* 'bile'.

B. Dravidian: Naiki (of Chanda) *sam-* 'to be rotten'; Parji *cam-* 'to go bad, to become rotten', *camip-* (*camit-*) 'to make to go rotten'; Gadba (Ollari) *sam-* 'to become rotten', (Salur) *cammi cen-* 'to rot (as fruit)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:206, no. 2341. Note: Burrow—Emeneau also list forms such as Tamil *avi* 'to ferment (as decayed fruit, vegetable matter, manure heaps)', *avical* 'that which is decayed'; Malayalam *aviyuka* 'to rot, to spoil (as fruits laid on a heap)'; Kannaḍa *avi* 'to rot, to be spoiled or damaged'; Telugu *aviyu* 'to rot'; etc. Dolgopolsky (2008, no. 423) does not include these forms. Kuṛux *canxnā* 'to turn stale (of cooked things, meat or vegetables), to turn moldy (bread)'; Malto *cange* 'to be or become rotten (of cooked food)', *cangro* 'rotten'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:212, no. 2424.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **č'k'max-* 'sour' (> **m-č'k'max-* > Georgian-Zan **mč'k'axe-*): Georgian *mč'ax-e* 'very sour'; Laz *mč'ox-a* 'sour'. Klimov 1998:133 **mčaxe-* 'sour'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:254 **mčax-*;

Fähnrich 2007:305—306 **mčax-*. Note: In Zan, *-č'k'-* > *-č'-* when followed by a velar consonant in the word — in this case, *-x-*.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:209—210, no. 54, **čämʌ* 'bitter'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 423, **čäm[V]χV* 'sour, bitter'. Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky include Uralic (Finno-Ugrian) forms in this etymology as well. However, the initial affricate of the reconstructed Proto-Finno-Ugrian form (**čemɜ* 'sour; to become sour' [cf. Rédei 1986—1988:56—57]) is not what would be expected (**ć-*) on the basis of the forms from the other Nostratic daughter languages cited above. The vowel of the initial syllable (**e*) is also problematic. Consequently, the Uralic forms are not included here. A better comparison would be with Proto-Kartvelian **ǯm̯-* 'salt', **ǯm-ar-* 'vinegar', with both the Uralic and Kartvelian forms going back to Proto-Nostratic **ǯem-* 'sour, bitter, pungent, sharp'.

268. Proto-Nostratic root **t'ʸar-* (~ **t'ʸər-*):
(vb.) **t'ʸar-* 'to be or become stuck, joined, or bound together; to be firmly or strongly attached';
(n.) **t'ʸar-a* 'firmness, solidity, strength'; (adj.) 'firm, solid, strong, steadfast'
Derivative:
(vb.) **t'ʸar-* 'to be rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard';
(n.) **t'ʸar-a* 'that which is rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard'; (adj.) 'rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard'

A. Proto-Afrasian **t'ʸar-* 'to be or become stuck, joined, or bound together; to be firmly or strongly attached': Proto-Semitic **t'ʸar-ab-* 'to be or become stuck, joined, or bound together; to be firmly or strongly attached' > Arabic *ẓariba* 'to stick, to adhere', *ẓurriba* 'to become hard, strong; to be firm, solid'. Proto-Semitic **t'ʸar-* 'to be strong, firm, powerful' > Gurage (Selṭi) *ṭiräññe* 'to be strong, powerful, vigorous, firm, resistant, courageous, brave', (Chaha) *ṭäränä* 'strong, powerful, vigorous'; Amharic *ṭäṭṭärä* 'to be strong'; Gafat *ṣäwwärä* 'to be strong, rigid'; Argobba *ṭeṭṭärä* 'to be strong'. Leslau 1979:631—632. Egyptian *ḏrỉ* 'hard, firm'; Coptic *ǧro* [**ϫρο**], *čro* [**ϭρο**] 'to become strong, firm, victorious', *ǧōōre* [**ϫωωρϵ**] 'strength; to be strong'. Hannig 1995:1012; Faulkner 1962:323; Erman—Grapow 1921:221; Vycichl 1983:330; Černý 1976:319.
B. Proto-Indo-European **t'er-w/u-*; **t'r-ew-*/**t'r-u-*, **t'r-ew-H-*/**t'r-u-H-* (> **t'r-ū-*) 'to be firm, solid, strong, steadfast': Gothic *triggws* 'true', *trauan* 'to trust'; Old Icelandic *tryggr* 'trustworthy, faithful', *trú* 'faith, belief', *trúa* 'to believe; to believe in, to trust'; Old English *trēow* 'truth', *trīewan* 'to trust in', *(ge)trīewe* 'faithful, trustworthy, honest', *trūwian* 'to trust in (person)', *trymman*, *trym(m)ian* 'to make strong, to build strongly', *trymþ* 'firmness, support', *trum* 'firm, substantial, strong, healthy'; Old Frisian *triūwe*, *triōwe* 'faithfulness', *triūwi*, *triowe* 'faithful, trustworthy'; Old

Saxon *treuwa* 'faithfulness', *triuwi* 'faithful, trustworthy'; Old High German *triuwa* 'faithfulness' (New High German *Treue*), *gi-triuwi* 'faithful, trustworthy' (New High German *treu*), *(ga)trūēn*, *(ga)trūwēn* 'to trust' (New High German *trauen*); Old Irish *derb* 'certain'; Lithuanian *drū́tas*, *driútas* 'strong, firm'; Old Prussian *druwis* 'belief'. Feist 1939:479—480 **dreu̯-* and 480 **dreu̯-u̯o-*; Lehmann 1986:346—347 **derw-*, **drewH-* and 347; Orël 2003:410 Proto-Germanic **trewwaz*, 410 **trewwiþō*, 410 **trewwjanan*, 410 **trewwō*, 410 **trewwōn*; Kroonen 2013:523 Proto-Germanic **trewwu-* 'loyal, trustworthy' and 523 **trūēn-* 'to trust'; De Vries 1977:599; Onions 1966:946; Klein 1971:786 **dru-* 'strong, faithful'; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:414; Kluge—Mitzka 1967: 786—787 and 789 **dreu̯-u̯o-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:737 and 739; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:107; Smoczyński 2007:128 **druH-tó-*, **dreu̯H-*.

Buck 1949:15.74 hard; 16.65 faithful. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:330—331, no. 151; Möller 1911:48.

269. Proto-Nostratic root **t'ʸar-* (~ **t'ʸər-*):
(vb.) **t'ʸar-* 'to be rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard';
(n.) **t'ʸar-a* 'that which is rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard'; (adj.) 'rough, coarse, rigid, stiff, hard'
Derivative of:
(vb.) **t'ʸar-* 'to be or become stuck, joined, or bound together; to be firmly or strongly attached';
(n.) **t'ʸar-a* 'firmness, solidity, strength'; (adj.) 'firm, solid, strong, steadfast'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *caracara* 'to be rough (of surface)', *caral*, *caraḷ*, *caraḷai* 'gravel, laterite', *caracarappu* 'roughness (of surface or edge)', *caruccarai* 'roughness, ruggedness', *curacura* 'to be rough, to have a rough surface', *curacurappu* 'roughness (as of woolen cloth)'; Malayalam *caral*, *carakkallu* 'gravel'; Kannaḍa *caralu* 'small rounded pebbles'; Tuḷu *caraṭè* 'what is coarse, leavings or stalks', *jari* 'grit, granule, sand'; Kui *srogu* 'a rough surface, coarse sand or pebbles; rough, coarse, uneven', *jrogu* 'rough, gravely', *srāmbu* 'gravel'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:207, no. 2354.
B. Proto-Indo-European **t'r̥-s-* 'rough, coarse': Sanskrit *dṛṣád-* 'rock, large stone, mill-stone'; Czech *drsný* 'rough, harsh'; Polish *dziarstwo* 'gravel'; Slovenian *drstev* 'gravel, sand'. Mann 1984—1987:164—165 **dr̥s-* 'hard, harsh; hardness, harshness'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:61.
C. Proto-Uralic **tʸara* 'hard, rigid, stiff': Lapp *čāres* 'coarse (of wool), stiff (of bread)'; Votyak / Udmurt *ćuryt* 'hard, rigid, stiff'; Zyrian / Komi *ćoryd*, *čoryt* 'hard, strong'; Selkup Samoyed (Northern) *šaral*, *šarajek* 'hard, tough'. Collinder 1955:7 and 1977:29; Rédei 1986—1988:30 **ćarɜ*; Décsy 1990:109 [**tjara*] 'hard, stable'; Aikio 2020:103—104 **ćara-* 'dry; to harden'.

Buck 1949:1.44 stone, rock; 15.74 hard; 15.76 rough. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:331—332, no. 152. Different etymology in Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I: 205, no. 47, **ćarʌ* ‘hardened crust’.

270. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **t’ʸar-a* ‘poplar tree, wood of the poplar’:
Perhaps derived from:
(vb.) **t’ʸar-* ‘to be or become stuck, joined, or bound together; to be firmly or strongly attached’;
(n.) **t’ʸar-a* ‘firmness, solidity, strength’; (adj.) ‘firm, solid, strong, steadfast’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t’ʸar-* ‘poplar tree, wood of the poplar’: Proto-Semitic **t’ʸarb-* ‘poplar tree, wood of the poplar’ > Akkadian *ṣarbatu*, *ṣerbatu*, *ṣerbetu* ‘Euphrates poplar, poplar wood’, *ṣarbu* ‘Euphrates poplar (only in divine names)’, (adj.) *ṣarbū* ‘pertaining to the poplar’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḏ̣arb* ‘wood, piece of wood’; Ḥarsūsi *ḏ̣arb* ‘wood, piece of wood, peg’; Mehri *ḏ̣arb* ‘small piece of wood’. (?) Egyptian *ḏrḏ* ‘leaf (of tree)’. Faulkner 1962:324; Hannig 1995:1013; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:603—604; Gardiner 1957:604.
B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *cār* ‘a tree of the reed kind, which grows to a height of seven or eight feet (its wood is very hard and serves to make penholders and arrow-shafts); arrow-shaft, arrow’; Malto *cáru* ‘arrow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:216, no. 2469.
C. Proto-Altaic **čări-kV* ‘a kind of foliage tree’: Proto-Tungus **ǯari-kta* ‘hawthorn’ > Ulch *ǯaraqta* ‘hawthorn’; Nanay / Gold *ǯariqta* ‘hawthorn’; Oroch *ǯarakta* ‘hawthorn’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:246. Proto-Mongolian **čirgay* ‘dense, tall (forest)’ > Mongolian *čirγai* ‘dense, tall, virgin (of forest)’; Khalkha *čargay* ‘dense, tall (forest)’; Buriat *šereŋgi* ‘thin growth, pinery’; Kalmyk *čirγā* ‘dense (branches); a kind of tree or bush’. Proto-Turkic **dęrek* ‘poplar; tree’ > Karakhanide Turkic *terek* ‘poplar’; Turkish (dial.) *tirek* ‘tree’; Turkmenian *derek* ‘poplar’; Uzbek *terak* ‘poplar’; Uighur *deräk* ‘poplar’; Karaim *terak* ‘tree’; Tatar *tirɛk* ‘poplar’; Bashkir *tiräk* ‘poplar’; Kirghiz *terek* ‘poplar’; Kazakh *terek* ‘poplar; tree’; Noghay *terek* ‘poplar’; Tuva *terek* ‘poplar’; Chuvash *tirek* ‘poplar’; Yakut *tireχ* ‘poplar’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:393 **čărikV* ‘a kind of foliage tree’.

Buck 1949:1.42 tree.

271. Proto-Nostratic root **t’ʸar-* (~ **t’ʸər-*):
(vb.) **t’ʸar-* ‘to cut, to split’;
(n.) **t’ʸar-a* ‘cut, split, rip, tear; damage’; (adj.) ‘cut, split, ripped, torn’

A. Proto-Elamo-Dravidian **car-* ‘to tear, to rend, to split’: Middle Elamite *sa-ri-* ‘to destroy, to demolish’; Royal Achaemenid Elamite *sa-ri-* ‘to

destroy'. McAlpin 1981:99; Hinz—Koch 1987.II:1065. Proto-Dravidian *_car-_ 'to tear, to rend, to split': Parji _car-_ 'to be torn', _carip-_ (_carit-_) 'to tear'; Gondi _sarrānā_ 'to be split (as wood), to be torn', _sarrahtānā_ 'to tear'; Kuṛux _carrnā_ 'to tear, to rend, to dilacerate with the teeth, to plow for the first time in the year'; Malto _care_ 'to cut (as with teeth or scissors)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:212, no. 2416.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *_č'k'er-_/*_č'k'r-_ 'to cut, to chop, to fell': Georgian _č'er-_/_č'r-_ 'to cut, to chop, to fell'; Mingrelian _č'k'ər-_, _č'k'ir-_ 'to cut; to reap, to mow'; Laz _č'k'i(r)-_, _č'k'or-_ 'to cut'; Svan [_r-_] in _lā-r-e_ 'meadowland, meadow'. Schmidt 1962:158; Klimov 1964:255—256 *_čr-_ and 1998:321 *_čer-_ : *_čr-_ 'to cut, to chop, to fell'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:536—537 *_čar-_/*_čr-_; Fähnrich 2007:665—666 *_čar-_/*_čr-_. Proto-Kartvelian *_č'k'r-il-_ 'cut, chopped': Georgian _č'ril-_ 'cut, slit, break' (Old Georgian _moč'ril-_ 'cut off'); Mingrelian _č'k'iril-_ 'cut'; Laz _č'k'ire(r)-_ 'cut'. Klimov 1998:322 *_čr-il-_ 'cut, chopped'. Proto-Kartvelian *_mo-č'k'r-il-_ 'cut off': Georgian _moč'ril-_ 'cut off'; Mingrelian _moč'k'iril-_ 'cut off'. Klimov 1998:124 *_mo-čr-il-_ 'cut off'.

C. Proto-Uralic *_tʸärki-_ 'to split open, to rend' > Finnish _särke-_ 'to break, to smash, to shatter'; Hungarian _sért-_ 'to injure, to damage, to harm, to hurt'; (?) Cheremis / Mari (Western) _šärγe_, (Eastern) _šerγe-_ 'to open, to disperse, to scatter'. Rédei 1986—1988:32—33 *_ćärke-_; Aikio 2020:118 *_ćärki-_ 'to chop'.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian *_ðəra-_ 'to cut up' > Chukchi _rəra-_ 'to cut up or through', _rəramaw-_ 'to cut up meat or tobacco'; Kerek _icca-_ 'to cut up meat, carcass'; Koryak _cəca-_ (medial _-cca-_) 'to cut up'; Alyutor _tra-_ 'to cut up'. Fortescue 2005:73—74.

Buck 1949:9.28 tear (vb. tr.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:209, no. 53, *_čarʌ-_; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:334, no. 156; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 431, *_č[a]rV_ 'to cut'.

272. Proto-Nostratic root *_t'ʸar-_ (~ *_t'ʸər-_) (onomatopoeic):
(vb.) *_t'ʸar-_ 'to make a noise';
(n.) *_t'ʸar-a_ '(rustling or rumbling) noise'

A. Dravidian: Tamil _cara-car-enal_ onomatopoeic expression of rustling (as of dry leaves) or of gliding along, moving without impediment, _caracara_ 'to rustle (as dry leaves)', _caracarappu_ 'rustling'; Malayalam _śara_ 'a rustling sound'; Kota _car cur in-_ 'to make noise (as a snake's motion)', _cor cor in-_ (_id-_), _cork cork in-_ (_id-_) 'to make noise in walking over leaves'; Kannaḍa _sara sara_ 'the sound of rustling (produced by snakes, birds, etc. in leaves, bushes, etc.)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:207—208, no. 2355.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *_č'k'r-_ 'to squeak, to chirp': Georgian _č'r-ial-_ 'to squeak'; Mingrelian [_č'k'ir-_] 'to chirp, to squeak'; Laz _č'k'ir-al-_ 'to

squeak'; Svan *č'k'ər-mən-* 'to chirp'. Klimov 1964:256 **čr-* and 1998:322 **čr-* 'to chirp'; Fähnrich 2007:670—671 **čr-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:540 **čr-*. Proto-Kartvelian **č'k'ɣč'k'in-* 'to chirp, to squeak': Georgian *č'rč'in-* 'to chirp'; Mingrelian *č'k'irč'k'in-*, *č'k'ərč'k'ən-* 'to chirp, to squeak'. Klimov 1964:256 **črčin-* and 1998:323 **črčin-* 'to chirp, to squeak'.

C. Proto-Indo-European **t'er-/*t'or-/*t'ɣ-* 'to make a noise; to hum, to buzz, to rattle': Greek (Hesychius) δάρδα· 'bee'; Old Irish *dordaid* 'to hum, to buzz'; Welsh *dwrdd* 'rumble, stir'; Lithuanian *dardėti* 'to rattle, to clatter'; Slovak *drdlat'* 'to mutter, to hum, to buzz'; Slovenian *drdráti* 'to rattle'. Pokorny 1959:203—204 (**der-*), (reduplicated) **der-der-*, **dɣrdₒr-*; **dor-d-*, **dɣr-d-* 'to grumble'; Walde 1927—1932.I:795 (**der-*); Mann 1984—1987:163 **dɣrd-* 'to shake, to rattle', 168 **durdurō*, *-ɣō* (**durdər-*) 'to hum, to drone, to mutter, to grunt, to rumble'; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:252; Beekes 2010.I:303; Frisk 1970—1973.I:349; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:83; Smoczyński 2007.1:93. (?) Proto-Indo-European (**t'er-/*t'or-/*t'ɣ-* 'to chirp' >) **t'rask'o-s* 'a song-bird': Breton *drask* 'thrush'; Old Church Slavic *drozgъ* 'finch'. Mann 1984—1987:159 **drasgos* 'a song-bird'.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:337, no. 160.

273. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **t'ʸaw-a* 'bad thing, evil, wickedness'; (adj.) 'bad, evil':

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ḏw* 'bad, evil', *ḏw-t* 'bad thing, evil, wickedness', *ḏwy* 'evil'; Coptic *ǧowt* [**ϫοογτ**] 'base, lowly, rejected'. Hannig 1995:1000; Faulkner 1962:320; Gardiner 1957:603; Erman—Grapow 1921:219 and 1926—1963.5:545—549; Crum 1939:794; Vycichl 1983:333; Černý 1976:322.

B. Proto-Indo-European **t'ews-/*t'ows-/*t'us-* 'bad, evil; (prefix) ill-, un-, mis-': Sanskrit *doṣa-ḥ* 'crime, fault, vice, want', *dúṣyati* 'to become bad, defiled; to be wrong', (prefix) *duṣ-*, *dur-*; Avestan (prefix) *duš-*, *dužˇ-*; Greek (prefix) δυσ-; Gothic (prefix) *tuz-*; Old Icelandic (prefix) *tor-*; Old English (prefix) *tor-*; Old High German (prefix) *zur-*; Old Irish (prefix) *du-*, *do-*; Armenian (prefix) *t-*; Old Church Slavic (prefix) *dъž-* in *dъž-dь* 'rain'. Pokorny 1959:227 **dus-* 'evil, bad'; Walde 1927—1932.I:816 **dus-*; Mann 1984—1987:144 **deus-* 'evil', 144 **deusən-*, **deusn-* 'evil, harm', 169 **dus-*, **dusi-* (prefix) 'ill-, mis-, hard-, un-', 170 **dusnos*, *-ā* 'evil, sad; evil, sadness, hate'; Watkins 1985:15 **dus-* and 2000:21 **dus-* 'bad, evil; mis- (used as prefix)'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:780 **t'us-* and 1995.I:683 **t'us-* 'bad'; Mallory—Adams 1997:43 **dus-* 'bad' (as prefix); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:55—56 and II:67—68; Frisk 1970—1973.I:425 **dus-*; Hofmann 1966:65; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:302 **dus-*;

Boisacq 1950:204—205 **dus*-; Beekes 2010.I:359—360 **dus*-; Feist 1939:484; Lehmann 1986:349—350; De Vries 1977:595.

Buck 1949:16.72 bad. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:333, no. 154.

274. Proto-Nostratic root **t'ʸiŋ-* (~ **t'ʸeŋ-*):
(vb.) **t'ʸiŋ-* 'to think, to consider';
(n.) **t'ʸiŋ-a* 'thought, consideration, idea'

A. Proto-Afrasian **t'ʸiŋ-* 'to think': Proto-Semitic **t'ʸan-an-* 'to think' > Arabic *ẓanna* 'to think, to believe, to assume, to deem, to consider', *ẓann* 'opinion, idea, belief'; Ḥarsūsi *ḏ̣en* 'to think, to imagine'; Mehri *həḏ̣náwn* 'to imagine; to have doubts, to be suspicious of', *ḏ̣án* 'thought'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḏ̣inn* 'to have an idea, to think'. Zammit 2002:277—278. Central Cushitic: Proto-North Agaw **ʒiŋ-* '(vb.) to tell, to relate; (n.) story, tale, conversation' > Xamir *ğiŋa* 'gossip, news, story', *ğiŋ-* 'to tell, to relate'; Quara *ğəŋa* 'story, tale'; Bilin *ğiŋā* 'conversation', (denominative) *ğiŋ-ist-* 'to talk, to converse'. Appleyard 2006:76 and 132; Reinisch 1887:182.

B. Proto-Indo-European **t'en-s-*/**t'n̥-s-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **t'on-s-*) 'great mental power, wise decision': Sanskrit *dáṁsas-* 'a surprising or wonderful deed, marvelous power or skill'; Avestan *daŋhišta-* 'very wise', *daŋh-* 'to be mighty, to be wise', *daŋhah-* 'mastery'; Greek δαΐ-φρων 'wise of mind, prudent', (Homeric) δήνεα (< *δάνσ-) 'counsels, plans'. Pokorny 1959:201—202 **dens-* 'great mental power'; Walde 1927—1932.I:793 **dens-*; Watkins 1985:11 **dens-* and 2000:16 **dens-* 'to use mental force' (reduplicated and suffixed zero-grade form **di-dn̥s-sko-*); Mann 1984—1987:132 **dānos*, *-es-* (?) 'art, craft'; Mallory—Adams 1997:567 **dens-* 'to teach, to inculcate a skill'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:9; Boisacq 1950:163 and 183 **dens-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:342 and I:382 **dénsos*, **dn̥s-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:248 and I:275 **densos*, **dn̥s-*; Hofmann 1966:50 and 58 **dens-*, **dn̥s-*; Beekes 2010.I:298 **dens-*.

C. Proto-Altaic **čĭŋV-* 'to listen, to consider': Proto-Tungus **ǯiŋ-* "(vb.) to understand; (adj.) attentive, conscious' > Evenki *ǯiktew-* (< **ǯiŋ-ktew-*) 'to understand'; Ulch *dinile* 'attentive, conscious'; Nanay / Gold *ǯiŋire*, *ǯiksi-* 'to understand'. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:207 and I:256. Proto-Mongolian **čiŋ-la-* 'to listen' > Written Mongolian *čiŋna-*, *čiŋla-* 'to listen, to eavesdrop'; Khalkha *čagna-* 'to listen'; Buriat *šagna-* 'to listen'; Kalmyk *čiŋnə-* 'to listen'; Ordos *čiŋna-* 'to listen'; Dagur *činčilə-* 'to listen'; Monguor *ćinla-*, *čiŋla-* 'to listen'. Proto-Turkic **diŋ-la-*, **diŋ-le-* 'to listen; to hear; to consider, to meditate', **diŋ* 'reason, mind, cleverness' > Old Turkic *tiŋla-* 'to listen', *tiŋ* 'reason, mind, cleverness'; Turkish *dinle-* 'to listen to, to hear, to pay attention to, to obey'; Azerbaijani *dinlä-* 'to listen'; Turkmenian *diŋle-* 'to listen', *diŋ* 'reason, mind, cleverness'; Uighur *tiŋla-* 'to hear'; Karaim *dinle-*, *tiŋla-* 'to hear'; Tatar *tiŋma-* 'to

listen’; Bashkir *tïŋla-* ‘to listen’; Kirghiz *tïŋša-* ‘to listen’; Kazakh *tïŋda-* ‘to listen’; Noghay *tïŋla-* ‘to listen’; Sary-Uighur *tïnna-* ‘to hear’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *tïŋda-* ‘to listen’; Tuva *dïŋna-* ‘to listen’; Chuvash *čъnla-* ‘to consider, to meditate’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:396—397 **čĭŋV* ‘to listen, to consider’.

Buck 1949:17.13 think (= reflect, etc.); 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 18.21 speak, talk. Möller 1911:43—44; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:333—334, no. 155.

275. Proto-Nostratic root **t’ʸip*ʰ- (~ **t’ʸep*ʰ-):
(vb.) **t’ʸip*ʰ- ‘to pinch, to nip’;
(n.) **t’ʸip*ʰ-*a* ‘fingernail, claw’

A. Proto-Afrasian **t’ʸif-ar-* ‘fingernail, claw’: Proto-Semitic **t’ʸipr-*, **t’ʸupr-* ‘fingernail, toenail, claw’ > Hebrew *ṣippōren* [צִפֹּרֶן] ‘fingernail’; Syriac *ṭeφrā* ‘fingernail’; Akkadian *ṣupru* ‘fingernail, toenail; claw, hoof’; Arabic *ẓufur*, *ẓufr*, *ẓifr* ‘nail, fingernail; toenail; claw, talon’; Ḥarsūsi *ḍefīr* ‘fingernail, toenail’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḍífɛ̄r* ‘fingernail, toenail’; Mehri *ḍfɛ̄r* ‘fingernail, toenail, claw’; Soqoṭri *ṭáyfər*, *ṭáfhər* ‘fingernail, toenail’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṣəfr* [ጽፍር] ‘fingernail, claw’; Tigre *ṣəfər* ‘fingernail’; Tigrinya *ṣəfri* ‘fingernail’; Gafat *ṣəfrä* ‘fingernail’; Amharic *ṭəfər* ‘fingernail’; Gurage *ṭəfər* ‘fingernail’; Argobba *č̣əffər* ‘fingernail’; Harari *ṭifir* ‘fingernail, claw’. Murtonen 1989:366; Militarëv 2010:57 Proto-Semitic **ṯip(V)r-*; Klein 1987:555; Leslau 1963:152, 1979:614, and 1987:549; Zammit 2002:276. Central Cushitic: Bilin *č̣íffer* ‘fingernail, claw’; Quara *ğarfā* ‘fingernail’; Xamir *ṣefir*, *sefir* ‘fingernail’ (these may be loans from Ethiopian Semitic). Proto-Southern Cushitic **t’ʸafar-* (assimilated from **t’ʸifar-* ?) > (with metathesis) **t’ʸaraf-* ‘nail, claw’ > Burunge *carafu* ‘nail, claw’; Alagwa *carafu* ‘nail, claw’. Ehret 1980:329. Orël—Stolbova 1995:120, no. 513, **č̣upar-* ‘fingernail’; M. Cohen 1947:160, no. 351. Note: The Highland East Cushitic and Omotic forms cited by Orël—Stolbova may be loanwords. Perhaps also Egyptian *df* ‘to separate, to sever’. Hannig 1995:1006. Takács 2011a:31 Proto-Afrasian **č̣VrVf-* /**č̣VfVr-* ‘fingernail’; Militarëv 2010:57—58 Proto-Afrasian **č̣ipar-* ~ **č̣arap-* ‘fingernail’ (not quite reliable).

B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **tʸippɜ* ~ **tʸeppɜ* ‘(vb.) to pinch, to nip; (n.) fingertip’ > (?) Cheremis / Mari (Birsk) *čə̑wə̑štala-* ‘to pinch, to nip; to finger, to feel, to touch, to handle’, (Kozmodemyansk) *cəwešte-*, (Uržum) *ćə̑wə̑šte-* ‘to pinch, to nip’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *čepi̯l't-* ‘to pinch, to nip; to press together with the nails’, (Glazov) *ćepī̯l'tī̯-* ‘to press, to nip’; (?) Zyrian / Komi (Permyansk) *ćepe̯·l'-* ‘fingertip’, *ćepe̯·l't-* ‘to pinch, to nip’, (Udora) *ćepe̯r* ‘pinch, nip’, *ćepe̯rt-* ‘to pinch, to nip’, (East Permyansk) *će̯·pl'al-* ‘to pinch, to nip; to pick, to pluck’; (?) Hungarian *csíp* ‘to pinch, to nip; to sting; to bite’, *csípés* ‘pinch(ing), nip(ping), bite’,

*csipked* 'to pinch, to pick, to nip'. Rédei 1986—1988:49 **ćŭppз* '(vb.) to pinch, to nip; (n.) fingertip'. According to Rédei, Finnish *hyppy*, *hippi* 'fingertip; finger', *hypistä-* 'to finger', Lapp / Saami (Kola) *ciehp* 'finger, toe' do not belong here (Finnish *h*, Lapp *c* < **č*, not **tʸ* [traditional *ć*]).

Buck 1949:4.39 nail. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 427, **čUṗV(RV)* 'fingernail, claw'. The Altaic (Tungus) forms cited by Dolgopolsky do not belong here (Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak [2003:1338] derive them from Proto-Altaic **šo̯op'a* 'claw; to claw').

276. Proto-Nostratic root **t'ʸor-*:
(vb.) **t'ʸor-* 'to run, to flow';
(n.) **t'ʸor-a* 'running, flowing'; (adj.) 'speedy, swift'

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ẓarā* 'to flow, to run, to have diarrhea'.
B. Proto-Dravidian **coṛ-* (< **cory-*) 'to run, to flee': Gondi *soṛitānā* 'to run away', *soṛī-* 'to go away, to run away'; Pengo *hon-* 'to run, to flee'; Manḍa *hun-* 'to run, to flee'; Kuwi *hoṇ-* (*hoṭ-*) 'to run, to flee'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:248, no. 2861.
C. Proto-Indo-European (**t'or-*/**t'o̯r-*, **t'r-*:) **t'reA-* [**t'raA-*] > **t'rā-*; **t'rem-*/**t'rom-*/**t'rm̥-*; **t'rew-*/**t'row-*/**t'ru-* 'to run, to flow': Sanskrit *drā́ti* 'to run, to hasten', *drámati* 'to run about, to roam, to wander', *drávati* 'to run, to hasten', *dravá-ḥ* 'running, flowing', *dravantī* 'river', *druta-ḥ* 'speedy, swift'; Greek δρησμός 'flight, running away', (aor.) ἔδραμον 'to run, to move quickly', δρόμος 'course, running, race'; Gothic *trudan* 'to tread, to step'; Old Icelandic *troða* 'to tread'; Old English *tredan*, 'to tread, to step on, to trample', *treddian* 'to tread, to walk', *trod* (f. *trodu*) 'track, trace'; Old Frisian *treda* 'to tread'; Old Saxon *tredan* 'to tread'; Dutch *treden* 'to tread'; Old High German *tretan* 'to tread' (New High German *treten*), *trottōn* 'to run' (New High German *trotten*). Rix 1998a:110 **dreh₂-*, 110—111 **drem-*, 112 **dreu̯-*; Pokorny 1959:204—206 (**der-*), **drā-*, **dreb-*, **drem-*, **dreu-* 'to run'; Walde 1927—1932.I:795—797 (**der-*), **drā-*, **dreb-*, **drem-*, **dreu-*; Mann 1984—1987:158 **drāi̯ō* (**drāmi*, **dĭdrā-*) 'to run', 159 **dreu̯əros* 'flowing, fluid', 160 **dromos* 'course, way'; Watkins 1985:12 **der-* and 2000:16 **der-* assumed base of roots meaning 'to run, to walk, to step' (extended form **dreb-*; extended zero-grade form **drā-*; root form **drem-* in suffixed *o*-grade form **drom-o-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:491 **dreh$_a$-* 'to run' and 491 **drem-* 'to run'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:72 **dre-m-*, II:73, II:76, and II:78; Boisacq 1950:69 and 198; Frisk 1970—1973.I:122—123, I:414—415 **drem-*, **drā-*, and I:419; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:278—279 **der-*, **dr-e₂̯₂-*, **dr-ew-*, **dr-em-* and I:296; Hofmann 1966:21 **drā-*, **drem-*; Beekes 2010.I:351 and I:354—355 **drem-*; Orël 2003:409 Proto-Germanic **tređanan*, 410 **truđan*, 410 **truđanan*; Kroonen 2013:521

Proto-Germanic **tredan-* ~ **trudan-* ‘to tread, to trample’; Feist 1939:481 **dreu̯-*; Lehmann 1986:348 **drew-*, **drem-*, **dreH-*, **dreb-*, based on **der-*; De Vries 1977:598; Onions 1966:939; Klein 1971:779; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:789 and 792—793; Kluge—Seebold 1989:739 and 742. For a listing and discussion of other possible cognates in Germanic, cf. Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:413—414, though some of the forms cited here may be borrowed from or influenced by a non-Indo-European substratum.

D. Proto-Uralic **tʸorɜ-* ‘to run, to flow’: (?) Finnish *soro* ‘falling drops’, *sorotta-* ‘to drip, to trickle, to fall in drops’; Ostyak / Xanty (Vasyugan) *t'orəɣ-* ‘to run, to flow’; Hungarian *csorog-*, *csurog-* ‘to run, to flow’; Selkup Samoyed *sŏrmba-* ‘to drop, to flow’. Rédei 1986—1988:40 **ćorɜ-*; Décsy 1990:109 [**tjora*] ‘to run, to drip’.

E. Proto-Altaic **čo̯or-ka* (~ *-u-*) ‘swift stream, current’: Proto-Tungus **ǯurku* ‘rapid, swift stream; fairway’ > Evenki *ǯu̯rqu̯* ‘rapid, swift stream’; Negidal *ǯoykᵘ* ‘fairway’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:277. Proto-Mongolian **dargil* ‘rapid current’ > Mongolian *dargil* ‘rapids of a river, rapid current, torrent; swift stream; shoal in a river’, *dargira-* ‘to rush with noise, to roar (as water); to run quickly, to flow rapidly; to make noise’, *dargi-* ‘to roar or rush noisily (of water)’, *dargiya* ‘roaring (as water); noise; gaiety’; Khalkha *dargil* ‘rapid current’; Kalmyk *därgl̥* ‘rapid current’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:404—405 **čurka* (~ *-o̯o-*) ‘swift stream, current’.

Buck 1949:10.32 flow (vb.); 10.46 run (vb.). Möller 1911:45—46; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:335, no. 157.

## 22.12. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *sʸ

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| sʸ- | sʸ- | c- | šk- | s- | sʸ- | s- | sʸ- |
| -sʸ- | -sʸ- | -c(c)-/ -y- | -šk- | -s- | -sʸ- | -s- | -sʸ- |

277. Proto-Nostratic root **sʸam-* (~ **sʸəm-*):
(vb.) **sʸam-* ‘to be hot, sunny’;
(n.) **sʸam-a* ‘summer’

A. Proto-Afrasian **sʸam-* ‘to be hot, sunny’: Proto-Semitic **sʸamsʸ-* ‘sun’ > Hebrew *šemeš* [שֶׁמֶשׁ] ‘sun’; Aramaic *šimšā* ‘sun’; Phoenician *šmš* ‘sun’; Akkadian *šamšu* ‘sun’; Arabic *šams* (< **sams*) ‘sun’; Sabaean *šms* ‘sun’. Murtonen 1989:429; Klein 1987:668; Zammit 2002:243—244. Egyptian *šmm* ‘to be hot’, *šmmt* ‘heat, fever’, *šmw* ‘summer’; Coptic *šōm* [ϣⲱⲙ] ‘summer’. Hannig 1995:821 and 822; Faulkner 1962:267; Erman—Grapow 1921:182 and 1926—1963.4:468, 4:469; Gardiner 1957:594; Vycichl 1983:263—264; Černý 1976:243.

B. Proto-Indo-European **sem-*/**som-*/**sm̥-* ‘summer’: Sanskrit *sámā* ‘season, year, summer’; Armenian *am* ‘year’; Old Irish *sam*, *samrad* ‘summer’; Welsh *ham*, *haf* ‘summer’; Old Icelandic *sumar* ‘summer’; Faroese *summar* ‘summer’; Norwegian *sumar* ‘summer’; Swedish *sommar* ‘summer’; Danish *sommer* ‘summer’; Old English *sumor* ‘summer’; Old Frisian *sumur* ‘summer’; Old Saxon *sumar* ‘summer’; Middle Dutch *somer* ‘summer’ (Dutch *zomer*); Old High German *sumar* ‘summer’ (New High German *Sommer*); Tocharian A *ṣme* ‘summer’, B *ṣmāye* (adj.) ‘pertaining to summer’. Pokorny 1959:905 **sem-* ‘summer’; Walde 1927—1932.II: 492—493 **sem-*; Mann 1984—1987:1231 **sm̥er-*, **sm̥ər-* (?) ‘summer’; Mallory—Adams 1997:504 **sem-* ‘summer’; Watkins 1985:57 **sem-* (also **semə-*) and 2000:75 **sem-* (also **semə-*) ‘summer’; Orël 2003:386 Proto-Germanic **sumeraz*, 386 **sumerinǯaz* ~ **sumerunǯaz*, 386 **sumerōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:491—492 Proto-Germanic **sumara-* ‘summer’; De Vries 1977:560—561; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:255—256; Onions 1966:885; Klein 1971:730 **sem-*, **sam-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:381—382; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:715 **sem-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:679; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:437—438; Adams 1999:668 **sem-*.

Buck 1949:1.52 sun; 14.76 summer. Brunner 1969:106, no. 580; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:342, no. 166.

278. Proto-Nostratic root **sʸaw-* (~ **sʸəw-*):

(vb.) **sʸaw-* ‘to be dry, arid, withered’;
(n.) **sʸaw-a* ‘dryness, dry place’; (adj.) ‘dry, arid, withered’

A. Proto-Afrasian **sʸ[a]w-* ‘to be or become dry’: Egyptian *šwi̯* ‘to be dry, arid, hot’, *šwt* ‘dryness’, *šwyt* ‘dry place’; Coptic *šowe* [ϣⲟⲟⲩⲉ] ‘to dry up, to be or become dry, desiccated, or stale’, *šow* [ϣⲟⲟⲩ] ‘dry’. Hannig 1995:809; Faulkner 1962:263; Erman—Grapow 1921:179 and 1926—1963.4:429, 4:430; Gardiner 1957:594; Vycichl 1983:274; Černý 1976:258. West Chadic **syaH(a)-* ‘to become dry’ > Bolewa *saa* ‘to become dry’; Karekare *saa* ‘to become dry’; Dera *sēe* ‘to become dry’; Ngamo *sa* ‘to become dry’. Central Chadic **sway-* ‘to become dry’ > Zime Batua *soia* ‘to become dry’. East Chadic **sVw-* ‘to dry up’ > Mobu *səwe* ‘to dry up’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:469 **sew-/*ŝew-* ‘to be dry’.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **škw-er-/*škw-r-* ‘to get dry, to become dry’: Georgian *šr-oba* ‘to get dry, to become dry’; Mingrelian *skər-*, *skir-* ‘to get dry, to become dry’; Laz *skir-*, *skur-* ‘to go out, to die out, to become dim’. Klimov 1964:216 **šwer-/*šwr-* and 1998:250—251 **šwer-/*šwr-* ‘to get dry, to become dry’; Schmidt 1962:144—145 **škwer-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:428 **šwer-/*šwr-*; Fähnrich 2007:530 **šwer-/*šwr-*.
C. Proto-Indo-European **saw-s-/*su-s-* ‘dry’: Sanskrit *śoṣa-ḥ* ‘drying up’; Greek (Homeric) αὖος ‘dry, withered’; Old Icelandic *seyra* ‘starvation, famine’; Norwegian *søyra* ‘to make dry’; Old English *sēar* ‘dry, withered’, *sēarian* ‘to wither, to pine away’; Middle Low German *sōr* ‘dry, withered’; Dutch *zoor* ‘dry, withered’; Old High German *sōrēn* ‘to become dry’; Lithuanian *saũsas* ‘dry, arid’; Old Church Slavic *suxъ* ‘dry’. Pokorny 1959:880—881 **saus-*, **sus-* ‘dry’; Walde 1927—1932.II:447—448 **saus-*, **sus-*; Mann 1984—1987:1114 **sausos* ‘dry, withered, mature’; **sausi̯ō* ‘to dry, to wither, to mature’; **sausi̯ə* ‘dryness, dry land, dry object’, 1337 **sus-* ‘dry’, 1338 **susō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to dry, to wither, to be dry’; Watkins 1985:56 **saus-* and 2000:73 **saus-* ‘dry’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:158 and II:598 **sau̯s-/*sus-* and 1995.I:512 **saus-/*sus-* ‘dry’; Mallory—Adams 1997:170 **h₂sus-* ~ **h₂sousos* ‘dry’; Boisacq 1950:102 **sauso-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:188—189 **sausos*; Chantraine 1969—1980.I:141—142; Hofmann 1966:28—29 **sausos*; Beekes 2010.I:171 **h₂s-us-*; Orël 2003:320 Proto-Germanic **sauzaz*. 320 **sauzjanan* ~ **sauzōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:428 Proto-Germanic **sauza-* ‘dry’; De Vries 1977:471; Klein 1971:687 **saus-*, **sus-*; Onions 1966:811 **sousós*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:362—363; Smoczyński 2007.1:537; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:766 **sausos*; Derksen 2008:473—474 **h₂sous-o-*, Balto-Slavic **sousos*, and 2015:390 **h₂sous-o-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:345—348 **h₂se u̯s-*.

Buck 1949:15.84 dry. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:343—344, no. 168. Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2128, **sa[w]ûŝV* ‘to get dry, to harden’.

279. Proto-Nostratic root **sʸaw-* (~ **sʸəw-*) or **sʸew-*:
(vb.) **sʸaw-* or **sʸew-* ‘to give birth, to bring forth, to be born’;
(n.) **sʸaw-a* or **sʸew-a* ‘son, child’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *cēy* ‘son, child; juvenility, youth’; Malayalam *cēvala* ‘child at the breast’; Tuḷu *jēvu* ‘child, lad, youth’, *jōvu* ‘child, lad, youth, baby, female child’, *jōkulu* ‘children’; Parji *cēpal* ‘boy, lad’; Gadba (Ollari) *sēpal* ‘boy, lad’, (Salur) *sāpal* ‘boy’; (?) Kuṛux *jȭxas* ‘lad, youth, servant’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:244, no. 2813.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **škew-/*škw-* ‘to give birth, to beget’: Georgian *šv-a* ‘to give birth, to beget’, *šv-ili* ‘child, son’, [*mšo-*] ‘child’ in *p’ir-mšo-* ‘first-born, elder’; Mingrelian *sk(v)-* ‘to lay eggs (of birds)’, *skī*, *skua* ‘son’; Laz *skv-* ‘to lay eggs (of birds)’, *sk-iri*, *sk’-iri* (*sk’-* < *sk-*) ‘son’; Svan [*sg-*] ‘to be born’, *əmsge* ‘son’. Schmidt 1962:143; Klimov 1964:214—215 **šw-*, 217 **šw-il-* and 1998:128 **m-šw-e-* ‘child’, 248 **šew-/*sw-* ‘to give birth, to beget’, 251 **šw-il-* ‘born’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:423 **šew-/*sw-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:597, fn. 2, **šew-*, **šw-*, II:878 **šw-* and 1995.I:511, fn. 75, **šew-*, **šw-*, I:775 **šw-* ‘to give birth, to be born’; Fähnrich 2007:525—526 **šew-/*sw-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **sew(H)-/*sow(H)-/*su(H)-* ‘to give birth’: Sanskrit *sū́te*, *sūyate* ‘to beget, to procreate, to bring forth, to bear, to produce, to yield’, *suta-ḥ* ‘son, child’, *sūtí-ḥ* ‘birth, production’, *sūnú-ḥ* ‘son, child, offspring’; Avestan *hunu-š* ‘son’; Greek υἱύς, υἱός ‘son’; Old Irish *suth* ‘offspring’; Gothic *sunus* ‘son’; Old Icelandic *sunr*, *sonr* ‘son’; Swedish *son* ‘son’; Danish *søn* ‘son’ (with *ø* from the pl.); Old English *sunu* ‘son’; Old Frisian *sunu* ‘son’; Old Saxon *sunu* ‘son’; Dutch *zoon* ‘son’; Old High German *sunu* ‘son’ (New High German *Sohn*); Lithuanian *sūnùs* ‘son’; Old Church Slavic *synъ* ‘son’; Russian *syn* [сын] ‘son’; Czech *syn* ‘son’; Tocharian A *se*, B *soy* ‘son’. Rix 1998a:487 (?) **seu̯H-* ‘to bear, to give birth’; Pokorny 1959:913—914 **seu-*, (**seu̯ə-*), **sŭ̆-* ‘to bear, to give birth’; Walde 1927—1932.II:469—470 **seu-*, **sŭ̆-*; Mann 1984—1987:1331 **su-*, 1335 **sūnus* ‘son’, 1339 **sut-* ‘offspring’; Watkins 1985:58 **seuə-* and 2000:76 **seuə-*‘to give birth’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:597, fn. 2, **seu̯-/*su-*, II:878 and 1995.I:511, fn. 75, **seu-/*su-* ‘to give birth’, I:775; Mallory—Adams 1997:533 **suhₓnús* ‘son’ (also **suhₓi̯ús*), **seuhₓ-* ‘to bear, to beget’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:481, III:492, and III:494; Beekes 2010.II:1528 **suH-i(e)u-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:959—961 **su-i̯u-*, **sŭ̆nus*, **su-tu-s*; Hofmann 1966:382—383 **su(u̯)-i̯ús*, **sŭ̆-nús*, **su-tus*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1153—1154 **sū-*; Boisacq 1950:999—1000 **su-i̯u-*, **sŭ̆-nu-s*; Adams 1999:703—704

*suh$_x$yu-*, *suh$_x$nu-* ‘son’, *seuh$_x$-* ‘to give birth’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:424—425 *sŭi̯u-s*, *sŭn-eus*; Kroonen 2013:492—493 Proto-Germanic *sunu- ‘son’; Orël 2003:388 Proto-Germanic *sunuz; Lehmann 1986:330—331 *sŭnu-*, *sewH-*, *sŭ- ‘to give birth to’; Feist 1939:460—461; De Vries 1977:530 *su-; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:344 *sŭnú-*; Onions 1966:845 Common Germanic *sunuz; Klein 1971:698 *seu-*, *su- ‘to bear, to bring forth; birth’; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:383; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:713—714 *sūnús*, *seu-*, *sū-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:677—678 *sunu-*, *seuə-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:941—942; Smoczyński 2007.1:614—615 *seu̯H-*; Derksen 2008:483 *suH-n-ú- and 2015:435 *suH-n-ú-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:617—618 *seu̯H- and 686—690 *suH-*, *suH-nu-*, *suH-i̯u-*.

Buck 1949:2.41 son; 4.71 beget (of father). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:344—345, no. 169; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2179, *š[e]wħV ‘to give birth, to be born’.

280. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *s$^{y}$aw-a ‘wild boar’:

A. Afrasian: Egyptian: Middle Egyptian *šꜣ*, *šꜣy* ‘pig, wild boar’, *šꜣyt* ‘sow’; Demotic *i̯š* ‘pig, sow’; Coptic (Sahidic, Bohairic) *ešō* [ϵϣⲱ] ‘sow’, (Bohairic) *ešaw* [ϵϣⲁϒ] ‘sow’, (Sahidic) *še* [ϣϵ], (Akhmimic) *ša-* [ϣⲁ-] ‘pig’ (male). Hannig 1995:801; Faulkner 1962:260; Gardiner 1957:594; Erman—Grapow 1921:178 and 1926—1963.4:401, 4:405; Černý 1976:40; Vycichl 1983:49 and 254.
B. Proto-Kartvelian *e-škw- ‘wild boar, pig’: Old Georgian *ešw-i* ‘wild boar’ (Modern Georgian *ešv-* ‘tusk’); Mingrelian *o-sk-u* (< *o-askv-u* [*askv- = ‘pig’]) ‘pigsty’. Klimov 1964:81 *ešw- and 1998:48 *ešw- ‘wild boar, pig’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:126 *ešw-*; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:877 *e-šw- and 1995.I:774 *e-šw- ‘boar, pig’ (according to Gamkrelidze—Ivanov, the Kartvelian forms are borrowings from Indo-European); Schmidt 1962:108; Fähnrich 2007:152 *ešw-.
C. Proto-Indo-European (*sewH-/)*suH- ‘(wild or domesticated) pig, sow’: Greek ὗς, ὑός (also σῦς, συός) ‘wild swine, whether boar (hog) or sow’; Avestan *hū* (gen. sg. for *huwō*) ‘pig’; Sanskrit *sū-* in *sūkará-ḥ* ‘boar, hog, pig, swine’; Latin *sūs* ‘sow, swine, pig, hog’, (m.) *suculus*, (f.) *sucula* ‘piglet’, *suillus* ‘of swine’; Umbrian (acc. sg.) *sim* ‘sow, pig’; Old Irish *socc* in *socc sáil* ‘porpoise’; Old Welsh *hucc* ‘pig, sow’ (Welsh *hwch*); Cornish *hoch* ‘pig, sow’; Breton *houc’h*, *hoc’h* ‘pig, sow’; Albanian *thi* ‘pig, piglet’; Old Icelandic *sýr* ‘sow’; Faroese *súgv* ‘sow’; Norwegian *sū* ‘sow’; Danish *so* ‘sow’; Swedish *so* ‘sow’ Old English *sū*, *sugu* ‘sow’; Old Saxon *suga* ‘sow’; Middle Low German *soge* ‘sow’; Dutch *zeug* ‘sow’; Old High German *sū* ‘sow’ (New High German *Sau*); Latvian *suvẽns*, *sivẽns* ‘young pig, piglet’; Tocharian B *suwo* ‘pig, hog’, *swāṃññe* ‘pertaining to a pig’ (cf. *swāñana misa mitämpa wirot* ‘pork flesh with

honey [is] forbidden'). Benveniste 1969.I:27—36 and 1973:23—31 **sū-*; Pokorny 1959:1038—1039 **sŭ̄-s*, **suu̯-ós* 'pig, sow'; Walde 1927—1932.II:512—513 **sū-* (**sū-s*, **suu̯-ós*); Mann 1984—1987:1337—1338 **sūs* 'pig, sow'; Watkins 1985:67 **sū-* and 2000:87 **sū-* (contracted from earlier **suə̯-*) 'pig' (suffixed form **suə̯-īno-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:593—594 **sŭ̄-* 'pig', II:597, fn. 2, II:877, and 1995.I:508 **sŭ̄-* 'pig', I:511—512, fn. 75, I:774; Mallory—Adams 1997:425 **sū́s* (possibly better reconstructed as **súh$_x$s*) 'pig (wild or domesticated)' and 2006:139 **sūs* 'pig'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:490; Boisacq 1950:1006—1007 **sū-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:973—974 **sū-s*; Hofmann 1966:386—387 **sūs*, (gen. sg.) **suu̯ós*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1161 **sū-s*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:635—637 **sū-s*; Beekes 2010.II:1537 **suH-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:670; De Vaan 2008:603; Huld 1983:119; Meyer 1891:90; Van Windekens 1971—1982.I:446 **sū-*; Adams 1999:698 **sū-*; Orël 1998:477 and 2003:389 Proto-Germanic **sūz*; Kroonen 2013:490 Proto-Germanic **sū-* ~ **suw-* 'sow'; De Vries 1977:574 **sū-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:252—253; Klein 1971:700 **sū-*; Onions 1966:849 **sŭ̄-*; Barnhart 1995:741; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:636 **sū(w)-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:619 **sū-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:490; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:683—686 **suH-*. Proto-Indo-European **sw-iH-no-s* (> **swīnos*) 'of, belonging to, or pertaining to a pig': Latin *suīnus* 'of, belonging to, or pertaining to swine'; Gothic *swein* 'pig'; Old Icelandic *svín* 'swine, pig'; Faroese *svín* 'swine, pig'; Norwegian *svin* 'swine, pig'; Danish *svin* 'swine, pig'; Swedish *svin* 'swine, pig'; Old English *swīn* 'swine, pig'; Old Frisian *swīn* 'swine, pig'; Old Saxon *swīn* 'swine, pig'; Middle Dutch *swijn* 'swine, pig' (Dutch *zwijn*); Old High German *swīn* 'swine, pig' (New High German *Schwein*); Latvian *svīns* 'dirty'; Old Church Slavic *svinъ* 'pertaining to a pig', *svinija* 'swine, pig'; Russian (adj.) *svinój* [свиной] 'pig-', *svin'já* [свинья] 'pig, swine, hog; sow; boar'; Czech *svině* 'pig, swine'. Mann 1984—1987:1339 **suu̯īnos*, *-ā* (**su̯īn-*) 'pertaining to a pig'; Orël 2003:397 Proto-Germanic **swīnan*; Kroonen 2013:502 Proto-Germanic **swīna-* 'pig'; Lehmann 1986:334 **sŭ̄-s*; Feist 1939:465 **sū-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:333; De Vries 1977:570; Barnhart 1995:786; Skeat 1898:617; Onions 1966:894 Common Germanic **swīnaz*; Klein 1971:735; Kluge—Lutz 1898:205; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:387—388; Walshe 1951:205; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:691 **s(u)wīno-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:660; Preobrazhensky 1951:259—260 **sū-*; Derksen 2008:477 **suH-iHn-o-*.

D. Altaic: Tungus: Udihe *sü* 'one-year-old boar'. Nikolaeva—Tolskaya 2001: 920.

Buck 1949:3.31 swine; 3.32 boar; 3.33 barrow; 3.34 sow; 3.35 pig. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 89, **[ʔV]š[ü]H$_2$V* 'wild boar'.

281. Proto-Nostratic root *$s^yax^w$- (~ *$s^y$ə$x^w$-):
(vb.) *$s^yax^w$- ‘to be or become hot, warm; to heat up, to make hot, to warm, to burn’;
(n.) *$s^yax^w$-*a* ‘warmth, heat; sun’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *$s^yax$-*an*- ‘to be or become warm; to heat up, to warm’ > Akkadian *šaḫānu* ‘to become warm; to warm, to heat; to warm oneself (in the sun’s heat)’, **šaḫnu* (f. *šaḫuntu*) ‘warm’, *šuḫnu* ‘heat’; Arabic *saḥana*, *saḥina*, *saḥuna* ‘to be or become warm; to warm (up); to be feverish; to make hot, to heat, to warm (something)’, *saḥn* ‘hot, warm’, *saḥāna*, *saḥūna* ‘heat, warmth’, *sāḥin* ‘hot, warm’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *šxan* ‘to warm oneself at the fire’, *šxanún* ‘warm’; Hebrew **šḥn* *[שׁחן] ‘to be hot’; Post-Biblical Hebrew *šāḥēn* [שָׁחֵן] ‘hot, warm’; Aramaic *šəḥēn* ‘to become hot’, *šāḥēn* ‘warm, hot’; Ugaritic *šḥn* ‘feverish’; Geez / Ethiopic *səḫna* [ሰሐነ], *saḫana* [ሰሓነ], *saḥana* [ሰሐነ] ‘to warm oneself, to become warm’, *səḥin* ‘incense, frankincense’; Tigrinya *säḥanä* ‘to be hot’; Tigre *säḥana* ‘to be hot’; Amharic *səhin* ‘incense’ (Geez loanword). Murtonen 1989:417; Klein 1987:650; Leslau 1989:495. Orël—Stolbova 1995:459, no. 2172, **saḫan*- ‘to burn, to be warm’.

B. (?) Proto-Dravidian *$cūṭ$-/*$cuṭ$-*V*- (if from *$s^y$ə$x^w$*d*-) ‘to be hot, to burn’: Tamil *cuṭu* (*cuṭuv*-, *cuṭṭ*-) ‘to be hot, to burn; to warm (tr.), to heat, to burn up, to roast, to toast, to bake, to fry, to cook in steam, to burn (as bricks in a kiln), to cauterize, to brand’, *cuṭu* ‘burning, heating, scalding’, *cuṭar* ‘light, brilliance, luster, sun, sunshine, moon, planet, fire, burning lamp, flame, spark’, *cuṭal* ‘drops of burning oil falling from a lamp, charred end of a burning stick’, *cuṭalai*, *cuṭu-kāṭu* ‘burning-ground’, *cūṭu* (*cūṭi*-) ‘to brand (as cattle); to cauterize’, *cūṭu* ‘that which is heated, burnt, roasted; heat, warmth; feverishness, fomentation; hot temper, anger, brand’, *cūṭṭu* ‘that which is burnt or cooked, a kind of *ola* torch’; Malayalam *cuṭuka* ‘to burn (intr.), to be hot, to feel hot; to burn (tr.), to make hot, to toast, to roast, to bake, to boil’, *cuṭuvikka* ‘to get one to burn’, *cuṭar* ‘fire, brightness’, *cuṭala* ‘the burning place in the southern corner of the compound; burning or burying place’, *cūṭu* ‘heat, burning’, *cūṭṭu* ‘torch’, *cūṭṭa* ‘the top of a coconut branch used as a torch’; Kota *tuṛ*- (*tuṭ*-) ‘to roast, to bake (pots), to burn (corpses)’, *cuṛ ga·ṛ* ‘funeral burning-place’, *cu·ṛ* (oblique *cu·ṭ*-) ‘heat, a burn, spark thrown off by hammered iron’; Toda *tuṛ*- (*tuṭ*-) ‘to burn (tr.)’; Kannaḍa *suḍu* (*suṭṭ*-) ‘to burn (tr.), to roast, to bake, to fire (a gun); to be consumed with fire, to burn (intr.), to feel hot, to be roasted’, *suḍu* ‘burning, etc.’, *suḍuka* ‘who has burned’, *suḍuvike*, *suḍuha* ‘burning’, *suḍu-gāḍu* ‘cemetery’, *sūḍu* ‘cauterization, burning’, *sūṭe* ‘a torch of wisps, etc.’, *soḍa* ‘burning’, *soḍar*, *soḍaru*, *soḍalu* ‘lamp’, *suṇṭage*, *suṇṭige* ‘roast meat; the act of burning or roasting; that which is chiefly taken for roasting on a spit, the heart’; Koḍagu *cuḍ*- (*cuḍuv*-, *cuṭṭ*-) ‘to burn (tr.)’, *cuḍï galа* ‘cremation place’, *tu·ḍï* ‘torch of

dry reeds or small splints of wood'; Tuḷu *suḍupini*, *suḍpini*, *tuḍupini* 'to burn, to be hot, to be sultry; to burn (tr.), to bake, to toast, to roast', *suḍalè* 'burning a dead body', *suḍu*, *sūḍu* 'the act of burning', *suḍugāḍu̯* 'cemetery', *suḍsuḍu* 'a burning sensation in the throat', *suḍaru̯*, *tuḍaru̯*, *tuḍāru̯* 'lamp', *cūḍu* 'heat, warmth, zeal; hot, warm', *cūṭè*, *tūṭè* 'torch made of palm leaves, etc.', *soḍaru̯* 'the smell of burning'; Koraga *sūḍi* 'torch made of coconut leaves'; Telugu *cũ̄ḍu* 'to burn, to brand with a hot iron or the like', *cũ̄ḍu* 'burning, branding, a brand', *suḍiyu* 'to burn (intr.)'; Kolami *suḍ-* (*suṭṭ-*) 'to cook'; Naikṛi *suṭ-* 'to roast'; Naiki (of Chanda) *suṛ-*/*suḍḍ-* (*suṭṭ-*) 'to fry'; Gondi *surrānā* 'to cook bread', *sūr* 'torch'; Konḍa *suṟ-* (*suRt-*) 'to roast, to burn (incense)'; Pengo *huz-* (*hust-*), *huzba-* 'to roast'; Kui *subga* (*sugd-*) '(vb.) to roast; (n.) roasting'; Kuwi *hūḍ-* (*-it-*) 'to burn; to shoot with a gun', *hūḍali* 'to burn'; Kuṛux *kuṛnā* (*kuṭṭas*) 'to grow warm, to become hot, to be heated; to cook (tr.) on live embers, to bake on an open fire'; Malto *kuṛe* (*kuṭ-*) 'to burn, to roast, to sear', *kuṛnare* 'to be hot or warm', *kuṛni* 'warm, hot'. Krishnamurti 2003:148 **cūṭ-*/**cuṭ-V-* 'to be hot, to burn'; Burrow—Emeneau 1964:229—230, no. 2654.

C. Proto-Indo-European **seḫ̲hʷ-* [**saḫ̲hʷ-*] (unattested root) 'to be or become hot, warm; to heat up, to make hot, to warm, to burn'; only found with the suffixes **-(e)l-*, **-(e)n-*: **seḫ̲hʷ-(e)l-* (> **sāwel-*), **sḫ̲hʷ-ōl-* (> **swōl-*), (**səḫ̲hʷ-l-* >) **suḫ̲hʷ-l-* (> **sūl-*); **sḫ̲hʷ-en-* (> **swen-*), **səḫ̲hʷ-n-* > **suḫ̲hʷ-n-* (> **sūn-*), etc. 'the sun': Greek ἥλιος (Doric ἅλιος, ἀέλιος; Epic Greek ἠέλιος; Aeolian and Arcadian ἀέλιος; Cretan ἀβέλιος [that is, ἀϝέλιος]) (< **σᾱϝέλιος) 'the sun'; Latin *sōl* (< **swōl-* < **sḫ̲hʷ-ōl-*) 'the sun'; Old Irish *súil* 'eye'; Welsh *haul* 'the sun'; Gothic *sauil* (< Proto-Germanic **sōwilō*) 'the sun', *sugil* 'the sun', *sunnō* 'the sun' (< Proto-Germanic **sun-ōn*, with *-nn-* from the gen. sg. **sunnez* < **s(w)n̥-* < **sḫ̲hʷ-n̥-*); Old Icelandic *sól* 'the sun', *sunna* 'the sun'; Faroese *sól* 'the sun', *sunna* 'the sun'; Norwegian *sol* 'the sun'; Old Danish *sol* 'the sun'; Old Swedish *sol* 'the sun', *sunna* 'the sun'; Old English *sōl* 'the sun', *sigel*, *segl*, *sægl*, *sygil* 'the sun', *sunne* 'the sun'; Old Frisian *sunne* 'the sun'; Old Saxon *sunna* 'the sun'; Dutch *zon* 'the sun'; Old High German *sunna* 'the sun' (New High German *Sonne*); Avestan *hvarə* 'the sun', (gen. sg.) *xᵛāng* (< **swen-s*); Sanskrit *svàr-* (*súvar-*) 'the sun', (gen. sg. *sū́raḥ*), *sū́rya-ḥ* 'the sun'; Lithuanian *sáulė* 'the sun', *svìlinti* 'to singe'; Latvian *saũle* 'the sun'. Pokorny 1959:881—882 **sā́u̯el-*, **sāu̯ol-*, **su̯é́l-*, **su̯el-*, **sūl-* 'the sun'; Walde 1927—1932.II:446—447 **sā́u̯el-*, **su̯é́l-*, **su̯el-*, **sūl-*; **su̯en-*, **sun-*; Mann 1984—1987:1114 **sāu̯l-*, **sāu̯el-* 'the sun' (Indo-Iranian variant: **sūl-*); Watkins 1985:56 **sāwel-*, also **s(u)wel-*, **su(ə̯)el-*, **su(ə̯)en-*, **sun-* and 2000:72 **saə̯wel-* (oldest form **seə̯₂wel-*) 'the sun' ("[t]he element **-el-* was originally suffixal, and alternated with **-en-*, yielding the variant zero-grades **s(u)wen-* and [reduced] **sun-*"); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:117 **su̯el-*/**sāu̯el-*, I:196 **sāu̯el-* ~ **su̯en-*, I:210 fn. 1 **sāu̯el-*, II:684 **s(a)u̯Hel-/n-* and 1995.I:100 **swel-*/**sāwel-*

'sun', I:161 fn. 30 **swel-/*swen-*, I:168 **sāwel-/*swen-*, I:181 fn. 47 **sāwel-*, I:590 **s(a)wHel-/n-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:556 **séh$_a$ul* (gen. **sḫ$_a$u̯-én-s*) 'sun' and 2006:128 **séh$_a$ul*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:496 **su̯ə$_2$l-*, **su̯ə$_2$el-*, **seə$_2$u̯el-* and III:566—567; Boisacq 1950:321 **sāu̯el-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:631—632 **sāu̯el-*, **sūl-*; Hofmann 1966:107 **sāu̯el-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:410—411 **sāwel-*, **sūl-*; Beekes 1969:62 **seh̥$_2$u̯el-* and 2010.I:516 **seh$_2$u-el-*; Sihler 1995:84 **suH$_2$el-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:553—554 **sāu̯el-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:632 **sāwel-*, **sāwol-*, **swōl-*; De Vaan 2008:570; Kroonen 2013:463—464 Proto-Germanic **sōel-* ~ **sunnōn-* 'sun' (< **séh$_2$u-l/n-*); Orël 2003:361 Proto-Germanic **sōwelan* ~ **sowelō*, 387 **sunnōn*; Feist 1939:412 **sāu̯el-* and 460 **su̯en-*; Lehmann 1986:297 **sexwel-* → **sāwel-* 'sun' and 330 **sa̋wel-*, **swen-*; De Vries 1977:529 **sāu̯el* : **sunés* and 561—562; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:253—254; Onions 1966:885 "IE **su-* with *n*-formative, beside **sāu-* with *l*-formative…"; Klein 1971:730; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:382—383 **sh$_2$-u̯en-*, **seh$_2$-ul*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:716; Kluge—Seebold 1989:679; Walshe 1951:211; Derksen 2015:390 **seh$_2$u-l*, **sh$_2$u-en-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:954; Smoczyński 2007.1:536—537 **seh$_2$-u̯el-*, **seh$_2$-u̯l̥-*; Hamp 1965a:132—133 **seA$^{w}$el-*, **s$^{o}$A$^{w}$l-*; Fortson 2010:123 **séh$_2$-u̯l̥* (or **sh$_2$-u̯ōl* in the case of Latin *sōl*), Vedic Sanskrit *sū́rya-ḥ* 'sun' (< **suh$_2$-l-*); Benveniste 1935:11—12 **sāwel-*, **s(u)wel-* : **s(u)wen-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:606—611 **séh$_2$u̯el-*, **sh$_2$(u)u̯en-* (?), **sh$_2$un-*, **suh$_2$l-*.

Buck 1949:1.52 sun.

282. Proto-Nostratic root **s$^{y}$en$^{y}$-*:
(vb.) **s$^{y}$en$^{y}$-* 'to change, to deteriorate, to grow old';
(n.) **s$^{y}$en$^{y}$-a* 'old age; old person'; (adj.) 'aged, old'

A. Proto-Afrasian **s$^{y}$[e]n-* 'to change, to deteriorate, to grow old': Proto-Semitic **s$^{y}$an-an-* 'to grow old, to reach old age' > Akkadian *šanānu* 'to have reached, attained', *šinnatu* 'attainment, achievement, equality'; Arabic *sanna* 'to grow old, to age, to be advanced in years', *ʔasann* 'older, farther advanced in years', *musinn* 'old, aged'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *esnín* 'to become old', *sən* 'age'; Mehri *šəsnōn* 'to think someone is old', *sənáyn* 'person a year older than oneself'.
B. Dravidian: Gondi *sēnāl* 'old man, senior', *sēnō* 'old woman', (m.) *senāl*, (f., nt.) *seno* 'aged', *senāl* 'old man', *seno* 'old woman'; Kui *senḍa* 'first-born, eldest', *senḍenju* 'founder of a race, early settler'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:243, no. 2808.
C. Proto-Indo-European **sen-/*sn̥-* 'old': Sanskrit *sána-ḥ* 'old, ancient'; Avestan *hanō* 'old'; Old Persian *hanatā-* 'old age, lapse of time'; Latin *senex* 'old, aged'; Old Irish *sen* 'old'; Welsh *hên* 'old', *hyned* 'so old', *hŷn*,

*hynach* ‘older’; Cornish *hēn* ‘old’; Breton *hen* ‘old’; Gothic *sineigs* ‘old’; Lithuanian *sẽnas* ‘old’, *sẽnis* ‘old man’; Armenian *hin* ‘old’. Pokorny 1959:907—908 **sen(o)-* ‘old’; Walde 1927—1932.II:494 **sen(o)-*; Mann 1984—1987:1127 **senăt-* ‘age’, 1127 **senēi̯ō* (**sen[e]sk̂ō*) ‘to grow old’, 1128 **senos* ‘old’; **senis*, *-i̯os* ‘elderly; old man’; Watkins 1985:57 **sen-* and 2000:75 **sen-* ‘old’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:783, fn. 1, **sen-* and 1995.I:685, fn. 4, **sen-* ‘old’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:613 **sen-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:513—514 **sénos*; De Vaan 2008:553—554; Mallory—Adams 1997:409 **sénos* ‘old’; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:3 and 183; Morris Jones 1913:134, 247—248, and 261—262; Thurneysen 1946:118; Orël 2003:324 Proto-Germanic **seniɣaz*; Kroonen 2013:433 Proto-Germanic **senīga-* ‘senior’; Feist 1939:422—423 **séno-*; Lehmann 1986:304—305 **seno-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:426; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:775; Smoczyński 2007.1:543; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:613—615 **sen-*.

Buck 1949:14.15 old. Brunner 1969:105, no. 577; Möller 1911:226—227; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:342—343, no. 167; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2075, **s̄[e]nīV* ‘long time, year, old’.

283. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **sʸil-a* ‘fat, lard’:

A. Proto-Indo-European **sel-pʰ-*/**sl̥-pʰ-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **solpʰ-*) ‘fat, butter’: Sanskrit *sarpíṣ-* ‘clarified butter, ghee’, *sṛprá-ḥ* ‘slippery, oily’; Greek ἔλπος ‘butter’, (?) ὄλπη, ὅλπις ‘a leathern oil-flask’; Gothic *salbōn* ‘to anoint’, *salbōns* ‘ointment’; Old English *salf*, *sealf(e)* ‘salve, ointment’, *sealfian* ‘to salve, to anoint’; Old Frisian *salvia* ‘to anoint’; Old Saxon *salƀa* ‘salve, ointment’, *salƀōn* ‘to anoint’; Dutch *zalf* ‘salve, ointment’; Old High German *salba* ‘salve, ointment’ (New High German *Salbe*), *salbōn* ‘to anoint’ (New High German *salben*); Tocharian A *ṣälyp*, B *ṣalype*, *ṣalywe* ‘ointment, grease’; Albanian *gjalpë* ‘oil, butter’ (< **sólpo-*). Pokorny 1959:901 **selp-* ‘fat, butter’; Walde 1927—1932.II:508 **selp-*; Mann 1984—1987:1125 **selpis*; **selpos*, *-es-* ‘grease, butter; smeared, greasy’; Watkins 1985:57 **selp-* and 2000:75 **selp-* ‘fat, butter’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:703—704 **selp[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:609 **selpʰ-* ‘oil, butter’; Mallory—Adams 1997:194 **sélpes-* (or **sélphₓ(e)s-* ?) ‘oil, fat, grease’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:446; Boisacq 1950:246 **selp-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:503 **selp-*; Hofmann 1966:80 **selp-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:342—343 **selp-*; Beekes 2010.I:415—416 (pre-Greek, on the basis of the φ found in Cyprian ἔλφος); Orël 1998:129 and 2003:315 Proto-Germanic **salƀō*, 315 **salƀōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:424 Proto-Germanic **salbō-* ‘ointment’; Feist 1939:407—408; Lehmann 1986:293; Onions 1966:785; Klein 1971:653 **selp-* ‘fat, oil’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:621 **selp-*, **solp-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:615; Walshe 1951:186;

Adams 1999:652—653 **sélpos*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:450—451 **selep-*, **selp-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:612—613 **selp-*; Huld 1983:148.

B. Proto-Uralic **sʸilä* ‘fat, lard’: Finnish *silava* ‘fat, lard (especially of pork)’; Vogul / Mansi *šilt* ‘fat, lard (of bear)’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *sela* ‘melted fat (of fish)’; Selkup Samoyed (adj.) *siile* ‘fat’; Kamassian *sil* ‘fat, lard’. Collinder 1955:56 and 1977:74; Rédei 1986—1988:478—479 **śilä*; Décsy 1990:108 **sjilä* ‘fat, bacon’; Janhunen 1977b:140 **selə̂* ~ **silə̂*.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:338, no. 161; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2194a, **ŝilV̄* (and **silV̄* ?) ‘fat’.

284. Proto-Nostratic root **sʸilʸ-* (~ **sʸelʸ-*):
(vb.) **sʸilʸ-* ‘to take (away), to seize, to snatch’;
(n.) **sʸilʸ-a* ‘removal, robbery, plunder’

A. Proto-Afrasian **sʸil-* ‘to take, to seize, to plunder’: Proto-Semitic **sʸal-al-* ‘to take, to seize, to plunder’ > Hebrew *šālal* [שָׁלַל] ‘to spoil, to plunder’; Akkadian *šalālu* ‘to spoil, to plunder, to carry away’; Arabic *salla* ‘to draw or pull out slowly, to draw a sword’; Mehri *səl* ‘(wolf) to drag away (its prey)’, *slūl* ‘to let (a wolf) take an animal from you’, *sáttəl* ‘to steal away unobserved’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *sell* ‘(wolf) to drag away its prey’. Murtonen 1989:423; Klein 1987:662; Zammit 2002:226. Proto-Semitic **sʸal-ab-* ‘to rob, to plunder, to take away’ > Arabic *salaba* ‘to take away, to steal, to rob, to plunder’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *sɔ́lɔ́b* ‘to take (someone’s gun) by force’; Ḥarsūsi *selōb* ‘to disarm’; Mehri *səlūb* ‘to disarm someone’; Geez / Ethiopic *salaba* [ሰለበ] ‘to take off, to strip off, to take away, to remove, to deprive, to take spoils, to plunder, to despoil’; Tigrinya *säläbä* ‘to rob someone of his clothes’; Tigre *saläba* ‘to rob, to snatch away’; Amharic *sälläbä* ‘to cheat, to rob by magical means’; Gurage (Soddo) *sälabi* ‘cheater’. Leslau 1987:498—499. Proto-Semitic **sʸal-ap-* ‘to draw out, to pull out’ > Hebrew *šālaφ* [שָׁלַף] ‘to draw out’; Aramaic *šəlaφ* ‘to draw a sword, to pull off (shoes)’; Akkadian *šalāpu* ‘to draw (a sword, a dagger) from a sheath, to tear out, to pull out, to extricate, to rescue’. Murtonen 1989:426; Klein 1987:663; Zammit 2002:225. Coptic *sōlp* [ⲥⲱⲗⲡ] ‘to break off, to cut off’, *sloplep* [ⲥⲗⲟⲡⲗⲉⲡ], *sleplōp* [ⲥⲗⲉⲡⲗⲱⲡ] ‘to tear apart’ (Semitic loans). Vycichl 1983:188; Černý 1976:151. Proto-Southern Cushitic **sil-* ‘to strip bare, to make empty’ > K’wadza *sil-* ‘to pluck (a bird)’; Ma’a *-sílo* ‘bare, naked, empty’. Ehret 1980:180. Ehret 1995:158, no. 217, **sil-* ‘to pull off, to draw off’.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *seḷe* ‘(vb.) to draw, to pull, to pull off, to rob, to pull about; (n.) pulling, pulling off, robbing, force of a stream’; Tuḷu *seḷè* ‘force’; Telugu *celuku* ‘to pull out (as the eyes)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:242, no. 2791.

C. Proto-Indo-European *sel-/*sḷ- (secondary *o*-grade form: *sol-) ‘to take, to seize’: Greek ἑλεῖν ‘to take, to seize’; Gothic *saljan* ‘to offer sacrifice’; Old Icelandic *selja* ‘to give up, to sell’, *sal* ‘payment, installment’; Old English *sellan*, *syllan* ‘to give, to furnish, to supply, to lend’, *selen*, *sylen* ‘gift, grant’, *salu* ‘sale’; Old Frisian *sella* ‘to give up, to hand over, to deliver’; Old Saxon *sellian* ‘to hand over, to deliver’; Old High German *sellen* ‘to hand over, to deliver’, *sala* ‘transmission’; Old Irish *sellaim* ‘to take’, *selb* ‘possession’. Rix 1998a:479—480 *$selh_1$- ‘to take’; Pokorny 1959:899 *sel- ‘to take, to seize’; Walde 1927—1932.II:504—505 *sel-; Mann 1984—1987:1125 *selu̯ā, *selu̯os ‘landed property, possession’; Watkins 1985:57 *sel- and 2000:75 *sel- ‘to take, to grasp’; Mallory—Adams 1997:564 *sel- ‘to seize, to take possession of’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:335 *swel-/*sel-; Boisacq 1950:240—241 *sel- ‘to take’; Hofmann 1966:78; Frisk 1970—1973.I:487—488; Beekes 2010.I:405 *$selh_1$-; Orël 2003:316 Proto-Germanic *saljanan, 316 *salō(n); Kroonen 2013:424—425 Proto-Germanic *saljan- ‘to offer, to sell’ (< *$selh_1$- ‘to take’); Feist 1939:408—409 *sel-; Lehmann 1986:294 *sel- ‘to take’; De Vries 1977:469 *sel-; Onions 1966:783 and 808; Klein 1971:651 and 670 *sel- ‘to take’.

Sumerian *šilig* ‘to hold tight, to grasp’.

Buck 1949:11.59 rob, robber; 11.82 sell. Brunner 1969:105, no. 576; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:341, no. 164; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2159, *šeĺV (or *šeḷV) ‘to take off, to destroy, to pull off’ and, no. 2194, *ŝiḷ[û] (or *ŝil[û] ?) ‘to take, to take away/off/up’.

285. Proto-Nostratic root *sʸir- (~ *sʸer-):
(vb.) *sʸir- ‘to twist, turn, tie, or bind together’;
(n.) *sʸir-a ‘band, cord, any cord-like object: sinew, tendon, nerve, vein’
Perhaps related to:
(n.) *sʸir-a ‘root (of tree or plant)’

A. Proto-Afrasian *sʸ[i]r- ‘(vb.) to twist, turn, tie, or bind together; (n.) band, cord, any cord-like object: sinew, tendon, nerve, vein’: Proto-Semitic *sʸar-ar- ‘to fasten firmly’, *sʸurr- (< *sʸərr-) ‘band, cord, any cord-like object: sinew, tendon, nerve, vein, umbilical cord’ > Akkadian *šaršarratu* ‘chain, fetter’; Hebrew *šōr* [שֹׁר] ‘umbilical cord’, *šārīr* [שָׁרִיר] ‘sinew, muscle’, *šaršərāh* [שַׁרְשְׁרָה] ‘chain’; Aramaic *šərar* ‘to chain, to knot’, *šūrā* ‘umbilical cord’; Arabic *surr* ‘umbilical cord’, *surra*, *surar* ‘navel, umbilicus’, *surur*, *sirar* ‘umbilical cord’; Mehri *śīrē* ‘navel’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *šírʕ* ‘navel’; Ḥarsūsi *šerā* ‘navel’; Soqoṭri *širaʕ* ‘navel’; Geez / Ethiopic *šərw* [ሥርው], *šūr* [ሡር], *šər* [ሥር] ‘sinew, tendon, nerve, muscle’ (also ‘basis, root, origin, stock, tribe’); Amharic *sər* ‘vein, artery, nerve, tendon’

(also ‘root, bottom; under, beneath, at the foot of’). Klein 1987:680 and 684; Murtonen 1989:437; Leslau 1987:535—536. Ehret 1995:164, no. 231, **saraar-*/**siraar-* ‘muscle, sinew’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:484, no. 2298, **sur-* ‘rope’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *cēr* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to become united, incorporated, joined together; to become mixed, blended; to have connection with, to be in close friendship or union; to fit, to suit; to be collected, aggregated; to join, to associate with, to be in contact with, to belong to’, *cēr* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to join, to attach, to admix; to admit to one’s society, to add, to insert, to gather, to assemble’, *cērkkai* ‘collecting, gathering, combining, mixing; compound; fellowship, company, union’, *cērtti* ‘combining, union, fellowship, suitability, fitness, resemblance, equality’, *cērvai* ‘fellowship, association, union, mixture, compound, collection, assemblage’; Malayalam *cēruka* ‘to approach, to come close, to join, to belong to, to fit, to suit’, *cērikka* ‘to have collected’, *cērumānam* ‘assemblage (as for a riot), party’, *cērkka* ‘to make to arrive or join, to collect (as men)’, *cērcca* ‘adherence, union, harmony, fitness’, *cērppikka* ‘to have assembled or collected’, *cērppu* ‘joining, mortising, assemblage’, *cērvva* ‘mixture’; Kota *ce·r-* (*ce·d-*) ‘to arrive, to join, to gather’; Kannaḍa *sēr* (*sērd-*) ‘to become or be close or near, to go to, to approach, to reach, to come, to belong to, to enter, to be included, to be connected with, to join, to side with, to assemble, to be collected; to agree, to concur, to suit, to be agreeable’, *sērike* ‘meeting, union’, *sērisu* ‘to join, to put together, to put to, to attach, to cause to reach, to put into, to make enter, to insert, to fix, to assemble’, *sēruvike* ‘joining’, *sēruve*, *sērve* ‘collection, assemblage, mass, herd (of cattle)’; Koḍagu *se·r-* (*se·ri-*) ‘to join’; Tuḷu *śēruni* ‘to arrive, to reach, to be added or joined to, to be included in, to enter (as a member of a sect), to be in harmony, to agree together; to be relished, to be liked; to agree with; to adhere to, to be attached’, *śērāvuni* ‘to join, to combine, to mix, to include’, *śērigè*, *śērvè* ‘union, inclusion’; Telugu *cēru* ‘to join, to unite or combine with; to approach, to draw near or close to, to reach, to arrive at; to enter or join (as a class); to form a part or portion of; to be attached to, to be connected or related to; to assemble; to be received, to come to hand; to be included or added, to belong, to appertain’, *cērika* ‘union, junction, contiguity, nearness, proximity, familiarity, access’, *cēr(u)cu* ‘to put, place, or bring together; to join, to unite, to combine, to mix, to add, to include, to enclose, to admit, to enroll, to add or sum up; to reach, to cause to reach or be delivered’; Gadba (Salur) *sēr-* ‘to arrange, to reach’; (?) Kui *serna aḍa* ‘to cleave to’, *serna* ‘clingingly’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:244, no. 2814.

C. Proto-Indo-European **ser-*/**sr̥-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **sor-*) ‘(vb.) to twist, turn, tie, or string together; (n.) band, cord, string, thread; sinew, tendon, vein, nerve’: Sanskrit *sarat* ‘thread’, *sará-ḥ* ‘cord, string’, *sirā́* ‘nerve, vein, artery, tendon’; Prakrit *sarā* ‘string, garland, necklace’, *sirā*

‘vein, sinew’; Oriya *sari*, *sarā* ‘string (of garlands, etc.)’, *sira* ‘vein, artery’, *sirāḷa* ‘having conspicuous veins’; Greek εἴρω ‘to fasten together in rows, to string’, ἕρμα ‘band, noose; serpent’s coils’, in plural (ἕρματα) ‘earrings’; Latin *serō* ‘to join together, to put in a row, to connect’, *seriēs* ‘a row, succession, chain, series’, *sera* ‘a movable bar or bolt for fastening doors’; Gothic *sarwa* ‘weapons, armor’; Old Icelandic *sørvi* ‘necklace; armor’; Old English *searo* ‘device, contrivance; skill, work of skill, machine; armor, arms; cunning, treachery’, *sierwan* ‘to devise; to lie in wait for, to plot, to conspire’; Old Frisian *sera* ‘to arm, to arrange’; Old High German *saro* ‘weapons, armor’; Old Lithuanian *sėris* ‘thread, cobbler’s thread’; Tocharian A *sar-* ‘vein’. Rix 1998a:484 **ser-* ‘to string together, to arrange in a row; to tie or bind together’; Pokorny 1959:911 **ser-* ‘to line up’; Walde 1927—1932.II:499—500 **ser-*; Mann 1984—1987:1131 **sermn-* (**sermō(n)*) ‘chain, row, series’, 1131 **serō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to join, to range, to arrange’; Watkins 1985:58 **ser-* and 2000:76 **ser-* ‘to line up’; Mallory—Adams 1997:354 **ser-* ‘to line up’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:469; Boisacq 1950:229; Beekes 2010.I:392—393 **ser-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:469; Hofmann 1966:74 **ser-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:325 **ser-*; De Vaan 2008:557; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:522—523; Ernout—Meillet 1979:618—619; Kroonen 2013:427 Proto-Germanic **sarwa-* ‘armor, equipment’; Orël 2003:319 Proto-Germanic **sarwan*; Feist 1939:411; Lehmann 1986:296 **ser-* ‘to arrange’; De Vries 1977:577; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:414 **sor-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:442 and III:469.

D. Proto-Altaic **sĭra-* (~ *-u*, *-o*) ‘to quilt, to sew together’: Proto-Tungus **sira-* ‘to sew together, to piece down’ > Manchu *sira-* ‘to connect, to tie together’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *šira-* ‘to connect, to tie together, to join’; Evenki *sira-* ‘to sew together, to piece down’; Lamut / Even *hirḫq-* ‘to sew together, to piece down’; Negidal *si̯ya-* ‘to sew together, to piece down’; Ulch *si̯ra-* ‘to sew together, to join’; Nanay / Gold *si̯ra-* ‘to sew together, to join’; Oroch *si̯ya-* ‘to sew together, to join’; Udihe *seä-* ‘to sew together, to join’. Proto-Mongolian **siri-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’ > Written Mongolian *siri-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Khalkha *šire-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Ordos *šire-*, *širi-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Buriat *šere-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Kalmyk *šir-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Dagur *širi-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Shira-Yughur *širə-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’; Monguor *śirə-* ‘to quilt, to stitch’. Proto-Turkic **sïrï-* ‘to sew tightly’ > Karakhanide Turkic *sïrï-* ‘to sew tightly’; Turkish *sırma* ‘lace, embroidery’, (dial.) *sırı-* ‘to sew tightly’; Azerbaijani *sïrï-* ‘to sew tightly’; Turkmenian *sïra-* ‘to sew tightly’; Uighur (dial.) *sïrï-* ‘to sew tightly’; Tatar *sïr-* ‘to sew tightly’; Bashkir *hïr-* ‘to sew tightly’; Kazakh *sïrï-* ‘to sew tightly’; Noghay *sïrï-* ‘to sew tightly’; Tuva *sïrï-* ‘to sew tightly’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1259 **sĭra* (~ *-u*, *-o*) ‘to quilt, to sew together’. Proto-Altaic **si̯ŏrme* ‘sinew’: Proto-Tungus **sumu* ‘sinew’ > Manchu *sube* ‘tendon, nerve, muscle’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *suvu*

‘tendon’; Evenki *sumu* ‘sinew’ (note also *sura* ‘vein’); Lamut / Even *hum* ‘sinew’; Negidal *sumu* ‘sinew’; Ulch *sumul* ‘sinew’; Orok *sumu* ~ *χumu* ‘sinew’; Nanay / Gold *sumul* ‘sinew’; Oroch *sumu(l)* ‘sinew’; Udihe *sumul(i)* ‘sinew’; Solon *sumul* ‘sinew’. Proto-Mongolian **sirmö-*, **sirbö-* ‘sinew, nerve, tendon’ > Written Mongolian *širbüsü(n)*, *širmüsü(n)* ‘nerve, sinew, tendon; fiber, filament’; Khalkha *šörmös(ön)*, *šürbüs*, *šörvös(ön)* ‘sinew’; Buriat *šürbehe(n)*, *šürmehe(n)* ‘nerve, sinew, tendon’; Kalmyk *šürwsṇ*, *šir(w)ūsṇ* ‘nerve, sinew, tendon’; Ordos *šörwös*, *šörwösü* ‘sinew’; Dagur *širbes*, *širbus* ‘sinew’; Monguor *šbuʒə*, *šuluʒə*, *śurbusə* ‘sinew’. Poppe 1960:30 and 117; Street 1974:25 **sir* ‘sinew, tendon’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1283—1284 **sị̆ŏrme* ‘sinew’.

Sumerian *šer* ‘to tie, to bind’, *šér(-šér)* ‘to tie, to bind’, *šèr-šèr* ‘chain’, *šìr-šìr* ‘band, chain’, *šèr-šèr-apin* ‘chain’.

Buck 1949:9.19 rope, cord. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:345, no. 170; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2106, **säR[u]* (= **säRo* ?) ‘sinew, fiber’.

286. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **sʸir-a* ‘root (of tree or plant)’:
Perhaps related to:
(vb.) **sʸir-* ‘to twist, turn, tie, or bind together’;
(n.) **sʸir-a* ‘band, cord, any cord-like object: sinew, tendon, nerve, vein’

A. Proto-Afrasian **sʸir-* ‘root’: Proto-Semitic **sʸirsʸ-*/**sʸursʸ-* (< **sʸərsʸ-*) ‘root’ > Akkadian *šuršu* ‘root’; Hebrew *šōreš* [שֹׁרֶשׁ] ‘root (of plant)’; Syriac *šeršā* ‘root’; Phoenician *šrš* ‘root’; Ugaritic *šrš* ‘root’; Arabic *širš* (< **sirs*) ‘root’. Murtonen 1989:439; Klein 1987:684. Proto-Semitic **sʸirr-*/**sʸurr-* (< **sʸərr-*) ‘root’ > Arabic *sirr* ‘root, origin, source’; Geez / Ethiopic *šərw* [ሥርው], *šūr* [ሡር], *šər* [ሥር] ‘basis, root, origin, stock, tribe’ (also ‘sinew, tendon, nerve, muscle’); Tigrinya *sər*, *sur* ‘root’; Tigre *sər* ‘root’; Amharic *sər* ‘root, bottom; under, beneath, at the foot of’ (also ‘vein, artery, nerve, tendon’); Gafat *sər* ‘root’; Harari *sər* ‘root, bottom; near’; Gurage *sər* ‘root, bottom of a thing’. Leslau 1963:142, 1979:558, and 1987:535—536. Central Cushitic: Awngi / Awiya *sár* ‘root’; Kemant *sər* ‘root’; Quara *sər* ‘root’; Bilin *zir* ‘root’. Appleyard 2006:116—117; Reinisch 1887:309. Ehret 1995:164, no. 230, **sar-*/**sir-* ‘root’.
B. Dravidian: Gonda *sīṛ*, *śīr*, *sīr*, *hīr*, *hīṛ*, *īr* ‘root’; Pengo *cīra* ‘root’; Kui *sīru* ‘root’; Kuwi *hīrū*, *hīru* ‘root’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:228, no. 2626.

Buck 1949:8.54 root.

287. Proto-Nostratic root **sʸol-*:
(vb.) **sʸol-* ‘to be safe, well, sound’;
(n.) **sʸol-a* ‘safety; health, welfare’; (adj.) ‘safe, well, sound’

A. Proto-Afrasian *$s^y$*[o]l-* ‘to be safe, well, sound’: Proto-Semitic *$s^y$*al-am-* ‘to be safe, well, sound’ > Hebrew *šālēm* [שָׁלֵם] ‘to be complete, sound’, *šālōm* [שָׁלוֹם] ‘peace’; Syriac *šəlēm* ‘to be complete, to be safe’; Phoenician *šlm* ‘to be complete’; Ugaritic *šlm* ‘(vb.) to be complete; (n.) peace’; Arabic *salima* ‘to be safe and sound, unharmed, unimpaired, intact, safe, secure’, *salām* ‘soundness, unimpairedness, intactness, well-being; peace, peacefulness; safety, security’, *salim* ‘peace’, *salīm* ‘safe, secure; free (from); unimpaired, undamaged, unhurt, sound, intact, complete, perfect, whole, integral, faultless, flawless; well; safe and sound; healthy; sane’, *sālim* ‘safe, secure; free (from); unimpaired, unblemished, faultless, flawless, undamaged, unhurt, safe and sound, safe; sound, healthy; whole, perfect, complete, integral’; Akkadian *šalāmu* ‘to be well’, *šulmu* ‘health, welfare’; Sabaean *slm* ‘peace, soundness, health’; Ḥarsūsi *sēlem* ‘to be safe’, *selōm*, *selām* ‘peace’, *selōmet* ‘peace, safety’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *sélm* ‘to be safe’, *sélúm* ‘peace, safety’; Mehri *sīləm* ‘to be safe, saved’, *səlōm* ‘peace’, *sēlom*, *sōləm* ‘safe’; Geez / Ethiopic *salām* [ሰላም] ‘peace, salutation, safety’; Tigrinya *sälam* ‘peace’; Tigre *sälma* ‘to greet’; Amharic *sälam* ‘peace, tranquility’, *sälläma* ‘to pacify’. Arabic loan in Gurage (Soddo) *sälam* ‘peace’. Murtonen 1989:425—426; Klein 1987:662—663; Leslau 1979:643 and 1987:499—500; Zammit 2002:227. Egyptian *snb* (< **šnb* /šlm/) ‘to be sound, healthy’. Hannig 1995:717—718; Erman—Grapow 1921:164 and 1926—1963.4:158—159; Faulkner 1962:231.

B. Proto-Dravidian **cōl-* (‘whole, healthy, sound’ >) ‘excellent, beautiful, fine’: Pengo *hōl-* ‘to be beautiful, fine, good, excellent’; Manḍa *hūlpa-* ‘to be fine, beautiful’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:250, no. 2890.

C. Proto-Indo-European **sol-* ‘whole, sound, well, safe’: Sanskrit *sárva-ḥ* ‘all, whole, entire; altogether, wholly, completely’, *sarvátāti* ‘totality; completeness, perfect happiness or prosperity; soundness’; Pāḷi *sabba-* ‘all’; Avestan *haurva-* ‘whole, entire’; Old Persian *haruva-* ‘all’; Greek ὅλος ‘whole, entire, complete’; Armenian *olǰ* (< **solyo-*) ‘whole, healthy’; Latin *salvus* ‘safe, unhurt, well, sound’, *salus* ‘health, soundness’; Tocharian A *salu* ‘completely, entirely’, B *solme* ‘completely, altogether’. Pokorny 1959:979—980 **solo-*, **sol(e)u̯o-* ‘well-kept, whole’; Walde 1927—1932.II:510—511 **sōlo-*, **sol(e)u̯o-*; Mann 1984—1987:1220 **sl̄u̯os* ‘complete, total, full, whole’, 1243—1244 **solu̯os*, *-i̯os* ‘whole, all, entire, sound, hale’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:812, fn. 1, **sol-(u̯-)* and 1995.I:711, fn. 1, **sol-(w-)* ‘health’; Watkins 1985:62—63 **sol-* (also **solə-*) and 2000:81—82 **sol-* (also **solə-*) ‘whole’; Mallory—Adams 1997:262 **sólu̯os* ‘whole’; Beekes 2010.II:1072 **sol(H)-uo-*; Boisacq 1950:699 **sol-u̯o-s*; Hofmann 1966:230—231 **sol-u̯os*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:381 **sólu̯o-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:794—795 **sol-wos*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:591—592; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:471 and II:472—473 **səl-u̯o-*, **solo-s*; De Vaan 2008:537 **slH-u-* ‘whole’;

Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:446—447; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:412 **sol-*; Adams 1999:705 **solwo-*.

Buck 1949:4.83 well; health; 11.26 safe; 16.81 beautiful (also pretty). Brunner 1969:105, no. 574; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:338—339, no. 162; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2046, **sālû* ‘intact’ (→ ‘entire’), ‘in good condition, healthy’.

288. Proto-Nostratic root **sʸor-*:
(vb.) **sʸor-* ‘to surge, gush, flow, spring, or spread forth’;
(n.) **sʸor-a* ‘surge, gush, flow’

A. Proto-Afrasian **sʸ[o]r-* ‘to surge, gush, flow, spring, or spread forth’: Proto-Semitic **sʸar-ac’-* ‘to surge, gush, flow, spring, or spread forth’ > Hebrew *šāraṣ* [שָׁרַץ] ‘to swarm, to team’, *šereṣ* [שֶׁרֶץ] ‘creeping things, reptiles’; Syriac *šəraṣ* ‘to creep, to crawl’; Geez / Ethiopic *šaraṣa* [**ሠረጸ**], *šarṣa* [**ሠርጸ**], *šaraḍa* [**ሠረፀ**] ‘to germinate, to blossom, to shoot forth, to sprout, to burgeon, to bud, to proceed, to arise’; Tigrinya *säräṣä* ‘to sprout’; Amharic *särräṭä* ‘to suffuse’. Murtonen 1989:438; Klein 1987:683; Leslau 1987:535. Proto-Semitic **sʸar-ab-* ‘to flow (forth)’ > Arabic *sariba* ‘to flow, to run out, to leak; to creep’, *sirb* ‘herd, flock, bevy, covey, swarm’; Akkadian *šarbu*, *šurbu* ‘shower (of rain)’; Geez / Ethiopic *saraba* [**ሰረበ**] ‘to flood’, *ʾasrāb* [**አስራብ**] (pl.) ‘torrents, showers’; Tigrinya *säräbä* ‘to begin to rain’; Amharic *asrab* ‘cataract, flood’ (Geez loan). Leslau 1987:511; Zammit 2002:218—219. Proto-Semitic **sʸar-aʕ-* ‘to move quickly, to surge forth’ > Arabic *saruʿa* ‘to be quick, fast, prompt, rapid; to urge (on); to speed up, to accelerate, to expedite; to hasten, to hurry, to rush, to dash’; Ugaritic *šrʿ* ‘surging’; Akkadian *šerū* ‘to well up’. Zammit 2002:219—220. Egyptian *šrr* ‘fluid, liquid’, *šrš* ‘(of horses) to be quick, swift’. Faulkner 1962:270; Hannig 1995:833. Berber: Tuareg *əsri* ‘to run, to let a horse gallop’, *səsri* ‘to make run’; Wargla *amsari* ‘horse race, horse riding’; Tamazight *srirrəy* ‘to move quickly, to be fast and efficient’, *asrirrəy* ‘the act of moving quickly, a quick and happy ending’; Kabyle *isrir* ‘to be clear (sky), to be free (local)’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *cōr* ‘to trickle down (as tears, blood, or milk), to fall, to drop, to be dropped, to exude, to ooze out’, *cōrvu* ‘falling, pouring’, *cōri* ‘blood, rain, shower’, *cori* ‘to pour forth, to effuse’, *cura* ‘to spring forth, to stream out, to gush, to flow, to swell morbidly with secretion, to increase by steady accumulation of wealth, to pour forth continuously, to give abundantly’, *curappu* ‘welling out, flowing out, gushing out, spring, fountain, swelling’; Kota *jo·r-* (*jo·ry-*) ‘(tears and snot) to run in streams’; Malayalam *cōruka* ‘to flow, to ooze, to trickle, to leak’, *cōrkka* ‘to drop through, to melt wax’, *coriyuka* ‘to pour down, to flow, to shower; to pour out (tr.)’; Kannaḍa *sōr* ‘(vb.) to drop, to drip, to trickle, to ooze, to flow (as coconut water, water-drops, juice of fruit, etc.); (n.) leaking, dropping,

etc.', *jōru* '(vb.) to trickle, to drip, to drop, to leak; (n.) trickling, flowing', *suri* 'to flow, to drop, to pour (as tears, blood, rain, etc.)', *surisu* 'to cause to flow, to cause to pour', *suriyuvike* 'flowing', *juri* 'to ooze away, to flow or ooze out plentifully'; Tuḷu *sōruni*, *tōruni* 'to leak, to ooze, to run'; Telugu *torāgu*, *torūgu*, *to̲rāgu* 'to flow, to gush, to run, to burst out, to fall'; Gadba (Ollari) *sōrp-* (*sort-*) 'to pour', (Salur) *cōr-* 'to pour (of water)'; Brahui *curring* 'to flow, to gush'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:249—250, no. 2883.

C. Proto-Indo-European **sor-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **ser-*) 'to move quickly, to run, to flow': Sanskrit *sárati* 'to run, to flow, to move'; Greek ὁρμή 'onset, rush'; Middle Irish *sirid* (< **sēr-*) 'to wander through'. Pokorny 1959:909—910 **ser-* 'to stream'; Walde 1927—1932.II:497—498 **ser-*; Mann 1984—1987:1131 **sĕr-* 'fluid', 1131 **seros*, *-om* (?) 'fluid'; Mallory—Adams 1997:207 **ser-* 'to flow'; Watkins 1985:48 **ser-* and 2000:76 **ser-* 'to flow'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:227 **ser-* and 1995.I:197 **ser-* 'to flow, to move'; Frisk 1970—1973.II:419—420 **sór-mo-*, **sor-mắ*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:831 (Chantraine rejects the comparison of Greek ὁρμή with Sanskrit *sárati*); Boisacq 1950:713 **ser-*; Beekes 2010.II:1104—1105 **sor-meh₂-*; Hofmann 1966:238 **ser-*. Proto-Indo-European **ser-pʰ-*/**sor-pʰ-*/**sr̥-pʰ-* 'to creep, to crawl': Sanskrit *sárpati* 'to creep, to crawl'; Greek ἕρπω 'to creep, to crawl'; Latin *serpō* 'to creep, to crawl', *serpēns* 'snake, serpent'; Albanian *gjarpër* 'snake'. Rix 1998a:485 **serp-* 'to creep, to crawl'; Pokorny 1959:912 **serp-* 'to creep, to crawl'; Walde 1927—1932.II:502 **serp-*; Mann 1984—1987:1132 **serp-* 'creeper, creeping, reptile'; Mallory—Adams 1997:141 **serp-* 'to crawl'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:223 **serp[ʰ]-* : **sr̥p[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:193 **serpʰ-* : **sr̥pʰ-* 'to crawl; snake'; Watkins 1985:58 **serp-* and 2000:76 **serp-* 'to crawl, to creep'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:445—446; Boisacq 1950:283; Hofmann 1966:94; Beekes 2010.I:463—464 **serp-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:565—566; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:374—375 **ser-*; De Vaan 2008:558; Ernout—Meillet 1979:619; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:524 **ser-p-*; Huld 1983:67—68. Proto-Indo-European **sr-ew-*/**sr-ow-*/**sr-u-* 'to flow': Greek ῥέω 'to flow'; Sanskrit *srávati* 'to flow'; Old Irish *srúaim* 'flood, current'; Old Icelandic *straumr* 'stream, current'; Danish *strøm* 'stream'; Swedish *ström* 'stream'; Norwegian *straum* 'stream'; Old English *strēam* 'flowing, current; running water, river'; Old Frisian *strām* 'stream'; Old Saxon *strōm* 'stream'; Dutch *stroom* 'stream'; Old High German *stroum* 'stream, current' (New High German *Strom*); Lithuanian *sraviù*, *sravėti* 'to flow'; Thracian river name Στρυμών. Rix 1998a:535 **sreu̯-* 'to flow'; Pokorny 1959:1003 **sreu-* 'to flow'; Walde 1927—1932.II:702—703 **sreu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1276 **sreum-* 'flowing; flow, stream; to pour', 1276 **sreut-* 'flow', 1276—1277 **sreu̯ō*, *-i̯ō* 'to run, to flow'; **sreu̯os*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* 'stream, flow, current', 1278 **sroum-* 'current, stream, flow', 1278 **sroughos*, *-ā* 'flowing, flow', 1278

*sroutos*, 1278 *sroy̯os*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* ‘flowing; flow, stream’, 1279 *srud- ‘flow’, 1279 *srūmos*, *-ā* ‘stream, flow’, 1279—1280 *srŭ̄tlos*, *-is* ‘stream, outpour’, 1280 *srutos*, *-is* ‘flowing; flow, fluid’, 1280 *srŭ̯ū̯ō*, *-i̯ō*; Watkins 1985:64 *sreu- and 2000:83—84 *sreu- ‘to flow’; Mallory—Adams 1997:207 *sreu- ‘to flow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:554—555; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:227 *sr-eu̯- and 1995.I:196 *sr-eu- ‘to flow, to move’; Boisacq 1950:839 *s(e)reu-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:970—971 *srew-; Hofmann 1966:297 *sreu-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:650—652 *sréu̯-eti, *sreu̯-mn̥, *sroy̯-mon-, *sroy̯-mo-; Beekes 2010.II:1281—1282 *sreu-; Kroonen 2013:483 Proto-Germanic *strauma- ‘stream’ and 485 *strudu- ‘river’; Orël 1998:130 and 2003:380—381 Proto-Germanic *straumaz; De Vries 1977:552; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:311; Klein 1971:721 *sreu-; Onions 1966:874 *srou-, *sreu-, *srŭ̄-; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:379; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:758 *sreu-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:709 *sreu-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:888—889 *sreu-; Smoczyński 2007.1:593—594; Derksen 2015:424—425 *srou-; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:630—634 *sreu̯-.

D. Proto-Altaic *sɨ̯ori- ‘to flow, to be soaked’: Proto-Tungus *sora- ‘to be soaked, wet; to rinse, to wash’ > Manchu *sura-* ‘to rinse (rice), to wash (rice)’, *suraha* ‘water in which rice has been rinsed (used as pig feed)’, *suran* ‘water in which rice has been rinsed’; Negidal *soy-* ‘to be soaked, wet’; Nanay / Gold *soro-* ‘to be soaked, wet’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1283 *sɨ̯ori ‘to flow, to be soaked’. Proto-Altaic *sɨ̯ŭrʸi- ‘to flow, to drip’: Proto-Tungus *sir- ‘(vb.) to squeeze, to press out; to milk; (n.) spring, well’ > Manchu *šeri* ‘spring, source’, *siri-* ‘to wring, to squeeze out (a liquid); to milk’; Evenki *sir-* ‘to squeeze, to press out; to milk’; Lamut / Even *hir-* ‘to milk’; Negidal *siy-* ‘to milk’; Ulch *sɨrɨ-* ‘to squeeze, to press out; to milk’; Orok *sɨrɨ-* ‘to squeeze, to press out; to milk’; Nanay / Gold *sɨrɨ-* ‘to squeeze, to press out’; Oroch *sī-* ‘to milk’; Udihe *sie* ‘bay with spring water’, *sī-* ‘to squeeze, to press out; to milk’. Proto-Mongolian *sür- ‘to rain in small drops, to sprinkle’ > Written Mongolian *sürči-* ‘to spray, to strew, to sprinkle’, *sürčig* ‘sprinkling, strewing; sacrifice (made by sprinkling or strewing)’; Khalkha *šürši-*, *sürši-*, *sürči-* ‘to rain in small drops, to sprinkle’; Kalmyk *sürči-* ‘to rain in small drops, to sprinkle’; (?) Dagur *surē* ‘to pour (water)’. Proto-Turkic *sürʸ- ‘to strain, to filter; to swim, to float; to walk in water’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’; Turkish *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’, *süzül-* ‘to be strained or filtered’, *süzgeş* ‘filter, strainer’; Gagauz *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’; Azerbaijani *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter; to swim, to float’; Turkmenian *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’; Uzbek *suz-* ‘to swim, to float’; Uighur *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’; Tatar *söz-* ‘to strain, to filter; (dial. also) to swim, to float’; Kirghiz *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter; to swim, to float’; Kazakh *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’; Noghay *süz-* ‘to strain, to filter’; Tuva *süs-* ‘to walk in water’; Chuvash *sər-* ‘to strain, to filter; to catch fish by a drag-net’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:

1298—1299 **sɻ̆ŭŕi* ‘to flow, to drip’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: “A Western isogloss. The root may in fact be the same as **sɻ̀ori* (reflected in the Eastern area) q.v., but modified under the influence of a synonymous **šɻ̆ŭŕu* q.v.”

Sumerian *šur* ‘to pour out, to flow, to bubble or boil up, to gush out; to arise from, to spring forth; to spread or stretch out, to rain’.

Buck 1949:10.32 flow (vb.); 10.41 creep, crawl. Brunner 1969:104, no. 567; Möller 1911:229—230, 230, and 232; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:339—341, no. 163. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2169, **ša[ri]XV* ‘to stream, to flow’.

289. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **sʸub-a* ‘end, edge; top, front part’:

A. Proto-Kartvelian **škub(l̥)-* ‘forehead; front part’: Georgian *šubl-* ‘forehead’; (?) Mingrelian *skibu-*, *skəbu-* ‘millstone’; (?) Laz *mskibu-*, *pskibu-* ‘mill’; Svan [*sgob-*, *sgweb-*, *sgeb-*] (< **šgub-* < **škub-*) in: *sgobin*, *sgwebin*, *sgebin* ‘in front of, forward’. Klimov 1964:218 **šubl̥-* and 1998:253 **šubl-* ‘forehead; front part’ (Klimov notes that the Zan cognates have undergone a semantic shift); Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:431 **šub-* (Fähnrich—Sardshweladse do not include the Zan forms); Schmidt 1962:146; Fähnrich 2007:534 **šub-*.

B. Proto-Altaic **sɻ̀ūbu* ‘end’: Proto-Tungus **sube-* ‘end, edge; top’ > Lamut / Even *hūre* ‘end, edge; top’; Manchu *subeχe* ‘the end of a branch, the end of a hair from the beard’; Evenki *suwerē* ‘end, edge; top’; Negidal *suweyē* ‘top’; Ulch *suwe* ‘top’; Orok *suwe* ‘top’; Nanay / Gold *suwe*, *sue* ‘top’; Oroch *su-ŋe* ‘end, edge; top’; Udihe *sue* ‘top’; Solon *sugur* ‘end, edge; top’. Proto-Mongolian **seɣül* ‘tail, end’ > Written Mongolian *segül* ‘tail, end’; Khalkha *sūl* ‘tail, end’; Buriat *hūl* ‘tail, end’; Kalmyk *sūl* ‘tail, end’; Ordos *sūl* ‘tail, end’; Moghol *söül* ‘tail, end’; Dagur *seuli*, *seul* ‘tail, end’; Shira-Yughur *sūl* ‘tail, end’; Monguor *sūr* ‘tail, end’. Proto-Turkic **sīb-ri* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’ > Old Turkic *süvri* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Karakhanide Turkic *süvri* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Turkish *sivri* ‘sharp-pointed’; Gagauz *sivri* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Azerbaijani *sivri* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Turkmenian *süyri* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Karaim *sivri*, *süvrü* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Kirghiz *süyrü* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Kazakh *süyir* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Tuva *sūr* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Chuvash *šəʷvəʷr* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’; Yakut *üörbe* ‘sharp, sharp-edged’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1286—1287 **sɻ̀ūbu* ‘end’.

Buck 1949:4.205 forehead; 12.33 top; 12.35 end; 12.353 edge.

290. Proto-Nostratic root **sʸur-* (~ **sʸor-*):

(vb.) *$s^y$*ur-* ‘to frighten; to be or become frightened, to fear’;
(n.) *$s^y$*ur-a* ‘fear’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *cūr* ‘to frighten, to be cruel’, *cūr* ‘fear, suffering, affliction, sorrow, disease, cruelty, malignant deity, celestial maidens’, *cūrppu* ‘a cruel, ferocious deed’; Malayalam *cūr* ‘fiend, affliction, disgust’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:237, no. 2725.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **škur-* ‘to be in an awkward situation; to fear’: Georgian *šur-* ‘to envy’, *šur-i* ‘envy, jealousy’; Mingrelian *škur-* ‘to fear’; Laz *škur-*, *šk’ur-* ‘to fear’, *ma-škur-in-u* ‘I got frightened’; Svan *šgur-* ‘to be ashamed’. Schmidt 1962:144; Klimov 1998:253 **šur-* ‘to be in an awkward situation; to fear’ and 253—254 **šur-* ‘shame, envy’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:432 **šur-*; Fähnrich 2007:535—536 **šur-*.

Buck 1949:16.45 shame (sb.); 16.53 fear, fright.

291. Proto-Nostratic root *$s^y$*uw-* (~ *$s^y$*ow-*):
(vb.) *$s^y$*uw-* ‘to be proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate, good, well, fine, beautiful’;
(n.) *$s^y$*uw-a* ‘propriety, suitability, appropriateness’; (adj.) ‘proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate’

Semantics as in Geez / Ethiopic *šannaya* [**ሠለየ**] ‘to be beautiful, to be good, to seem good, to be well, to be fine, to be excellent, to be fitting, to be appropriate’ and its derivatives (cf. Leslau 1987:531—532).

A. Proto-Afrasian *$s^y$*[u]w-* ‘to be proper, fitting, suitable, appropriate, good, worthy, equal, equivalent’: Proto-Semitic *$s^y$*aw-ay-* ‘to be equal, even’ > Arabic *sawiya* ‘to be equivalent, to be equal (to something); to even, level, flatten, straighten (something); to smooth (something); to equalize, to make equal (something to something else); to put (something) on the same level (with something); to put two persons on an equal footing, to treat two persons as equal, to reconcile two persons; to make regular, to make good (something); to regulate, to arrange, to make up, to smooth over, to settle, to put in order (a dispute, controversy, etc.)’, *siwan*, *suwan* ‘equality, sameness’, *sawāʔ* ‘equal; equality, sameness’, *sawīy* ‘straight, right, correct, proper; unimpaired, intact, sound; even, regular, well-proportioned, shapely, harmonious’, *mustawin* ‘straight, upright, erect; even, smooth, regular; well done (cooking); ripe, mature’; Hebrew *šāwāh* [שָׁוָה] ‘to be like, equal, equivalent’, *šāwēh* [שָׁוֵה] ‘level, plain’, *šāweh* [שָׁוֶה] ‘equal, fitting, appropriate’; Syriac *šəwā* ‘to be even, like, equal’; Ḥarsūsi *sewō* ‘to be equal to’, *sewē* ‘together; even’; Mehri *sōwi* ‘to level’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *essói* ‘to act, justly’, *siéʔ* ‘equal’; Soqoṭri *seʔ* ‘to balance, to offset’, *suwa* ‘good, convenient, suitable’. Murtonen 1989:414; Klein

1987:644; Zammit 2002:232. Egyptian *šȝw* ‘worth, value’, *ỉr šȝw* ‘to be profitable’, *šw* ‘suitable, useful, worthy’, *šw-mr* ‘worthy of love’; Coptic *šaw* [ϣⲁϒ] ‘(n.) use, value; (adj.) useful, suitable, fitting, virtuous’, *m(p)ša* [ⲙ(ⲡ)ϣⲁ] ‘(vb.) to be worthy, deserving (of); (n.) worth, deserts, fate’, *atmpša* [ⲁⲧⲙⲡϣⲁ] ‘worthless, undeserving’, *r šaw* [ⲣ ϣⲁϒ] ‘to be useful, suitable (for); to become prosperous, virtuous’, *mntšaw* [ⲙⲛⲧϣⲁϒ] ‘usefulness; propriety, modesty’, *šumerit* [ϣⲟϒⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ] ‘lovable’, (prefix) *šu-* [ϣⲟϒ-] ‘worthy of, fit for’. Hannig 1995:801; Erman—Grapow 1921:178 and 1926—1963.4:404; Faulkner 1962:261; Vycichl 1983:255 and 274; Černý 1976:87 and 257. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *šō* ‘good, beautiful’. Reinisch 1895:208.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **škw-* ‘to befit someone; to be proper, fit, suitable, becoming; to decorate, to beautify’: Georgian *šv-* ‘to befit someone, to be proper’; Svan *sgw-*, *sgu-*: *li-sgw-e* ‘to befit someone’, (archaic) *li-sgw-eǯi* ‘to be kind enough to’, *ma-sgw-a* ‘suitable, corresponding’; Mingrelian *sku-* ‘to decorate’, *skv-a* ‘beautiful’; Laz *msku-* ‘to impress by one’s beauty, to be proud’, *sku-al-i* ‘beautiful’. Klimov 1964:217—218 **šu-* and 1998:248 **šw-* ‘to befit somebody, to be proper’; Fähnrich 2007:526—527 **šw-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:424—425 **šw-*. Proto-Kartvelian **škw-en-/*škw-n-* (**škw-* plus **-en-* extension) ‘to decorate; to be proper, to befit’: Georgian *šven-* ‘to decorate; to be proper, to befit’, *šno-* ‘charm, fascination’; Mingrelian [*skvam-*] in *skvam-*, *sk’vam-* ‘beautiful, proper’ (see below), (action noun) *skv-am-eb-a-* ‘to be suitable, proper, fit, seemly, becoming; to beautify, to decorate’; Laz *skvan-* in *domoskvanu* ‘he decorated me’; Svan [*sgwen-*] in *mu-sgw-en* ‘beautiful’ (see below). Klimov 1998:250 **šw-en-/*šw-n-* ‘to decorate; to be proper, to befit’. Proto-Kartvelian **m-škw-en-* ‘(adj.) beautiful, wonderful, proper; (n.) beauty’: Old Georgian *mšuen-ier-* ‘standing in beauty’; Georgian *m-šwen-* ‘beautiful, wonderful’, *m-šven-ier-i* ‘beautiful’; Laz *mskva-*, *mskvalina-*, *pskva-* ‘beautiful’; Mingrelian *skvam-*, *sk’vam-* ‘beautiful, proper’; Svan *mu-sgw-en* ‘beautiful’, *sgwän* ‘beauty, charm’. Klimov 1998:128—129 **m-šwen-* ‘beautiful; beauty’; Schmidt 1962:142 **skwen-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European (prefix) **su-* ‘well, good’: Sanskrit *sú* (also *sū́* in the Rigveda) ‘good, excellent, right, virtuous, beautiful, easy, well, rightly, much, greatly, very, any, easily, quickly, willingly’ in *su-kára-ḥ* ‘easy to be done, easy to be managed, easily achieving’, *su-kára-m* ‘doing good, charity, benevolence’, *su-kṛ́t-* ‘doing good, benevolent, virtuous, pious; fortunate, well-fated, wise; making good sacrifices or offerings; skillful’, *su-kṛt-á-ḥ* ‘a good or righteous deed, a meritorious act, virtue, moral merit; a benefit, bounty, friendly assistance, favor; good fortune, auspiciousness; reward, recompense’, *su-divá-ḥ* ‘a bright or fine day’, *su-mánas-* ‘well disposed’, etc.; Avestan *hu-* ‘well, good’ in *hu-mata-* ‘well thought’, *hu-manah-* ‘in a good mood’, etc.; Old Persian *u-* (*uv-* before vowels) ‘well, good’ in *u-xšnav-* ‘well satisfied’, *u-cāra-* ‘well done, successful’, *u-barta-*

'well-borne, lifted, esteemed', *u-raθa-* 'having good chariots', etc.; Greek ὐ- in ὐ-γιής 'sound, healthy', ὐ-γίεια 'soundness, health', etc.; Gaulish *su-* in *Su-carius*, *Su-ratus*, etc.; Old Irish *su-*, *so-* 'good' in *so-chor* 'good contract', *su-aitribthide* 'habitable', *so-lus* 'bright', etc.; Welsh *hy-* in *hy-gar* 'well-beloved, lovable', *hy-dyn* 'tractable', *hy-fryd* 'pleasant', etc.; Cornish *hy-*; Breton *he-*; Old Icelandic *sú-* in *sú-svort* 'nightingale' (this word is obsolete in Icelandic); Lithuanian *sū-* in *sū-drùs* 'luxuriant', etc.; Old Church Slavic *sъ-* in *sъ-dravъ* 'healthy', etc. Pokorny 1959:1037—1038 **su-*, **sū-* 'well, good'; Walde 1927—1932.II:512 **su-*; Mann 1984—1987:1331 **su-* 'well-'; Watkins 1985:67 **su-* 'well, good'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:780 **su-* and 1995.I:683 **su-* 'good'; Mallory—Adams 1997:235 **su-* 'good' and 2006:337 **(h$_1$)su-*; Boisacq 1950:997 Greek ὐ-γιής < **su-g$^{u}$ii̯és*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:954—955 **su-* 'well, good'; Hofmann 1966:381 **su-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1150—1151 **su-*; Beekes 2010.I:484—485 **h$_1$(e)su-*, **h$_1$su-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:478—480; Smoczyński 2007.1:613; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:937 **sŭ-*; Derksen 2008:478—479 and 2015:434 **h$_1$su-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:239—243 **h$_1$es-u-*.

D. Proto-Altaic **sū* 'well, very, extremely': Proto-Tungus **sō* 'very, verily, significantly' > Evenki *sō* 'very, verily, significantly'; Lamut / Even *hō* 'very, verily, significantly'; Negidal *sō* 'very, verily, significantly'; Oroch *so* word added after addressing someone. Proto-Mongolian **su* 'hail, blessing; distinction, genius' > Middle Mongolian *su* 'hail, blessing', *su-tu* 'blessed, happy'; Written Mongolian *su* 'hail, blessing', *sū* (noun and adj.) 'distinction, superiority, genius, ingenuity; ingenious'; Khalkha *sū* 'genius'; Kalmyk *sū* 'distinction, genius'; Ordos *sudu* 'distinction genius'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1310—1311 **sū* 'well, very, extremely'.

Buck 1949:9.943 fitting, suitable; 16.71 good (adj.); 16.81 beautiful (also pretty). Illič-Svityč 1965:371 **šuwʌ* ['хороший'] 'good'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2177, **šüwA* ¬ **šuwE* 'fit, good'.

## 22.13. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *ʒ

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| ʒ- | ʒ- | c- | ʒ- | $d^h$- | č- | ǯ- | c- |
| -ʒ- | -ʒ- | -c(c)- | -ʒ- | -$d^h$- | -č- | -ǯ-/ -d- | -c- |

292. Proto-Nostratic root *ʒag- (~ *ʒəg-):
(vb.) *ʒag- ‘to push, to shove, to drive’;
(n.) *ʒag-a ‘push, shove, force’
Related to:
(vb.) *ʒag- ‘to stuff, press, or squeeze tight’;
(n.) *ʒag-a ‘plug’; (adj.) ‘pressing, squeezing, cramming’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʒag- ‘to push, to shove’: [Proto-Semitic *ʒag-ag- ‘to throw, to hurl; to push, to shove; to drive’ > Arabic *zağğa* ‘to throw, to hurl; to push, to shove, to urge, to drive; to press, to squeeze, to force, to cram’; Gurage (reduplicated) *(a)zgäzägä* ‘to throw in a spiral motion’; Amharic (reduplicated) *(am)zägäzzägä*, *(an)zägäzzägä* ‘to throw in a spiral motion’. Leslau 1979:705. Proto-Semitic *ʒag-aw- ‘to drive, to urge on; to press, to squeeze’ > Arabic *zağā* ‘to drive, to urge on; to press, to squeeze, to force, to cram; to push, to shove’. Zammit 2002:206. Proto-Semitic *ʒag-ar- ‘to drive’ > Arabic *zağara* ‘to drive back, to drive away; to hold back, to retain, to prevent; to scold, to rebuke, to upbraid’, *zağr* ‘forcible prevention, suppression (of customs, abuses, crimes); rebuke, reprimand’. Zammit 2002:206.]
B. Proto-Kartvelian *ʒger- ‘to push, to shove’: Georgian *ʒger-* ‘to push, to shove’; Svan *ʒger-*, *ʒgr-* ‘to push, to shove’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:474 *ʒger-; Fähnrich 2007:590 *ʒger-.

Sumerian *zag* ‘to drive away, to expel’.

Buck 1949:10.65 drive (vb. tr.); 10.67 push, shove (vb.).

293. Proto-Nostratic root *ʒag- (~ *ʒəg-):
(vb.) *ʒag- ‘to stuff, press, or squeeze tight’;
(n.) *ʒag-a ‘plug’; (adj.) ‘pressing, squeezing, cramming’
Related to:
(vb.) *ʒag- ‘to push, to shove, to drive’;
(n.) *ʒag-a ‘push, shove, force’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʒag-* ‘to stuff, press, or squeeze tight’: [Proto-Semitic **ʒag-ag-* ‘to throw, to hurl; to push, to shove; to drive’ > Arabic *zağğa* ‘to throw, to hurl; to push, to shove, to urge, to drive; to press, to squeeze, to force, to cram’; Gurage (reduplicated) *(a)zgäzägä* ‘to throw in a spiral motion’; Amharic (reduplicated) *(am)zägäzzägä*, *(an)zägäzzägä* ‘to throw in a spiral motion’. Leslau 1979:705. Proto-Semitic **ʒag-aw-* ‘to drive, to urge on; to press, to squeeze’ > Arabic *zağā* ‘to drive, to urge on; to press, to squeeze, to force, to cram; to push, to shove’. Zammit 2002:206. Proto-Semitic **ʒag-ar-* ‘to drive’ > Arabic *zağara* ‘to drive back, to drive away; to hold back, to retain, to prevent; to scold, to rebuke, to upbraid’, *zağr* ‘forcible prevention, suppression (of customs, abuses, crimes); rebuke, reprimand’. Zammit 2002:206.] Geez / Ethiopic *zagʿa* [**ዘግዐ**] ‘to close in, to seclude, to plug up’. Leslau 1987:632. Geez / Ethiopic *zagḥa* [**ዘግሐ**], *zagha* [**ዘግሀ**] ‘to close, to shut in, to enclose, to include’, *zəgḥat* [**ዝግሐት**] ‘closing, shutting in, enclosing’; Tigrinya *(tä)zägḥe* ‘to lose the voice after singing a lot’, literally, ‘to be closed (voice)’; Amharic *zägga* ‘to shut, to close up, to enclose’. Leslau 1987:633. (?) Egyptian *zg* ‘to bring to a stop (a sailing boat)’. Hannig 1995:775; Faulkner 1962:252. Assuming semantic development from ‘to press, to squeeze, to force’ as in Dravidian: Malayalam *aṭaṅṅuka* ‘to be pressed down, enclosed, contained; to submit, to yield; to be allayed, calmed’; Kota *arg-* (*argy-*) ‘to stop, to be obedient’, *ark-* (*arky-*) ‘to cause to stop’; Kannaḍa *aḍaku* ‘to press, to press into a narrower compass, to pack; to subdue, to control’; etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:7, no. 63). (?) Berber: Tuareg *əẓẓəğ* ‘to milk, to be milked’, *taẓək* ‘the act of milking’; Nefusa *əzzəg* ‘to milk’; Ghadames *əẓẓəğ* ‘to milk’; Mzab *əẓẓəğ* ‘to milk’; Tamazight *ẓẓəg*, *ẓẓəy* ‘to milk’, *tamaẓẓagt* ‘teat, udder’; Wargla *əẓẓəg* ‘to milk, to be milked’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əẓẓəg* ‘to milk’; Riff *əẓẓəg* ‘to milk’; Kabyle *əẓẓəg* ‘to milk’, *tuẓẓga* ‘milking’, *tamaẓẓagt* ‘teat, udder’; Chaoia *əẓẓəg* ‘to milk’; Zenaga *tuzugt* ‘milking’. Assuming semantic development from ‘to press, to squeeze’ as in Dravidian: Kui *pīs-* ‘to press, to squeeze, to milk’; etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:366, no. 4135).

B. Dravidian: Tamil *cakkaḷi* ‘to become oblate, flattened, compressed’; Kannaḍa *cakkaṛi* ‘that has become flat by pressure’; Tuḷu *cakkᵾ* ‘flat’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:201, no. 2271.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **ʒgib-* ‘to stuff (tight), to drive in’: Georgian *ʒgib-* ‘to tense, to strain, to tighten one’s brows’; Mingrelian *ʒgib-* ‘to stuff (tight), to drive in’; Laz *(n)ʒgip-* ‘to caulk’; Svan *ʒgub-* : *ʒgb-* ‘to stuff (tight)’. Klimov 1998:278—279 **ʒgib-* ‘to stuff (tight), to drive in’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:474 **ʒgib-*; Fähnrich 2007:590—591 **ʒgib-*.

Buck 1949:12.25 shut, close (vb.).

294. Proto-Nostratic root **ʒag-* (~ **ʒəg-*):

(vb.) **ʒag-* ‘to whet, to sharpen’;
(n.) **ʒag-a* ‘edge, side’

A. Dravidian: Kuṛux *caknā* ‘to sharpen an edge instrument, to whet’; Malto *cake* ‘to sharpen, to whet’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:202, no. 2277.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **ʒga-* ‘edge, brim’: Georgian (with metathesis: **ʒg-il-* >) *gʒ-il-* ‘edge, brim’; Mingrelian *ʒga-* ‘bank, shore’; Laz *ʒga-*, *mʒga-* ‘bank, shore; edge’. Svan *ʒgig* ‘edge’. Klimov 1998:278 **ʒga-* ‘edge, brim’; Fähnrich 2007:589—590 **ʒg-*.

Sumerian *zag* ‘border, boundary, side’.

Buck 1949:12.353 edge.

295. Proto-Nostratic root **ʒak’-* (~ **ʒək’-*):
(vb.) **ʒak’-* ‘to make fun of, to deride, to mock; to make sport, to play about, to joke’;
(n.) **ʒak’-a* ‘mockery, ridicule, sport’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *cakkaṭṭam*, *cakkantam* ‘scoff, mockery, sport, censure’; Kannaḍa *cakkanda* ‘sportful, idle talk; happiness, pleasure, contentedness’, *jakkulisu*, *jakkuḷisu* ‘to amuse, to divert, to rejoice, to play about, to jeer at, to make sport of, to deride’; Tuḷu *cakkanda* ‘plausibility, speciousness’; Telugu *jakkalimpu* ‘jeering, quizzing’; Gondi *cakkā kiyānā* ‘to deride, to make fun of’; Koṇḍa *sekali* ‘ridicule, satire’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:201, no. 2269.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **ʒek’-* ‘simple-minded, silly, dimwitted, dumb; simpleton’: Georgian *ʒek’-* ‘simple-minded, silly, dimwitted, dumb; simpleton’; Mingrelian *ʒak’-* ‘simple, ordinary’ (cf. *ʒak’i k’oč’i* ‘ordinary man’). Klimov 1998:279 **ʒeḳ-* ‘simple, silly; simpleton’; Fähnrich 2007:592 **ʒeḳ-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:476 **ʒeḳ-*. Semantic development from ‘to play the fool’ as in Swedish *tokig* ‘foolish’*, tok* ‘fool’ and Danish (dial.) *tok(k)et* ‘crazy’, *tokke* ‘to act crazy’, borrowed from Middle Low German *token* ‘to play, to joke’ (cf. also Russian *durít'* [дурить] ‘to make a fool of oneself, to act foolishly, to play the fool’, *dúren'* [дурень] ‘fool, simpleton’, *durák* [дурак] ‘jester, fool, ass’).

Buck 1949:16.26 play (vb.); 17.22 foolish, stupid.

296. Proto-Nostratic root **ʒar-* (~ **ʒər-*) or **ǯar-* (~ **ǯər-*):
(vb.) **ʒar-* or **ǯar-* ‘to run, flow, leak, or spill out; to spring forth, to issue (from); to flow or gush forth’;
(n.) **ʒar-a* or **ǯar-a* ‘drizzle, rain, downpour; current, stream, torrent’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʒar- ‘to run, flow, leak, or spill out; to spring forth, to issue (from); to flow or gush forth’: Proto-Semitic *ʒar-am- ‘to gush forth, to burst forth, to spurt’ > Hebrew *zāram* [זָרַם] ‘to pour forth in floods, to flood away’, *zerem* [זֶרֶם] ‘flood of rain, downpour’, *zīrmāh* [זִרְמָה] ‘issue, ejaculation (of semen)’; Aramaic *zarmīθ* ‘downpour’; Ugaritic *zrm* ‘to make rain’ (?); Akkadian *zarāmu* ‘to overwhelm’; Gurage (Gyeto) *zəram* ‘rain’; Geez / Ethiopic (with *n* for *r*) *zanma* [ዘንመ] ‘to rain’, *zənām* [ዝናም] ‘rain, rainy season’; Tigrinya *zänämä* ‘to rain’; Tigre *zänma* ‘to rain’; Amharic *zännämä* ‘to rain’. Murtonen 1989:170; Klein 1987:204; Leslau 1979:710, 715 and 1987:641. Proto-Semitic *ʒar-ab- ‘to gush forth, to flow forth, to rain’ > Arabic *zariba* ‘to flow, to run, to run out, to flow over’, *zirb* ‘canal’; Gurage (Chaha, Eža) (n.) *zərab* ‘rain’, (Chaha, Zway) (with *n* for *r*) (vb.) *zänäbä* ‘to rain’; Argobba *zännäbä* ‘to rain’. Leslau 1979:710. Egyptian *zrmt* ‘flood, torrent’; *zꜣb* ‘to flow’. Hannig 1995:658 and 730; Faulkner 1962:209; Erman—Grapow 1921:142 and 1926—1963.3:420, 3:463. Berber: Touat *amazzər* ‘artificial waterfall’; Tamazight *zrir* ‘to be or become liquid, to liquify’, *zizzər* ‘to cascade, to flow along’, *amuzzər* ‘waterfall, torrent’; Kabyle *əzzər* ‘to flow, to drop to the bottom’, *zriri* ‘to flow (tears, fountain)’, *izir* ‘squirt of milk from an udder’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *amuzzər* ‘waterfall’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:548, no. 2640, *ʒVrab- ‘to flow’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *cāṟu* (*cāṟi-*) ‘to slip off, to slip down (as from a tree), to slant, to incline (as a post), to deviate, to flow, to issue’, *cāral* ‘drizzling rain’; Malayalam *cāṟuka* ‘to run off or out, to drizzle’, *cārṟuka* ‘to drizzle’, *cāṟal*, *cārṟal*, *maṛa cārṟal*, *cārṟu maṛa* ‘drizzling rain’; Kannaḍa *jāṟu* ‘to slip, to slide, to slip away, to slide away, to steal away, to withdraw, to retire, to shrink, to go off or start swiftly, to run, to drop or ooze out; to flow, (knot) to slip or become loose’, *jāṟisu* ‘to make to slip, to go away’, *jāṟa*, *jāṟike*, *jāṟuvike* ‘slipping, sliding, slipperiness, flowing, trickling’; Tuḷu *jāruni* ‘to slip, to slide down, to be slippery or smooth, to tumble, to fall down, to be dislocated, to shrink, to hesitate, to backslide, to flee, to flay, to lop off (as branches of a tree)’, *jārupaḍi*, *jārpaḍi* ‘to slide, to glide, to slip, to become loose, to ooze’, *jāṟucu*, *jārcu* ‘to let slip or drop, to let down, to loosen’, *jāṟuḍu* ‘slipperiness, sliding, slipping’; Konḍa *zāṟ-* ‘to slip, to slide’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:216—217, no. 2482.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$d^h$er-/*$d^h$or-/*$d^h\mathring{r}$- ‘to gush forth, to burst forth, to spurt’: Greek θορός, θορή ‘semen’, θοῦρος (< *θόρ-Ϝος) ‘rushing, raging’, θρώσκω ‘to leap, to spring; to attack, to assault, i.e., to leap upon; to rush, to dart’; Sanskrit *dhā́rā* ‘flood, gush’; Pāḷi *dhārā* ‘stream, current’; Middle Irish *dar-* ‘to spring, to leap’. Rix 1998a:127 *$d^h$erh$_3$- ‘to spring, to leap’; Pokorny 1959:256 (*dher-:) *dhor- : *$dh_e$r- ‘to jump’; Walde 1927—1932.I:861 (*dher-:) *dhor- : *$dh_e$r-; Mann 1984—1987:186 *dhēros (?) ‘rush, attack’; Mallory—Adams 1997:323 *dher- ‘to leap, to spring’; Frisk 1970—1973.I:678 and I:689; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:444 *dhre$\mathcal{Q}_3$-;

Hofmann 1966:116 **dhereu-* and 349 Greek θοῦρος < **dhŭ̆-* (**dheu̯ā$^{x}$-*); Boisacq 1950:348—349; Beekes 2010.I:552 **d$^{h}$erh$_{3}$-* and I:560—561 **d$^{h}$erh$_{3}$-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:100—101.

D. Proto-Eskimo **caʀvaʀ* ‘current’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *caʀwaq* ‘current’; Central Alaskan Yupik *caʀvaq* ‘current, rapidly flowing stream’, *caʀvə-*, *caʀvaʀ-* ‘to flow (of current)’; Sirenik *saʀvətəɬəX* ‘drift’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *saʀvaq* ‘current’, *saʀvaq-* ‘to flow (of current)’; North Alaskan Inuit *saʀvaq* ‘current’, *saʀvaq-* ‘to have a strong current, to be carried away by current’; Western Canadian Inuit *saʀvaq* ‘current’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *saʀvaq* ‘river rapids’; Greenlandic Inuit *saʁfaq* ‘current, river rapids’, *saʁfaʀ-* ‘to have a current (river)’. Fortescue—Kaplan—Jacobson 1994:71. Proto-Inuit **caʀat-* ‘to be moist or slippery on surface’ > Eastern Canadian Inuit *saʀat-* ‘to be lightly dampened on surface (waterproof object)’; Greenlandic Inuit *saʀat-* ‘to glisten (with moisture)’, *saʀassi-* ‘to slip out of one’s hand’. Fortescue—Kaplan—Jacobson 1994:71.

Sumerian *zar* ‘to run, flow, leak, or spill out; to spring forth, to issue (from); to flow or gush forth; to bubble over’.

Buck 1949:1.75 rain (sb.); 10.32 flow (vb.); 10.43 jump, leap (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:349—350, no. 176.

297. Proto-Nostratic root **ʒer-* or **ǯer-*:
(vb.) **ʒer-* or **ǯer-* ‘to pierce, to jab, to stab, to thrust or shove into’;
(n.) **ʒer-a* or **ǯer-a* ‘spear, javelin, weapon’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **ʒar-ak’-* ‘(vb.) to pierce, to jab, to stab, to thrust or shove into; (n.) spear, javelin’ > Hebrew *zāraḳ* [זָרַק] ‘to throw, to toss’; Arabic *zaraḳa* ‘to hit or pierce with a javelin; to jab or to bore (into something or someone)’, *mizrāḳ* ‘javelin’; Mehri *zərūḳ* ‘to throw a dagger or dart at someone, to stab at (with a spear)’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *zɔ́rɔ́ḳ* ‘to throw (a dagger or dart) at, to stab at; (snake) to strike at’; Ḥarsūsi *zerōḳ* ‘to dart at, to sting, to stab’; Geez / Ethiopic *zaraḳa* [**ዘረቀ**] ‘to pierce with a spear’, *məzrāḳ* [**ምዝራቅ**] ‘javelin’; Tigrinya *zäräḳä* ‘to pierce with a spear’, *mäzraḳ* ‘javelin’; Tigre *märzaḳ* (with metathesis) ‘big staff with iron point’. Perhaps also Amharic *məzraṭ* ‘spear which has a square tip’. Klein 1987:204; Murtonen 1989:171; Leslau 1987:644. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:543, no. 2610, **ʒariḳ-* /**ʒaruḳ-* ‘to throw, to push’ — the Cushitic forms cited by Orël—Stolbova are surely loans.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *ceruku* (*ceruki-*) ‘to insert, to slide into’, *cerumu* (*cerumi-*) ‘to sink, to pierce through’; Malayalam *cerutuka* ‘to shove in, to put in’; Kannaḍa *serku*, *sekku* ‘to shove in, to put in, to insert, to tuck (the end of a garment) into another (part of the garment)’, *sekke* ‘insertion’; Telugu *cekku* ‘to set (as a precious stone), to thrust, to tuck up’, *ceruvu* ‘to insert,

to stick in'; Kuṛux *xerrnā* (*xirryas*) 'to introduce lengthwise by gradual pushing, to insert, to stick into or behind'; Malto *qere* 'to thrust in, to tuck in'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:241, no. 2778; Krishnamurti 2003:126 **cer-* 'to insert'.

C. Proto-Indo-European (**dʰer-*/)**dʰr-* 'to strike, to beat, to knock; to thrust': Old Icelandic *drepa* 'to strike, to beat, to knock; to slay, to kill, to slaughter; to put, to thrust; to tuck up the sleeves or skirts of a garment', *dráp* 'slaughter, killing'; Norwegian *drepe* 'to kill, to put to death, to slay', *dreper* 'killer; (explosive) harpoon', *drap* 'homicide, manslaughter, murder'; Danish *dræbe* 'to kill'; Swedish *dräpa* 'to kill, to slay; to squash, to quash', *dräpande* 'killing, slaughter'; Old English *drepan* 'to strike, to hit with a weapon', *drepe* 'death stroke, blow', *gedrep* 'stroke (of darts)'; Old Saxon *drepan* 'to strike, to hit'; Old High German *treffan* 'to hit, to strike' (New High German *treffen*). De Vries 1977:81 and 83; Orël 2003:75 Proto-Germanic **đrepan*, 75 **đrepanan*; Kroonen 2013:101—102 Proto-Germanic **drepan-* 'to hit'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:788 **dhreb-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:738; Walshe 1951:229.

D. Proto-Altaic **ǯere* (~ **ǯaro*, *-a*) 'armor, weapon(s)': Proto-Mongolian or **ǯer-* 'weapon' > Written Mongolian *ǯer* 'weapons, armament'; Khalkha *ʒer* 'weapon'; Buriat *zer* 'weapon'; Kalmyk *zer* 'weapon'; Ordos *ǯir* 'weapon'. Proto-Turkic **yarïk* 'armor' > Old Turkic *yarïq* 'armor'; Karakhanide Turkic *yarïq* 'armor'. As noted by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:1534): "Modern languages widely reflect **jarak* 'weapon, armour' (Kirgh[iz] *ǯaraq*, Uygh[ur] *jaraq*, etc., see ЭСТЯ 4, 139). This seems to be a contamination of the earlier attested **jarag* 'readiness, opportunity' (derived from **jara-* 'to be fit, suitable' q.v. sub **ǯa̍ra*; see EDT ibid.) and **jarik* 'armour'." Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1534—1535 **ǯere* (~ **ǯaro*, *-a*) 'armor, weapon'.

Buck 1949:20.21 weapons, arms; 20.26 spear (sb.).

298. Proto-Nostratic root **ʒil-* (~ **ʒel-*) or **ǯil-* (~ **ǯel-*):
(vb.) **ʒil-* or **ǯil-* 'to flow, to flow forth';
(n.) **ʒil-a* or **ǯil-a* 'drip, drop, raindrop'; (adj.) 'flowing, trickling, dropping, sprinkling'
Probably identical to:
(vb.) **ʒil-* or **ǯil-* 'to glide, to slide';
(n.) **ʒil-a* or **ǯil-a* 'the act of slipping, sliding, gliding'; (adj.) 'smooth, slippery'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʒ[i]l-* 'to flow, to flow forth': Proto-Semitic **ʒal-ag-* 'to flow' > Post-Biblical Hebrew *zālaγ* [זָלַג] 'to drip, to flow'; Aramaic *zəlaγ* 'to drip, to flow'; Geez / Ethiopic *zalaga* [ዘለገ] 'to flow, to trickle, to drop'; Tigrinya *zälägg bälä*, *zälägläggg bälä* 'to flow'; Amharic *(tä)zlägällägä* 'to

flow’. Klein 1987:198; Leslau 1987:637. Proto-Semitic *ʒal-aḥ- ‘to drip, to sprinkle, to pour’ > Hebrew *zālaḥ* [זָלַח] ‘to drip, to sprinkle, to spray, to be wet’; Aramaic *zəlaḥ* ‘to sprinkle, to rain; to pour out’; Geez / Ethiopic *zalḥa* [ዘልሐ], *zalləḥa* [ዘልሐ] ‘to drain out, to empty all of the liquid from a vessel’. Klein 1987:199; Leslau 1987:637. Proto-Semitic *ʒal-ap- ‘to drip, to pour, to spill over’ > Hebrew *zālaφ* [זָלַף] ‘to pour, to sprinkle, to spray’; Aramaic *zəlaφ* ‘to drop, to trickle down’; Geez / Ethiopic *zalafa* [ዘለፈ] ‘to drip, to spill over’. Klein 1987:199; Leslau 1987:637. Proto-Semitic *ʒal-aʔ- ‘to flow’ > Aramaic *zəlā* ‘to flow, to glide’. Berber: Tuareg *ahəl* ‘to run, to flow (water)’; Tawlemmet *azəl* ‘to run, to run away’, *azzalan* ‘course, speed, flight’; Siwa *əzzəl* ‘to run, to flow’, *zəlli* ‘act of running, course’; Nefusa *azzəl* ‘to run’; Ghadames *əzzəl* ‘to run’; Tamazight *azzəl* ‘to run, to flow’, *tazzla* ‘course, flow’; Wargla *azzəl* ‘to run, to flow’, *tazla* ‘course, haste’; Riff *azzəl*, *azzər* ‘to run’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *azzəl* ‘to run, to flow’, *tizla* ‘course’; Kabyle *azzəl* ‘to run, to flow’, *tazzla* ‘the act of coming and going, occupation, course’; Chaouia *azzəl* ‘to run’, *tazlla* ‘course’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *cilucilu* ‘to rain gently’, *cilumpu* (*cilumpi-*) ‘to flow out, to gush out’, *cilu-nīr* ‘raindrop dripping from leaves’; Kota *cilk iṛ-* (*iṭ-*) ‘to drizzle’; Kannaḍa *cilkunīru* ‘water in fine drops’, *jiḷipu* ‘to ooze (as water from a new pot)’; Koraga *cilbi* ‘to splash water with the finger’; Telugu *ciluku* ‘to sprinkle (tr.), to spurt, to shed; to be spilled’, *cilikincu*, *cilukarincu* ‘to sprinkle’, *cilacila* imitative of flowing, *cilupu* ‘a pond’; Kolami *silka* ‘a river’; Naikṛi *śilka* ‘brook, river’; Parji *cilva* ‘brook, rivulet’; Gondi *silka* ‘small river’; Kuwi *silk-* ‘to splash (intr.)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:223, no. 2569. Telugu *sela*, *selayēṟu* ‘waterfall, cascade’, *jela* ‘a spring of water’; Kannaḍa *sele* ‘spring, fountain-head’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:242, no. 2785.

C. Proto-Altaic *ǯi̯ōlu ‘riverbed, stream’: Proto-Tungus *ǯila- ‘a place in a river where water does not freeze because of a fast current’ > Manchu *ǯilan*, *ǯulan* ‘a place in a river where water does not freeze because of a fast current’. Proto-Mongolian *ǯilga ‘riverbed, ravine’ > Written Mongolian *ǯilγa* ‘riverbed, ravine’; Khalkha *ǯalga* ‘riverbed, ravine’; Buriat *žalga* ‘riverbed, ravine’; Kalmyk *ǯalγə* ‘riverbed, ravine’; Dagur *ǯalag* ‘riverbed, ravine’; Shira-Yughur *ǯalɢa* ‘riverbed, ravine’. Proto-Turkic **yul* ‘stream, brook, fountain’ > Old Turkic *yul* ‘stream, brook, fountain’; Karakhanide Turkic *yul* ‘stream, brook, fountain’; Khakas *čul* ‘stream, brook, fountain’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *yul* ‘stream, brook, fountain’; Chuvash *śʊʷl* ‘stream, brook, fountain’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1543 *ǯi̯ōlu ‘riverbed, stream’.

Buck 1949:1.36 river; stream; brook; 10.32 flow (vb.).

299. Proto-Nostratic root *ʒil- (~ *ʒel-) or *ǯil- (~ *ǯel-):
(vb.) *ʒil- or *ǯil- ‘to glide, to slide’;

(n.) *ʒil-a* or *ǯil-a* ‘the act of slipping, sliding, gliding’; (adj.) ‘smooth, slippery’

Probably identical to:

(vb.) *ʒil-* or *ǯil-* ‘to flow, to flow forth’;

(n.) *ʒil-a* or *ǯil-a* ‘drip, drop, raindrop’; (adj.) ‘flowing, trickling, dropping, sprinkling’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʒ[i]l- ‘to glide, to slip, to slide’: Proto-Semitic *ʒal- (*ʒal-ag-, *ʒal-ak’-, *ʒal-aħ-, *ʒal-al-) ‘to glide, to slip, to slide’ > Arabic *zaliḳa* ‘to glide, to slide, to slip, to make slippery’, *zalla* ‘to slip’, *zalağa* ‘to slip, to slide, to glide’; Ḥarsūsi *zelōḳ* ‘to slip’; Tigrinya *zälḥaṭ bälä* ‘to totter, to stagger’; Harari *(tä)zlāḥaṭa* ‘to slip’, *zilḥič bāya* ‘to slip’; Amharic *(an)zälaṭṭäṭä* ‘to make slip’; Gurage (Wolane) *(a)zlaläṭä* ‘to be slippery’, (Selṭi) *(a)zlāṭä-* ‘to slip, to slide’, (Zway) *anzəlāläṭä-* ‘to slip, to slide’. Leslau 1963:166 and 1979:707; Zammit 2002:209. Berber: Mzab *əzləğ* ‘to skid, to slide; to be distorted’, *uzliğ*, *uzlij* ‘cord of twisted thread’; Wargla *amәzlag* ‘twisted, smooth (rope, thread)’; Tuareg *ehleğ* ‘to have on the side, to have on one’s right or on one’s left, to have hanging on the side’, *təhalğə* ‘left side’; Tawlemmet *əzləg* ‘to carry, to have hanging on the side, to carry (clothing) on the side’, *təzalgə* ‘left, left side’, *zallag* ‘to be awkward, clumsy’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *zləg* ‘to twist thread into a rope, to be wound’; Riff *əzrəg* ‘to turn, to roll’; Kabyle *əzləg* ‘to be twisted, distorted, misplaced (object, clothing, shoes)’; Chaouia *əzləg* ‘to be askew, to go wrong, to miss the mark’. Cushitic: Proto-Agaw *ʒələw- ‘to go round, to turn’ > Bilin *jələw-* ‘to go round, to turn’; Xamir *jəlw-* ‘to go round, to turn’; Kemant *jəlw-* ‘to go round, to turn’; Awngi / Awiya *zur-* ‘to go round, to turn’. Appleyard 2006:75; Reinisch 1887:180 Bilin *jiluw-*.

B. Proto-Altaic *ǯi̯ūlu- (~ *-a*) ‘(vb.) to slide; (adj.) smooth, slippery’: Proto-Tungus *ǯulV-* ‘smooth, naked’ > Evenki *ǯulā-kin* ‘naked’; Lamut / Even *ǯ̣ulaqqan* ‘naked’; Solon *ǯulu-brēχ* ‘smooth’, *ǯ̣ulāχĩ* ‘naked’. Proto-Mongolian *ǯil- ‘smooth, level’ > Written Mongolian *ǯilim*, *ǯilum* ‘smooth, level’, *ǯildam* ‘level’; Khalkha *ǯildem* ‘level’; Buriat *želeger* ‘smooth, level’; Kalmyk *ǯilṃ* ‘smooth, level’. Proto-Turkic *yī̈l- ‘(vb.) to creep; (n.) snake’ > Old Turkic *yïlan* ‘snake’; Karakhanide Turkic *yïlan* ‘snake’; Turkish *yılan* ‘snake’; Gagauz *yïlan* ‘snake’; Azerbaijani *ilan* ‘snake’; Turkmenian *yïlān* ‘snake’; Uzbek *ǯil-* ‘to creep’, *ilɔn* ‘snake’; Uighur *ilan* ‘snake’; Tatar *yïl-* ‘to creep’, *yïlan* ‘snake’; Bashkir *yïlan* ‘snake’; Kirghiz *ǯïl-* ‘to creep’, *ǯïlan* ‘snake’; Kazakh *žïlan* ‘snake’; Noghay *yïlan* ‘snake’; Tuva *čïl-* ‘to creep’, *čïlan* ‘snake’; Chuvash *śəʷlen* ‘snake’; Yakut *sī̈l-* ‘to creep’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1548—1549 *ǯi̯ūlu (~ *-a*) ‘to slide; smooth, slippery’

C. Eskimo: Proto-Inuit *ciliʁak- ‘to glide’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *siliak-* ‘to glide’; North Alaskan Inuit *silʸiak-* ‘to swoop down on, to be blown along with wind, to glide’; Western Canadian Inuit *siliak-* ‘to glide downward (of bird)’; Greenlandic *ciliʁaɣ-* ‘to go obliquely, to tack’. Fortescue—

Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:79. Proto-Yupik **ciluʁ-* ‘to slide or glide’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *ɬuʁ-* ‘to slide (down)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *ciluʁ-* ‘to glide, to skip on water’; Central Siberian Yupik *əsɬuʁ-* ‘to go south, to travel with wind’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:80.

Buck 1949:3.85 snake; 10.42 slide, slip (vb.); 15.77 smooth.

300. Proto-Nostratic root **ʒim-* (~ **ʒem-*) or **ǯim-* (~ **ǯem-*):
(vb.) **ʒim-* or **ǯim-* ‘to blow, to play (a wind instrument)’;
(n.) **ʒim-a* or **ǯim-a* ‘blowing, playing (a wind instrument)’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʒim-* ‘to blow, to play (a wind instrument)’: Proto-Semitic **ʒam-ar-* ‘to blow, to play (a wind instrument), to make music’ > Hebrew *zāmar* [זָמַר] ‘to sing, to praise, to play (a musical instrument)’, *zimrāh* [זִמְרָה] ‘melody, song’; Aramaic *zamrūrā* ‘flute’, *zəmār* ‘music’; Old Akkadian *zamārum* ‘to sing’; Arabic *zamara* ‘to blow, to play (a wind instrument)’; Geez / Ethiopic *zammara* [ዘመረ] ‘to sing, to recite Psalms, to play a musical instrument, to celebrate with song, to praise or glorify in song’, *mazmūr* [መዝሙር] ‘psalm, hymn, song, psaltery, music, chorus’; Tigrinya *zämärä* ‘to sing, to recite Psalms’; Tigre *zämmära* ‘to sing, to chant’; Amharic *zämmärä* ‘to sing’; Gurage (Soddo) *zimmärä* ‘to sing’, (Chaha) *azämärä* ‘to sing a war song or an epic song, to bestow praise on someone or oneself’. Murtonen 1989:166—167; Klein 1987:200; Leslau 1979:709 and 1987:639. Egyptian *zbꜣ* ‘to play the flute’, **zbꜣiw* ‘flautist’. Faulkner 1962:220; Hannig 1995:684; Erman—Grapow 1921:144 and Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.3:433. Central Cushitic: Proto-Agaw **ʒəm-* ‘to dance, to sing’ > Xamir *ğim-* ‘to dance, to sing’; Xamta *gim-* ‘to sing’; Awngi / Awiya *ğəm-* ‘to dance, to sing’. Appleyard 2006:51 and 124.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *semilu* ‘to sneeze’; Koraga *cimiḷi* ‘to sneeze’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:240, no. 2774. Semantic development as in Old Icelandic *fnýsa* ‘to sneeze’ from the same stem found in Greek πνέω ‘to breathe, to blow’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **$d^h$em(H)-/*$d^h$ m̥(H)-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **$d^h$om(H)-*) ‘to blow (as wind or as to blow any wind instrument)’: Sanskrit *dhámati* ‘to blow (as wind or as to blow any wind instrument)’; Prakrit *dhamaṇĭ* ‘bellows’; Ashkun *domṓ* ‘wind’; Parachi *dhamắn* ‘wind’; Hindi *dhaũknā* ‘to blow (with bellows), to breathe on, to pant’; Lithuanian *dumiù*, *dùmti* ‘to blow, to smoke’; Old Church Slavic *dъmǫ*, *dǫti* ‘to blow’. Rix 1998a:133—134 **$d^h$meH-* ‘to blow’; Pokorny 1959:247—248 **dhem-*, **dhemə-* ‘to fly about like dust’; Walde 1927—1932.I:851—852 **dhem-*, **dhemā$^x$-*; Mann 1984—1987:189 **dhəm-* (**dhm̥-*, **dhm-*) ‘to blow, to puff, to swell’, 192 **dhm-*, **dhm̥-*, **dhmə-* (radical element of **dhəm-*, **dhŭm-*) ‘to blow, to swell’; Mallory—Adams 1997:147 **dhemh$_x$-* ‘to blow’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:92; Smoczyński 2007.1:133 ***$d^h$m̥H-C-*,

*$d^h$meH-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:88; Derksen 2008:114—115 *$d^h$(o)mH- and 2015:145 *$d^h$(o)mH-.

Buck 1949:4.54 sneeze (vb.); 10.38 blow (vb. intr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:348—349, no. 175.

301. Proto-Nostratic root *ʒum- (~ *ʒom-) or *ǯum- (~ *ǯom-):
(vb.) *ʒum- or *ǯum- 'to take, to seize';
(n.) *ʒum-a or *ǯum-a 'the act of taking or seizing'; (adj.) 'taking, seizing'

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʒum- 'to take, to seize': Semitic: Akkadian *zummū* 'to lack, to miss, to be deprived of; to cause to miss, to deprive of'. Central Chadic *ʒum- 'to rob' > Logone *zum* 'to rob'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:547, no. 2632, *ʒum- 'to rob'.
B. Dravidian: Kolami *sum-* (*sumt-*) 'to catch, to seize, to buy'; Naikṛi *sum-* 'to catch, to seize, to buy; to lay'; Naiki (of Chanda) *sum-* 'to buy, to catch, to hold'; Parji *cumm-* 'to seize, to catch hold of'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:232, no. 2679.

Buck 1949:11.58 rob, robber; 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of.

302. Proto-Nostratic (reduplicated) (n.) *ʒuʒ-a (< *ʒu-ʒu-) 'tip, point' (> 'nipple, breast'):

A. (?) Afrasian: Semitic: Hebrew *zīz* [זִיז] 'nipple, full breast' (a hapax legomenon in the Bible, occurring in Isaiah 66:11); Arabic *zīza* 'udder (breast, teat)' (vulgar); Akkadian *zīzu* 'teat'. Klein 1987:197; Koehler—Baumgartner 1958:254.
B. Dravidian: Proto-Dravidian *cu-kkay 'spot, dot, point' (> 'star'): Tamil *cukkai* 'star' (Telugu loan); Kannaḍa *cukke* 'small mark, dot'; Telugu *cukka* 'star, spot, dot, drop'; Kolami *sukka* 'star'; Naiki (of Chanda) *cukkin* 'star'; Naikṛi *cukka* 'star'; Parji *cukka* 'star'; Gadba *cukka* 'drop of rain', *sukka* 'star'; Gondi *sukkum* 'star'; Koṇḍa *suka* 'star'; Pengo *huka* 'star'; Manḍa *hukeriŋ* 'star'; Kui *suka* 'star'; Kuwi *hūka*, *kukka* 'star'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:229, no. 2646; Krishnamurti 2003:13 *cukk-*V* 'star'.
C. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated) *ʒuʒu- 'breast (female)': Georgian *ʒuʒu-* 'breast (female)'; Mingrelian *ʒuʒu-* 'breast (female)'; Laz *buʒ-* 'breast (female)' (perhaps a loan from or influenced by Modern Greek βυζί 'breast' or Northwest Caucasian (Circassian): Bždux *bəʒə* 'woman's breast'; Kabardian *bəʒ* 'woman's breast'). Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:481 *ʒu-; Fähnrich 1994:223 and 2007:598 *ʒu-; Schmidt 1962:153; Klimov 1964:235 *ʒuʒu- and 1998:281—282 *ʒuʒu- 'breast (female)'.
D. Proto-Indo-European (reduplicated) *$d^h$ud$^h$d$^h$-o- 'nipple' (> 'anything having the size or shape of a nipple: lump, knot, dot, etc.'): Late Latin

*dudda* ‘nurse, nanny’ (loan from unknown source); Old High German *tutto*, *tutta* ‘nipple’ (New High German [dial.] *Tütte*); Middle High German (dim.) *tüttel* ‘nipple’ (New High German *Tüttel* ‘point, dot, jot’); Dutch *dot* ‘lump, small knot’; Old English *dott* ‘speck, head (of a boil)’; East Frisian *dotte*, *dot* ‘lump, clump’. Mann 1984—1987:215 **dhuddhlom* ‘pendant; penis’, 215 **dhuddhos*, *-ā*, *-i̯os* ‘tiny; tiny tot’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:799; Vercoullie 1898:61; Koolman 1879—1884.I:323—324; Onions 1966:285; Klein 1971:226; Walshe 1951:232. Possibly also the following Greek forms: τυτθός ‘(of children) little, small, young’, (pl.) τυτθά (in Homeric only: τυτθὰ διατμήξας ‘cut small’), (adv.) τυτθόν ‘a little, a bit’, (Doric) τυννός ‘small, little’. For discussion, cf. Boisacq 1950:993; Hofmann 1966:379; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1147; Frisk 1970—1973.II:949; Beekes 2010.II:1518 and II:1521.

Buck 1949:1,54 star; 4.41 breast (of woman); 12.352 point (sb. = sharp end). Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2767, **ʒ́üʒ́V* ~ **ʒ́üńʒ́A* ‘teat, female breast’.

## 22.14. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *cʰ

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| cʰ- | c- | c- | c- | tʰ- | č- | čʰ- | c- |
| -cʰ- | -c- | -c(c)- | -c- | -tʰ- | -č- | -čʰ- | -c(c)- |

303. Proto-Nostratic root *$c^hag$- (~ *$c^h$ə$g$-):
(vb.) *$c^hag$- ‘to prick, to pierce’;
(n.) *$c^hag$-$a$ ‘prick, sting, rupture’

A. Proto-Afrasian *$cag$- ‘to prick, to pierce’: Proto-Semitic *$cag$-$aʕ$- ‘to pierce’ > Ethiopic / Geez *sag$^{w}$ʿ$a$* [**ሰገዐ**], *sagūʿ$a$* [**ሰጎዐ**] ‘to perforate, to pierce through’; Tigrinya *säg$^{w}$ʿe*, *šäg$^{w}$ʿe* ‘to cut off, to pierce’. Leslau 1987:490. (?) Egyptian *sḏ* ‘(vb.) to break; to break into, to invade; to break open, to rupture; (n.) fracture, rupture’. Erman—Grapow 1921:176 and 1926—1963.4:373—375; Hannig 1995:790; Faulkner 1962:257. West Chadic: Hausa *tsaagàà* ‘to split, to crack, to rip; to make a cut or incisions in something’, *tsaagaa* ‘crack, slit’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:90, no. 373, *$cag$- ‘to break’.
B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *cakkhnā* (*cakkhyas*/*cakkos*) ‘to pierce with a prick, to prick, to penetrate into, to puncture, to cause a prickly sensation, to experience a prickly sensation’, (reflexive) *cakkhrnā* ‘to get tattooed, etc.’, *cakkhtaʔānā* ‘to cause to be pierced, tattooed’; Malto *caqe* ‘to sting, to pierce, to stab’ (also applied to the sowing of certain grains for which hoes are made in the earth), *caqro* ‘worm-eaten roots’, *caqtre* ‘to have the ears pierced’, *caqu* ‘shooting pains in the stomach’; Brahui *jaxxing* ‘to run into, to pierce’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:202, no. 2278.
C. Proto-Kartvelian *$cag$- ‘to prick, to pierce’: Laz *cig*- ‘to prick, to pierce’; Svan *cäg* ‘thorn’, *cag-ār* ‘prickly’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:444 *$cag$-; Fähnrich 2007:553 *$cag$-.

(?) Sumerian *ság* ‘to smite, to slay, to kill’.

304. Proto-Nostratic root *$c^haħ$- (~ *$c^h$ə$ħ$-):
(vb.) *$c^haħ$- ‘to crush, to pound, to grind, to beat, to bruise, to destroy’;
(n.) *$c^haħ$-$a$ ‘the act of crushing, beating, thrashing, pounding, grinding’;
(adj.) ‘crushing, beating, thrashing, pounding, grinding’

A. Proto-Afrasian *$caħ$- ‘to crush, to pound, to grind, to beat’: Proto-Semitic *$caħ$- (extended forms: *$caħ$-$ak$’-, *$caħ$-$an$-, *$caħ$-$al$-, *$caħ$-$ag$-, *$caħ$-$ak$-, *$caħ$-$aw/y$-, *$caħ$-$at$-) > Hebrew *sāḥāh* [סָחָה] (< *$caħ$-$aw/y$-) ‘to scrape’;

Akkadian *sāku* (< **caħ-ak-*) ‘to pound, to crush’; Arabic *saḥaḳa* ‘to crush, to pound, to bruise, to pulverize; to annihilate, to wipe out, to wear out’, *sāḥiḳ* ‘crushing’, *saḥana* ‘to crush, to pound, to bruise, to grind; to smooth by rubbing’, *saḥala* ‘to scrape off, to shave off, to peel; to smooth, to make smooth, to plane, to file’, *saḥāla* ‘filings, file dust’, *saḥaǧa* ‘to scrape off, to shave off, to rub off; to graze, to abrade, to strip off’, *saḥata* ‘to extirpate, to annihilate, to root out’, *saḥā* ‘to shovel or sweep away, to shave off (hair)’; Sabaean *sḥt* ‘to destroy’; Ḥarsūsi *seḥāḳ* ‘to crush, to grind fine’, *seḥāl* ‘to grind (a knife), to scratch’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *sḥaḳ* ‘to crush, to grind fine’, *sḥal* ‘to scratch, to grind (a knife)’; Mehri *səḥāḳ* ‘to crush, to mill, to grind fine’, *səḥāl* ‘to scratch, to grind (a knife)’; Ethiopic / Geez *saḥala* [ሰሐለ] ‘to sharpen’; Tigrinya *säḥalä* ‘to sharpen’; Tigre *säḥla* ‘to sharpen’; Amharic *salä* ‘to sharpen’; Gurage *sala* ‘razor made locally’. The Ethiopian forms may be loans from Arabic (cf. Leslau 1979:542). Murtonen 1989:298; Klein 1987:440; Leslau 1979:542 and 1987:493; Zammit 2002:216. (?) Egyptian *sḥm* (Old Kingdom *zḥm*) ‘to crush, to pound’. Faulkner 1962:238; Erman—Grapow 1921:167 and 1926—1963.4:215; Hannig 1995:736; Gardiner 1957:591. Berber: Kabyle *cəqq* (< **caħ-akʼ-*) ‘to split; to be split, cracked’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:98, no. 408, **cVḥaḳ-* ‘to cut, to break’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *cāttu* (*cātti*) ‘to beat, to thrash’, *cāttu* ‘beating, thrashing’; Kota *ca·t-* (*ca·ty-*) ‘to give a blow, to beat’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:214, no. 2450.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **cex-* ‘to grind, to crush’: Georgian *cex-* ‘to remove stubble’; Mingrelian *cax-* ‘to grind, to crush’; Svan *li-cēxw-e* ‘to mow’ (Georgian loan). Klimov 1964:228 **c₁exw-* ‘to pound, to crush’ and 1998:264 **cex-* ‘to remove stubble’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:447 **cex-*; Fähnrich 2007:557 **cexw-*; Schmidt 1962:149.

D. Indo-European: Hittite (1st sg. pres. act.) *za-aḫ-mi* ‘to hit, to beat’; (nom. sg.) *za-aḫ-ḫa-iš* ‘battle, war’; derivatives: (1st sg. pres. act.) *za-aḫ-ḫi-ya-mi* ‘to battle (someone)’, (impf. reduplicated) *za-aḫ-za-aḫ-ḫi-eš-ke/a-* ‘to battle fiercely’; (3rd sg. imp. act.) *za-aḫ-ḫur-ra-id-du* ‘to break, to crush’; (acc. sg.) *za-aḫ-ra-in* ‘knocker’ (?). Friedrich 1961:256—258; Kloekhorst 2008b:1019—1020, 1021—1022, 1023, and 1023—1024. These may be relic forms in which an original initial dental affricate has been preserved in Hittite. Though Kloekhorst compares Greek σῆμα ‘sign, mark’, σῶμα ‘corpse’, and σῖτος ‘grain, food’, there are no sure non-Anatolian cognates. Sanskrit *tāla-ḥ* ‘clapping of hands’, *tā́ḍa-ḥ* ‘beating, striking; blow, thump, knock’, *tāḍáyati* ‘to beat, to punish’ are suggestive, though not without their own problems. Cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:492—493 and I:498.

Buck 1949:5.56 grind; 9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.31 rub. Bomhard 1996a:222—223, no. 633.

305. Proto-Nostratic root *$c^h$*al-* (~ *$c^h$*əl-*):
(vb.) *$c^h$*al-* ‘to cut, to split, to cleave, to break off or apart’;
(n.) *$c^h$*al-a* ‘cut, crack, split; stroke, blow’
Derivative:
(n.) *$c^h$*al-a* ‘part, piece, chip, fragment’

A. Proto-Afrasian **cal-* ‘to cut, to split, to cleave, to break off or apart’: Proto-Semitic **cal-aʕ-* ‘to split, to cleave’ > Arabic *saliʿa* ‘to split, to cleave; to break open, to burst’, *salʿ*, *silʿ* ‘crack, fissure, rift’; Hebrew *selaʿ* [סֶלַע] ‘cliff, crag’; Aramaic *sīlʿā* ‘rock’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *sélaʿ* ‘to cut out the cheek (of a slaughtered animal)’, *sɛlʿ* ‘cheek’. Murtonen 1989:301; Klein 1987:448. Proto-Semitic **cal-at-* ‘to cut, to split, to cleave, to break off or apart’ > Akkadian *salātu* (also spelled *šalātu*) ‘to split off, to split, to cut; to split into many parts, to cut through, to cut up; to be split apart’, *saltu* ‘a cut’, *siltu* ‘shaving, splinter’, *silittu* ‘splitting off, forking off’; Arabic *salata* ‘to extract, to pull out; to chop off (something, especially a part of the body)’; Geez / Ethiopic *sallata* [ሰለጠ] ‘to sift, to split’; Tigrinya *sälätä* ‘to remove a plant from its stem, to peel off’; Tigre *səllatat* ‘notches, cuts’, *šälta* ‘to destroy’; Amharic *šällätä* ‘to cut, to shear’. Leslau 1987:500—501.

B. Dravidian: Tuḷu *selè* ‘crack, flaw (as in a stone)’; Telugu *selagu*, *selayu*, *celagu*, *celavu* ‘to cut’, *sela* ‘hole’; Kuṛux *calxnā* ‘to open, to uncover’, *calxrnā* ‘to open (intr.)’; Malto *calgo* ‘to split or break open’, *calgro* ‘torn asunder’; Brahui *caling*, *calēnging* ‘to become cracked, split’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2377. Tamil *cāl* ‘furrow in plowing, track of a sower while passing and repassing in sowing’, *cālai* ‘street, avenue, road’; Malayalam *cāl* ‘furrow, channel, track, line, direction’; Kota *ca·l* ‘furrow’; Toda *so·* ‘furrow’; Kannaḍa *sāl* ‘a continuous line, a furrow’; Koḍagu *ca·llï* ‘line, furrow, one complete plowing of a field, people related in any way by descent from a common ancestor’; Tuḷu *sālu̯* ‘line, row, furrow’; Telugu *cālu* ‘line, row, furrow, groove, track’, *cālupu* ‘line, row, series’; Gondi *āl* ‘furrow’ (loan from Telugu); Koṇḍa *sāl* ‘furrow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:216, no. 2471.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **cel-* ‘to cut, to mow’: Georgian *cel-* ‘to mow’; Mingrelian *cel-* ‘to mow’; Laz *(n)cal-*, *(m)cal-* ‘to cut into pieces’. Schmidt 1962:149; Klimov 1964:223 **cel-* and 1998:263 **cel-* ‘to mow’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:445—446 **cel-*; Fähnrich 2007:554—555 **cel-*. Proto-Kartvelian **cel-* ‘scythe’: Georgian *cel-* ‘scythe’; Mingrelian *cal-* ‘scythe’. Klimov 1964:223 **cel-* and 1998:262—263 **cel-* ‘scythe’. Perhaps also: Proto-Kartvelian **cal-*/**cel-*/**cl-* ‘to remove, to take off, to tear off’: Georgian *cal-*/*cl-* ‘to remove, to take off’; Svan *cel-*/*cl-* ‘to tear, to be torn into two parts, to split into two parts’, *cil* ‘bark (of tree)’. Fähnrich 2007:554 **cal-*/**cel-*/**cil-*; Klimov 1998:263 **cel-* : **cl-* ‘to peel, to strip off’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:444—445 **cal-*/**cel-*/**cil-*.

D. Proto-Altaic *$č^halu$- ‘(vb.) to cut; (adj.) sharp’: Proto-Tungus *$čal$- ‘(vb.) to cut off; to engrave, to carve; (n.) bed in a crossbow; arrowhead’ > Manchu *$čoli$*- ‘to engrave, to carve’, *$čolikū$* ‘an engraving knife’; Evenki *$čalī$* ‘arrowhead’; Negidal *$čōlį$*- ‘to cut off’; Ulch *$čālụ$*- ‘to cut off; to engrave, to carve’, *$čaγlį$*, *$čaįlqa$* ‘bed in a crossbow’; Orok *$čaγla$* ‘bed in a crossbow’; Nanay / Gold *$čālį$*- ‘to cut off; to engrave, to carve’; Oroch *$čali$* ‘bed in a crossbow’. Proto-Mongolian *$čali$* ‘sharp; sharp instrument, crowbar’ > Written Mongolian *$čali$* ‘sharp’, *$čalir$*, *$čaril$* ‘iron bar for demolishing rocks, breaking ice; crowbar, wrecking bar’; Khalkha *$calir$*, *$caril$* ‘sharp instrument, crowbar’; Buriat *$salī$*- ‘to be sharp’; Kalmyk *$caĺə$*, *$cälĺə$* ‘sharp’, *$caĺr$*, *$cälĺr$* ‘sharp instrument, crowbar’; Ordos *$čalir$* ‘sharp instrument, crowbar’. Proto-Turkic *$čal$*- ‘(vb.) to knock (down), to hit, to agitate; to whet; to slaughter; to mow; to sting, to pierce; to sweep; to chop; to sharpen; (n.) scythe; whetstone; mowing; blade’ > Old Turkic *$čal$*- ‘to knock (down)’; Karakhanide Turkic *$čal$*- ‘to knock (down)’; Turkish *$çal$*- ‘to give a blow to, to knock (on a door), to strike (the hour)’, *$çalım$* ‘stroke, blow, swagger’, *$çalın$*- ‘to be struck’; Gagauz *$čalïm$* ‘blade’; Azerbaijani *$čal$*- ‘to knock (down), to hit; to sting, to pierce; to sweep’, *$čalγï$* ‘a kind of broom’; Turkmenian *$čal$*- ‘to sharpen, to whet; to sweep; to sting, to pierce’, *$čalgï$* ‘scythe; whetstone’; Uzbek *$čal$*- ‘to knock (down), to hit’, *$čalγi$ $ụrɔq$* ‘scythe’; Uighur *$čal$*- ‘to knock (down), to hit’, *$čalγa$* ‘scythe’; Karaim *$cal$*- ‘to knock (down), to hit, to agitate; to mow’, *$calqï$*, *$calγï$* ‘scythe’; Bashkir *$salï$*- ‘to slaughter’; Tatar *$čal$*- ‘to knock (down), to hit, to slaughter’, *$čalγï$* ‘scythe’; Kirghiz *$čal$*- ‘to knock (down), to hit, to slaughter’, *$čalγï$* ‘scythe’, *$čalγïn$* ‘mowing’; Noghay *$šal$*- ‘to knock (down), to hit’, *$šalγï$* ‘scythe’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *$čalγï$* ‘scythe’; Kazakh *$šal$*- ‘to trip’, *$šalγï$* ‘scythe’, *$šalγïn$* ‘mowing’; Yakut *$sālïn$*- ‘to fall abruptly’; Tuva *$šalï$*- ‘to sharpen, to whet’; Chuvash *$śol$*- ‘to mow’, *$śolъk$* ‘a kind of broom’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:413—414 *$č‘alu$* ‘sharp; to cut’.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian *$calʁa$*- ‘to crush or press down on’ > Koryak *$calʲʁa$*- ‘to crush, to press down on’; Alyutor *$salʲʁa$*- ‘to crush, to press down on’. Fortescue 2005:43. Assuming semantic development from ‘to cut or break in pieces, to rub to pieces’ > ‘to crush’.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut (vb.); 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.31 rub; 12.23 separate (vb.).

306. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$c^hal$-*a* ‘part, piece, chip, fragment’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) *$c^hal$*- ‘to cut, to split, to cleave, to break off or apart’;
(n.) *$c^hal$-*a* ‘cut, crack, split; stroke, blow’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *calli* ‘small pieces of stone or glass, potsherd, small chips (as of stone), rubble, small flat shells used for lime, small copper

coin’; Malayalam *calli* ‘chip, potsherds, copper cash’; Kannaḍa *jalli* ‘broken stone, metal’; Tuḷu *calli* ‘chip, potsherd’, *jalli* ‘broken stones’; Telugu *jalli* ‘road metal, broken stone’; Parji *jalub* ‘small stone chips’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2381.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **cal-* ‘part, piece’: Georgian *cal-* ‘part, one’; Laz *co(r)-* ‘piece’. Klimov 1998:262 **cal-* ‘part, piece’.

Buck 1949:13.23 part (sb.).

307. Proto-Nostratic root **c$^{h}$uk$^{h}$-* (~ **c$^{h}$ok$^{h}$-*):
(vb.) **c$^{h}$uk$^{h}$-* ‘to close, to shut, to cover’;
(n.) **c$^{h}$uk$^{h}$-a* ‘closure, cover, stoppage’

A. Proto-Afrasian **cuk-* ‘to close, to shut, to cover’: Proto-Semitic **cak-ak-* ‘to close, to shut, to cover’ > Hebrew *sāχaχ* [סָכַךְ] ‘to screen, to cover, to thatch; to plait, to interweave’, *māsāχ* [מָסָךְ] ‘covering, screen’; Aramaic *səχaχ* ‘to interlace, to weave, to fence in’; Arabic *sakka* ‘to lock, to bolt (the door)’; Akkadian *sakāku* ‘to plug up, to block’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *sekk* ‘to sew, to close’; Tigrinya *säk̲$^{w}$ʿe*, *säk̲ʿe* ‘string’; Tigre *säkʿa* ‘thread’; Gurage *säkkäkä* ‘to drive a peg or a pointed object into the ground or the wall’, *mäskäk* ‘peg’; Amharic *säkkäkä* ‘to thread through, to drive through’, *säkka* ‘string, thread’; Harari *säkäka* ‘to string, to put in a row’. Murtonen 1989:299; Klein 1987:446; Leslau 1963:139 and 1979:540. Proto-Semitic **cak-ar-* ‘to shut, to close; to plug up, to block’ > Hebrew *sāχar* [סָכַר] ‘to shut up, to stop up’; Syriac *səχar* ‘to shut, to obstruct’; Arabic *sakara* ‘to shut, to close, to lock, to bolt’; Akkadian *sekēru* ‘to dam up, to close, to clog (a watercourse, a canal); to block (parts of the body)’, *sikkūru* ‘bolt’. Murtonen 1989:300; Klein 1987:446. (?) Berber: Tuareg *əskəm* ‘to withhold, to hold back (a small quantity of something which one is giving)’, *askum* ‘a stick with a hook used to grab the branches of trees in order to make it easier to cut them off’; Wargla *əskəm* ‘to withhold, to hold back, to stop, to halt’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tasskimt* ‘a stick with a hook, used to break dried branches’. Highland East Cushitic **c’uk-* ~ **cuk-* ‘to close (with a lid)’ > Bambala *cuk-* ‘to close (with a lid)’; Burji *c’uk-*, *c’ukk-* ~ *cuk-* ‘to cover (a pot), to close’, *c’ukká* ‘cover, stopper’. Sasse 1982:49; Hudson 1989:184. Central Chadic **ca-cVkwa-* ‘to stop up’ > Mofu *sasəkw* ‘to stop up’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:97, no. 407, **cuk-* ‘to close’; Takács 2011a:21 **c-k/g* ‘to close’.

B. Proto-Uralic **čukka-* ‘to close, to shut, to cover’: Hungarian *csuk-* ‘to close, to shut, to shut up, to shut in’; Votyak / Udmurt *ćoktal-*, *čoktal-* ‘to cover, to stop up, to stuff up (for example, an opening)’, *ćoksal-*, *čoksal-* ‘to cover; to stop up, to stuff up (for example, an opening)’, *ćoktät-* ‘stopper, cork; lid’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *takalŋa-* ‘to hide (tr.)’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *tekaa-* ‘to hide (intr.)’; Selkup Samoyed *čagaža-*,

*čakača-*, *takata-* ‘to shut up, to lock up, to shut’; Kamassian *tåktõ* ‘bolt, lock, contrivance used for shutting; (fish)-weir’, *tåktə-* ‘to close, to shut’. Collinder 1955:7 and 1977:28; Rédei 1986—1988:62 **čukka-*; Décsy 1990:98 [**chuka*] ‘to shut, to block’.

Buck 1949:7.23 lock (sb.); 12.25 shut, close (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 351—352, no. 177.

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| c’- | c’- | c- | c’- | t’- | č- | č- | c- |
| -c’- | -c’- | -c(c)- | -c’- | -t’- | -č- | -č- | -c- |

308. Proto-Nostratic root **c’al-* (~ **c’əl-*) or **č’al-* (~ **č’əl-*):
(vb.) **c’al-* or **č’al-* ‘to stretch out, to extend, to exceed; to be wealthy, to prosper, to do well’;
(n.) **c’al-a* or **č’al-a* ‘wealth, prosperity, abundance’

A. Proto-Afrasian **c’al-* ‘(vb.) to stretch out, to extend, to exceed; to be wealthy, to prosper, to do well; (n.) wealth, prosperity’: Proto-Semitic **c’al-aḥ-* ‘to stretch out, to extend, to exceed; to be wealthy, to prosper, to do well’ > Hebrew *ṣālaḥ* [צָלַח] ‘to advance, to prosper’; Aramaic *ṣəlaḥ* ‘to prosper’; Arabic *ṣalaḥa* ‘to be in good or perfect condition’, *ṣilḥ* ‘in good condition, perfect’, *ṣalāḥ* ‘soundness, good or healthy condition; beautiful order; peace; good actions, justice’; Sabaean *ṣlḥ* ‘to make successful, to prosper’; Ḥarsūsi *ṣáyleḥ* ‘to be fat’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ṣélaḥ* ‘to be suitable, fine’, *eṣláḥ* ‘to do well’; Mehri *ṣáyləḥ* ‘to be fat’. Murtonen 1989:360; Klein 1987:548; Zammit 2002:256—257. Proto-Semitic **c’al-at’-* ‘to stretch, to extend’ > Arabic *ṣalṭaḥ* ‘wide, broad’, *ṣulāṭiḥ* ‘spacious, roomy, wide’. Egyptian *ḏ͗i* ‘(arm) to stretch out, to extend’. Hannig 1995:992—993; Faulkner 1962:318; Erman—Grapow 1921:218 and 1926—1963.5:514; Gardiner 1957:603 (*ḏ͗*). Berber: Tuareg *əẓẓəl* ‘to make right, to rectify one thing, to be made right, to go right, to rectify, to be rectified, to go right, to be right, to extend, to expand’, *ẓənnəẓẓəl* ‘to stretch’; Siwa *əẓẓəl* ‘to extend the hand’; Ghadames *əẓẓəl* ‘to offer, to extend, to be extended’; Mzab *ẓẓəl* ‘to offer, to extend, to lengthen’; Tamazight *ẓẓəl* ‘to extend, to be extended’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əẓẓəl* ‘to stretch, to extend’; Riff *əẓẓəl*, *əẓẓər* ‘to stretch, to extend’; Kabyle *əẓẓəl* ‘to offer, to extend, to be extended’. Proto-East Cushitic **ɗˌaal-* ‘to exceed, to be long(er)’ > Saho *ḍel-* ‘to be long’; Gidole *c’aal-* ‘to be better, wealthier, taller’; Konso *ɟaal-* ‘to exceed, to be bigger, to be longer’; Galla / Oromo *c’aal-* ‘to exceed’. Sasse 1979:27.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *cāl* (*cālv-*, *cānr-*) ‘to be abundant, full; to be suitable, fitting; to be great, noble; to be sufficient’, *cāl* ‘fullness, abundance’, *cālpu* ‘excellence, nobility’; Malayalam *cāla* ‘richly, fully’; Kannaḍa *sāl*, *sālu* ‘to be sufficient or enough, to suffice’; Telugu *cālu* ‘to be able, capable; to bear, to endure; to be enough, sufficient’, *cālu* ‘sufficiency’, *cālami* ‘insufficiency, inability’, *cālika* ‘ability’, *cāla* ‘abundant; abundantly’; Kolami *sāl* ‘to be able’; Gondi *hāl* ‘completely’; Konḍa *sāl* ‘to be capable of, to be suitable’; Kuwi *hāl* ‘to suffice, to be enough to’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:216, no. 2470.

C. Indo-European: Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *za-lu-ga-nu-zi* ‘to postpone, to delay’, (verbal noun) *za-lu-ga-nu-mar* ‘postponement, delay’; (derivative) (3rd sg. pret. act.) *za-lu-ki-iš-ta* ‘to take long’. Friedrich 1961:258—259; Melchert 1994a:67, 110, 172, and 175; Kloekhorst 2008b:1027—1028. These may be relic forms in which an original initial dental affricate has been preserved in Hittite. Though Kloekhorst considers these forms to be derived from Proto-Indo-European **dlug$^{h}$-* (cf. Hittite [pl.] *da-lu-ga-e-eš* ‘long’; Sanskrit *dīrghá-ḥ* ‘long’; Greek δολιχός ‘long’; Old Church Slavic *dlьgъ* ‘long’; Russian *dólgij* [долгий] ‘long’; etc.), the consensus (Eichner, Laroche, Melchert, etc.) seems to be that two separate stems are involved here: (1) *daluki-* and (2) **zaluki-*.

D. Proto-Altaic **čālo* ‘full, abundant’: Proto-Tungus **ǯalu-* ‘to fill, to be filled’, **ǯalu(m)* ‘full’ > Manchu *ǯalu-* ‘to be full, to be fulfilled, to fulfill’, *ǯalu* ‘full; fullness’, *ǯalun* ‘fullness’, *ǯalukiya-* ‘to fill out, to fill up, to fill a quota’, *ǯalukan* ‘somewhat full’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ǯalū* ‘full’; Evenki *ǯalum* ‘full’; Lamut / Even *ǯalụ-* ‘full’; Negidal *ǯalum* ‘full’; Jurchen *ǯaw-lu-χa* ‘full’; Ulch *ǯalụ(n)* ‘full’; Orok *dalụmžị* ‘full’; Nanay / Gold *ʒalo* ‘full’; Oroch *ǯalu-* ‘full’; Solon *ǯalṻ* ‘full’. Proto-Mongolian **del-* ‘(vb.) to expand; (adj.) full, abundant; wide, broad’ > Mongolian *delge-* ‘to spread, to display, to lay out, to unroll, to unwrap; to open, to stretch, to elongate; to propagate’, *delger* ‘extensive, vast; full, abundant; flourishing’, *delgere-* ‘to unfold, to grow, to increase, to expand, to spread, to become extensive; to develop, to bloom, to blossom’, *delgerel* ‘spreading, propagation, development’, *deli-* ‘to stretch’, *delimel* ‘stretched, extended’, *delbeg* ‘large, wide; plentiful(ly), abundant(ly), bountiful(ly)’, *delbeger* ‘wide, broad, large’, *delbei-* ‘to be or become wide or broad (usually of objects)’, *delegüü* ‘large, vast, spacious, wide extensive’; Khalkha *delger* ‘full, abundant; wide’, *delge-*, *dele-* ‘to expand’, *delχiy*, *delū* ‘wide, broad’; Buriat *delger* ‘full, abundant; wide’; Kalmyk *delgṛ* ‘full, abundant; wide’, *del-* ‘to expand’; Ordos *delger* ‘full, abundant; wide’; Dagur *delgere-*, *delgē-* ‘to develop’; Monguor *derge-* ‘to unwrap, to unfold’. Poppe 1955:157. Proto-Turkic **dōl-* ‘full’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *tolu* ‘full’; Karakhanide Turkic *tolu* ‘full’; Turkish *dolu* ‘full’; Gagauz *dolu* ‘full’; Azerbaijani *dolu* ‘full’; Turkmenian *dōlï* ‘full’; Tatar *tulï* ‘full’; Bashkir *tulï* ‘full’; Karaim *tolï* ‘full’; Kirghiz *tolo* ‘full’; Kazakh *tolï* ‘full’; Uzbek *tụla* ‘full’; Uighur *tola*, *tolγan* ‘full’; Noghay *tolï* ‘full’; Tuva *dolu* ‘full’; Khakas *tol-* ‘to fill’; Chuvash *tol-* ‘to fill’, *tolli* ‘full’; Yakut *tuol-* ‘to fill’, *toloru* ‘full’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *tolo* ‘full’; Dolgan *tuol-* ‘to fill’, *toloru* ‘full’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:390—391 **čālo* ‘full; to fill’.

Sumerian *zal* ‘to become wide’.

Buck 1949:11.42 wealth, riches; 11.51 rich; 12.57 long; 12.58 tall; 12.61 wide, broad.

309. Proto-Nostratic root **c'ar-* (~ **c'ər-*) stem indicating downward motion:
(vb.) **c'ar-* 'to slip or slide down, to fall down, to roll down, to lean or bend down, to throw down';
(n.) **c'ar-a* 'the act of slipping, sliding, falling, or rolling down';
(particle) **c'ar-* 'down'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **c'ar-aʕ-* 'to throw down, to fell, to bring to the ground' > Arabic *ṣaraʿa* 'to throw down, to fell, to bring to the ground; to be epileptic, to have an epileptic fit', *ṣarīʿ*, *maṣrūʿ* 'thrown to the ground, felled; epileptic; demented, insane, mad, crazy'; Epigraphic South Arabian *ṣrʿ* 'to throw down, to humiliate'. Zammit 2002:253. According to several scholars, the following are related to the Arabic and Epigraphic South Arabian forms cited here: Hebrew *ṣāraʿaθ* [צָרַעַת] 'leprosy', *ṣārūăʿ* [צָרוּעַ] 'suffering from a skin eruption, struck with a skin disease'; Aramaic *ṣarʿaθā* 'leprosy'; Geez / Ethiopic *ṣərnəʿt* [ጸርንዕት] 'scab, malignant ulcer', *ṣərnəʾ* [ጸርንእ] (for **ṣərnəʿ*) 'eczema, poisonous snake' (probably rather 'ulcer' or 'disease caused by a poisonous snake'); Akkadian *ṣennītu*, *ṣennittu*, *ṣirnittu* 'a skin disease'. Murtonen 1989:367; Klein 1987:557; Leslau 1987:564. Berber: Tuareg *ənḍər* 'to jump quickly from one's seat, to fall suddenly from one's seat; to be or become angry'; Ghadames *ənḍər* 'to throw, to shoot, to drop'; Nefusa *ənṭar* 'to fall, to drop, to abort'; Wargla *ənḍər* 'to make fall, to drop, to have a miscarriage, to abort'; Tamazight *ḍər* 'to go down, to slope down, to find', *sḍər* 'to go down, to remove, to lay (eggs)', *taḍuri* 'descent, fall'; Riff *nḍər* 'to throw'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ḍər* 'to fall'; Kabyle *ḍər* 'to fall', *ḍḍər* 'to jump, to ascend and descend suddenly'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *cari* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) 'to slip away, to slide down, to roll, to tumble, to stumble down, to give way, to yield, to lean, to incline, to be aslant, to slope', *cari* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to cause to slip or roll, to topple, to pour down, to make slant, to incline', *cari* 'declivity, slope of a mountain', *carivu* 'sliding, rolling, slipping down, slope, declivity', *carukku* (*carukki-*) 'to slip', *caruvu* (*caruvi-*) 'to slip away, to slide down', *caruvu* 'declivity, steep side of a rock', *caruval* 'sloping, slope'; Malayalam *cariyuka* 'to slide, slip, or roll down; to lean, to bend', *carikka* 'to bend, to make to lean sideways, to lower a vessel, to pour', *carippikka* 'to cause to lean', *cariccal* 'a low shed, a side room', *carivu*, *caru* 'inclination, slope, bending', *carkuka* 'to glide, to slide'; Kota *jarv-* (*jard-*) 'to slide and fall, to slide down a slope', *jarv-* (*jart-*) 'to cause to slip and fall'; Kannaḍa *sari* 'to move, to go, to go or move to one side, to move out of place, to slide, to go to the right or left, to slip, to fall down, to run off, to run away, to put on one side', *sari* 'sliding, flight, state of being aside, precipice, deep

ravine’, *sa̲ri* ‘steep precipice’, *jari* ‘to slip or fall, to slide, to collapse, to slip away’, *jari* ‘ravine’, *jaragu*, *jarigu*, *jarugu* ‘to slip, to slide, to roll down, to move aside, to elapse (time)’, *saraku*, *saruku* ‘to slip, to slide, to move aside, to give place, to yield’; (?) Koḍagu *tari-* (*tariv-*, *tariñj-*) ‘to bend to one side (intr.)’, *tari-* (*tarip-*, *taric-*) ‘to bend to one side (tr.)’; Telugu *jaragu*, *jarugu* ‘to pass, to elapse (time), to occur, to be current or usual, to come to pass, to slide, to glide, to slip, to creep, to crawl, to move on, to be slippery’, *jarapu* ‘to spend or pass (time), to push or move forward’, *jaruguḍu* ‘slipping, sliding’, (?) *s(r)aggu* ‘to decrease, to grow less, to be diminished, to abate, to sink, to go down’, *ca̲ri*, *ca̲riya* ‘cliff, precipice, side of a hill or mountain’; Kolami *jarāg-* ‘to slip’; Kuwi *jarginai* ‘to occur’; Malto *jarqe* ‘to be dropped, to fall’, *jarqtre* ‘to drop, to let fall’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:208, no. 2360.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **c’ar-* (preverb of direction) ‘down, away, off’: Georgian *c’a(r)-* (preverb) ‘away, off’; Mingrelian *c’o-* (preverb) ‘down, below’; Laz *c’o-* (preverb) ‘down, below’. Klimov 1964:241—242 **ça-* and 1998:292—293 **çar-* (preverb of direction) ‘down, away, off’; Fähnrich 2007:616—617 **çar-*. Proto-Kartvelian (adverb) **c’are* ‘down, downwards’: Georgian *c’are* ‘down, downwards’; Mingrelian *c’ale* ‘down’; Laz *c’ale* ‘down’. Klimov 1964:242 **ça-re*.

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *t'arqaγaj-* ‘to stumble’, *t'arqal'u* ‘curve (of a road or a river)’, *čarqal'uu* ‘something curved, bent’, *čarqaγarej-* ‘to twist (a joint)’. Nikolaeva 2006:126. Assuming semantic development from ‘to stumble, to fall down’.

Buck 1949:10.42 slide, slip (vb.).

310. Proto-Nostratic root **c’ar-* (~ **c’ər-*) or **č’ar-* (~ **č’ər-*):
(vb.) **c’ar-* or **č’ar-* ‘to be or become visible, clear, evident; to reveal, to make known, to make clear, to clarify’;
(n.) **c’ar-a* or **č’ar-a* ‘visibility, clarity’; (adj.) ‘visible, clear, evident’

A. Proto-Afrasian **c’ar-* ‘to be or become visible, clear, evident; to make clear, to clarify’: Proto-Semitic **c’ar-* (extended forms: **c’ar-aḥ-*, **c’ar-aw/y-*) ‘to be or become clear, evident; to make clear, to clarify’ > Arabic *ṣaraḥa* ‘to make clear, to clarify, to explain’, *ṣaruḥa* ‘to become clear, evident’, *ṣarīḥ* ‘clear, distinct, obvious, plain, evident’, *ṣarā* ‘to look at, to gaze’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṣarya* [ጸርየ] ‘to be purified, refined, cleansed, filtered’; Tigrinya *ṣäräyä* ‘to be pure, clear’; Tigre *ṣära* ‘to be clear, pure, healthy’; Amharic *ṭärra* ‘to be pure, to be clarified, to be clear, to brighten, to clear up (weather)’, *aṭärra* ‘to purify, to make clear, to clean, to elucidate’; Gurage *ṭärra* ‘to be filtered, purified, clear’. Leslau 1979:629 and 1987:564. Berber: Tawlemmet *əẓẓəru* ‘iris (pupil of the eye)’; Nefusa *ẓər* ‘to see’; Siwa *ẓər* ‘to see’; Wargla *ẓər* ‘to see, to look at; to know’;

Mzab *ẓər* ‘to see, to imagine’; Tamazight *ẓər* ‘to see, to look at; to know; to pay a visit’, *iẓri* ‘eyesight, eyes’; Riff *ẓər* ‘to see, to look at, to examine’; Kabyle *ẓər* ‘to see; to know’, *iẓri* ‘eyesight, eyes’; Chaoia *ẓər* ‘to see, to look at; to know, to foresee’; Zenaga *zar* ‘to see; to find by accident, to discover’.

B. Proto-Dravidian **cārr-* ‘to reveal, to make known, to make clear, to clarify’: Tamil *cārru* (*cārri-*) ‘to publish, to announce, to explain in detail, to speak, to mention, to praise, to beat (as a drum)’; Malayalam *cārruka* ‘to speak loud, to call on gods and sing (as astrologers)’; Kota *ca·r-* (*ca·ry-*) ‘to tell news in all places’; Kannaḍa *sāru* ‘to cry out, to proclaim aloud, to publish’; Tuḷu *sāriyuni* ‘to proclaim, to publish, to preach, to warn’, *sāriyāvuni* ‘to cause to proclaim or publish’; Telugu *cāṭu* ‘to proclaim, to declare, to announce, to publish, to make known to the public’, *cāṭimpu* ‘proclamation, announcements, publishing by beat of drum’, *cāṭuva* ‘proclamation’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:217, no. 2486.

C. Proto-Indo-European **t’er-*/**t’or-*/**t’r̥-* ‘to be or become visible, clear, evident’: Sanskrit *dárpaṇa-ḥ* ‘mirror’; Old High German *zorft* ‘clear’; Greek δράω (= ὁράω) ‘to see, to look, to observe’, δρωπάζω ‘to gaze at’. Pokorny 1959:212 **der(ep)-* ‘to see’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:803 **derep-*; Boisacq 1950:203; Frisk 1970—1973.I:422; Beekes 2010.I:357; Hofmann 1966:55—56 **derep-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:300; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:22. Proto-Indo-European **t’erkʰ-*/**t’orkʰ-*/**t’r̥kʰ-* ‘to be or become visible, clear, evident; to see clearly’: Sanskrit *darś-* ‘to see, to behold, to look at, to regard, to consider; to see with the mind, to learn, to understand; to notice, to care for, to look into, to try, to examine’, *dr̥ṣṭá-ḥ* ‘seen, visible’, *dŕ̥ṣṭi-ḥ* ‘seeing, sight’, *dŕ̥śya-ḥ* ‘conspicuous, visible’, *darśá-ḥ* ‘sight, glimpse’; Greek δέρκομαι ‘to see clearly, to look at, to look on, to perceive’, δέρξις ‘sense of sight’, δράκος ‘eye’; Old Irish *derc* ‘eye’; Welsh *drych* ‘sight, appearance, mirror’; Gothic *ga-tarhjan* ‘to denote, to identify, to distinguish’; Old English *torht* ‘bright, beautiful, illustrious’, *torhtian* ‘to make clear, to show’; Old Saxon *toroht* ‘bright, clear’; Old High German *zoraht* ‘bright, clear’, *ougo-zorhtan* ‘to reveal’; Albanian *dritë* ‘light’. Rix 1998a:105 **derḱ-* ‘to look or glance at, to see, to behold’; Pokorny 1959:213 **derḱ-* ‘to look’; Walde 1927—1932.I:806—807 **derḱ-*; Mann 1984—1987:141 **derḱō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to see, to look, to notice’, 141 **derḱos* (**derḱs-*) ‘seeing, clear; sight, look’, 156 **dorḱ-* ‘sight’, 163 **dŕ̥ḱ-* (radical) ‘to see’, 164 **dŕ̥ḱsos*, *-ā*, *-i̯os* ‘vision’, 164 **dŕ̥ḱtis* ‘seeing, sight, brightness’; Watkins 1985:12 **derk-* and 2000:16 **derk-* ‘to see’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:217 **t’erḱ[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:186 **t’erḱʰ-* ‘to see’; Mallory—Adams 1997:505 **derḱ-* ‘to glance at’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.II:23—24, II:58, and II:61; Huld 1983:55 **dŕ̥ḱ-ti-*, **derḱ-*; Boisacq 1950:178 **derḱ-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:368; Hofmann 1966:55—56 **derḱ-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:264—265; Beekes 2010.I:317—318 **derḱ-*; Kroonen 2013:510 Proto-Germanic **tarhjan-* ‘to mark’; Orël 1998:75 and

2003:402 Proto-Germanic **tarxjanan*; Feist 1939:203 **derk̂-*; Lehmann 1986:150 **derk̂-*.

Buck 1949:6.96 mirror; 15.51 see; 15.52 look (vb.), look at; 15.53 sight (subj.); 15.54 sight (obj.), look (obj.), appearance; 17.34 clear, plain. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:354—355, no. 180.

311. Proto-Nostratic root **c’aw-* (~ **c’əw-*):
(vb.) **c’aw-* ‘to be or become dry, withered, emaciated, lean’;
(n.) **c’aw-a* ‘that which is withered, dry, lean, blighted’; (adj.) ‘dry, withered, lean, blighted’
Extended form:
(vb.) **c’aw-V-lʸ-* ‘to be or become dry, withered, emaciated, lean’;
(adj.) **c’aw-lʸ-a* ‘that which is withered, dry, lean, blighted’; (adj.) ‘dry, withered, lean, blighted’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *cavaḷai* ‘leanness of an infant not fed on mother’s milk, tenderness, immaturity’, *cavaṅku* (*cavaṅki-*) ‘to become lean, emaciated; to shrink, to subside; to become faint, to languish’, *cavu* ‘to become weak, to be emaciated’, *cāvi* ‘withered crop, blighted or empty grain’, *cāvaṭṭai* ‘withered grain, chaff; emaciated person, dried betel leaves’; Malayalam *cavala* ‘empty corn, hollowness, leanness’, *cāvi* ‘empty grain, blighted corn, cankerworm, palmerworm’; Tuḷu *cavuḷi* ‘old’; Telugu *cavile* ‘leanness, thinness’, *sāvi* ‘blasted stalk of withered corn’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:210, no. 2392.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **c’wel-* ‘dry stem, straw’: Georgian *c’vel-* ‘chaff’; Mingrelian *c’u-* ‘straw, stem’; Laz *c’u-* ‘straw, stem’, *o-c’val-e-* ‘chaff’; Svan *c’wi*, *c’uw* (< **c’wel-*) ‘stalk, stem’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:500—501 **çwel-*; Klimov 1998:294—295 **çwel-* ‘dry stem, straw’; Fähnrich 2007:622—623 **çwel-*.

Buck 1949:15.84 dry.

312. Proto-Nostratic root **c’ilʸ-* (~ **c’elʸ-*):
(vb.) **c’ilʸ-* ‘to strip off, to peel off, to pick, to pluck’;
(n.) **c’ilʸ-a* ‘peeling, picking, plucking’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *iḷi* ‘to strip off, to pluck’; Malayalam *ciḷikka* ‘(the rind of a fruit) to open from ripeness’; Tuḷu *culkuni* ‘to flay’; Parji *cilŋg-* ‘to peel off, to flake off (intr.)’, *cilkip-* (*cilkit-*) ‘to peel off, to scale off (tr.)’; Kui *slinga* (*slingi-*) ‘to be plucked, untied, loosened’, *slipka* (< **slik-p-*; *slikt-*) ‘to loosen, to untie, to pluck off’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:224, no. 2585.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **c’il-* ‘to pick (fruit, flowers)’: Georgian *c’il-* ‘to gather, to pick (fruit, flowers)’; Mingrelian *c’il-* ‘to pick (fruit, flowers)’; Laz *c’il-*

‘to pick (fruit, flowers)’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:502—503 **çil-*; Fähnrich 2007:625 **çil-*; Klimov 1998:296 **çil-* ‘to pick (fruit, flowers)’.

Sumerian *zil* ‘to peel off, to strip off’.

313. Proto-Nostratic root **c’ir$^{y}$-* (~ **c’er$^{y}$-*):
(vb.) **c’ir$^{y}$-* ‘to squeak, to chirp, to cheep, to peep’;
(n.) **c’ir$^{y}$-a* ‘a kind of bird’

A. Proto-Afrasian **c’ir-* ‘a kind of bird’: Semitic: Tigrinya *č̣əru* ‘a kind of bird’; Gurage (Masqan) *č̣ərri*, (Gogot) *č̣ərriyä* ‘a kind of bird’; Amharic *č̣əre* ‘a kind of bird’. These forms may be borrowings from Cushitic. Leslau 1979:187. Egyptian *ḏrt*, *ḏryt*, *ḏrw* ‘kite’ (Demotic *tr-t* ‘bird of prey’); Coptic *tre* [ⲧⲣⲉ] ‘kite’. Faulkner 1962:323; Hannig 1995:1011; Erman—Grapow 1921:221 and 1926—1963.5:596 and 5:601; Černý 1976:194; Vycichl 1983:220. Lowland East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *č̣irrii* ‘a kind of bird’. Omotic: Ome *č̣eraa* ‘bird’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:105, no. 443, **çir-* ‘bird’.
B. Proto-Dravidian **ciṛ-* ‘a kind of bird’: Gondi *siṛī*, *hiṛī* ‘parrot’; Koṇḍa *siṛa* ‘parrot’; Pengo *hiṛa* ‘a kind of bird’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:224, no. 2582.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **c’rip’-* ‘to cheep, to peep’: Georgian *c’rip’-* ‘to squeak, to peep’; Laz *c’ip’-* ‘to cheep, to peep’. Klimov 1998:302 **çriṗ-* ‘to cheep, to peep’. Proto-Kartvelian **c’ruc’-* ‘to peep, to squeak’: Georgian *c’ruc’-* ‘to peep, to squeak’; Mingrelian *c’irc’-* ‘to weep, to whimper, to squeal, to peep, to cheep’. Fähnrich 2007:636 **çruç-*.
D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *čiremedie* ‘little bird’, *čiremed-uo* ‘bird egg’. Nikolaeva 2006:133.
E. Altaic: Mongolian *čirala-* ‘to squeak, to scream, to cry; to grunt, to roar’.
F. Eskimo-Aleut: Proto-Inuit **ciʁvaq* ‘guillemot’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *siʁvaq* ‘guillemot’; North Alaskan Inuit *siʁvaq* ‘sea pigeon’; Greenlandic Inuit *siʁfaq* ‘guillemot’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:86.

314. Proto-Nostratic root **c’ur-* (~ **c’or-*):
(vb.) **c’ur-* ‘to twist, to turn, to revolve; to press, tie, or bind together; to wrap up; to surround, to encircle, to enclose’;
(n.) **c’ur-a* ‘that which is tied, twisted, wrapped, or bound together: coil, wrapping, binding, loop, etc.; that which surrounds, encircles, or encloses: enclosure, wall, surroundings, circle’

A. Proto-Afrasian **c’ur-* ‘to press, tie, or bind together; to wrap up; to surround, to encircle, to enclose’: Proto-Semitic **c’a/wa/r-* ‘to press, tie, or bind together; to wrap’ > Hebrew *ṣūr* [צוּר] ‘to confine, to bind together, to besiege; to wrap’; Aramaic *ṣūr* ‘to wrap up, to wrap together;

to besiege, to beleaguer’. Murtonen 1989:357; Klein 1987:543. Proto-Semitic **c’ar-ar-* ‘to press, tie, or bind together; to enclose, to wrap’ > Arabic *ṣarra* ‘to lace, to cord, to tie up, to truss up, to bind (something)’, *ṣurra* ‘bag, purse; bundle, packet, parcel’; Hebrew *ṣārar* [צָרַר] ‘to bind, to tie up; to wrap, to enclose; to be restricted, narrow, scant, cramped’, *ṣərōr* [צְרוֹר] ‘bundle, package’; Aramaic *ṣərar* ‘to tie up, to wrap, to enclose’; Mehri *ṣər* ‘to tie the foreskin tight before circumcision’, *ṣáttər* ‘to be tied; to have retention of the urine’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ṣerr* ‘to tie the foreskin tight before circumcision’; Ḥarsūsi *ṣer* ‘to tie the foreskin tight before circumcision’. Murtonen 1989:366; Klein 1987:557. Egyptian *ḏrỉ* ‘enclosing wall’ (?), *ḏrỉt* ‘wall’ (?), *ḏrw* ‘wall’ (?), *ḏrww* ‘wall’ (?). Hannig 1995:1010, 1012, and 1012—1013; Faulkner 1962:323—324; Gardiner 1957:604; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:599. East Chadic **sur-* ‘to press, to pack’ > Kabale *sər-* ‘to press, to pack’; Bidiya *surray-* ‘to press, to pack’; Migama *suura-* ‘to be heavy; to load’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:107—108, no. 455, **ċur-* ‘to press together’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *curru* (*curri-*) ‘(vb.) to revolve, to circulate, to turn around, to spin, to take a circuitous course, to wind about, to wander about, to be coiled, to lie encircling, to be giddy or dizzy; to encircle, to entwine, to embrace, to surround, to encompass, to wear round, to coil up, to roll up, to whirl; (n.) moving round, revolving, rolling, circumference, circuit, roundabout way, surroundings, neighborhood, coil, roll, toe-ring, surrounding wall’, *curru-murrum* ‘all around, on all sides’, *cūru* (*cūri-*) ‘to surround, to encompass’; Malayalam *curruka* ‘to be about, to go about, to be giddy, to roll around, to put on’, *curru* ‘what is circular, circumference, a ring’, *cura* ‘a circle, coil; once around’; Kota *cut-* (*cuty-*) ‘to wander, to wrap around, to coil (rope), to twirl (sling), to wrap on (waistcloth)’; Kannaḍa *suttu* ‘(vb.) to surround, to encompass, to wrap round, to wind, to roll up, to go round, to circumambulate; (n.) that surrounds, enclosure, state of being enclosed, circumference, compass, coil, cheroot, coiled metal ring, a walk around, a turn’, *sutta* (adv.) ‘round about’, *sutta mutta* ‘all around, completely around’, *suttal* ‘round about, state of being round about’, *suttuvike* ‘turning round, feeling giddy’; Koḍagu *cutt-* (*cutti-*) ‘to wind around, to wander about’; Tuḷu *sutta* ‘circumference, circuit, round about’, *suttuni* ‘to wind, to roll, to wrap, to surround’; Telugu *cuṭṭu* ‘(vb.) to roll as a mat, to pass around, to wrap (as thread, cloth, turban), to wind, to encircle, to encompass, to go round, to circumambulate; (n.) a round, circuit, a going round, ring; (adj.) circuitous, round about; (adv.) all around, on all sides’, *cuṭṭa* ‘a roll of anything, loop, coil, ring, cheroot’; Kolami *suṭ-* (*suṭṭ-*) ‘to wind (turban)’ (Telugu loan); Naikṛi *suṭṭ-* ‘to wind’; Parji *cutt-* ‘to wind round’; Gadba (Salur) *cuṭṭ-* ‘to roll up’; Konḍa *suṭ-* ‘to twine (rope)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:236—237, no. 2715. Tamil *curi* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to be spiral (as a conch), to whirl around, to eddy (as water), to curl’, *curi* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to wind spirally, to whirl, to curl, to lie in a circle’,

*curi* ‘whirling, spiral, curve, screw, white curl on the forehead of bulls’, *curiyal* ‘curling, curly hair, lock of hair, woman’s hair’, *curuḷ* (*curuḷv-*, *curuṇṭ-*) ‘(vb.) to become coiled, to roll, to curl (as hair); (n.) rolling, roll, coil, curl, woman’s hair curled and tied up in dressing’, *curuḷal* ‘ringlet, coil’, *curuḷai* ‘roll’, *curuṭṭu* (*curuṭṭi-*) ‘(vb.) to roll up, to coil, to curl, to fold, to twist; (n.) curling, coiling, anything rolled up, cheroot’, *curuṭṭai* ‘curly hair, curly-haired boy or girl’, *curuṇai* ‘anything rolled up’, *cūr* ‘to revolve, to whirl around’, *cūrppu* ‘whirling, revolving; bracelet’, *cūral* ‘whirling (as of wind)’; Malayalam *curiyal* ‘a round rattan basket’, *curuṭṭu* ‘a roll, cheroot, a sheaf’, *curuḷ* ‘scroll, roll’, *curuḷuka* ‘to be rolled up, to be curled’, *curuṭṭuka* ‘to roll up (tr.)’; Kota *curṇ-* (*curḍ-*) ‘to lie in coils (snake, rope)’, *curṭ-* (*curṭy-*) ‘to coil, to roll (tr.)’; Kannaḍa *suruḷi*, *suruḷe*, *suraḷi* ‘a coil, rope’, *suruṭu*, *suruṇṭu* ‘to coil, to roll up (intr.)’, *surku*, *sukku* ‘to curl’, *surku*, *sukku*, *suṅku*, *sokku* ‘a curl’; Koḍagu *turïḍ-* (*turïṇḍ-*) ‘to be rolled up’, *turïṭ-* (*turïṭi-*) ‘to roll up (tr.)’, *tore* ‘a string that goes round’, *tore* (*torev-*, *torand-*) ‘to be wound round and round (a string)’, *tora* (*torap-*, *torat-*) ‘to wind round and round (a string)’; Tuḷu *turṭu* ‘a woman’s hair tied in a knot’, *suraḷi*, *suruḷi* ‘a coil, a roll of anything’; Parji *cirḍ-* ‘to turn’, *cirḍip-* (*cirḍit-*) ‘to make to turn’, *cirḍukuḍ* ‘circuit, roundabout way’, *cirl-* ‘to revolve’, *cirlip-* (*cirlit-*) ‘to make to revolve’; Gadba (Salur) *sirl-* ‘to revolve’, *sirl-* (*silr-*, *silir-*) ‘to rotate’; Gondi *surunḍānā* ‘to go round and round (especially in the Bhawar marriage ceremony)’, *surunḍ-* ‘to roll’; Pengo *hūr-* ‘to wind, to wind round, to roll up’; Kui *sursuṛi* ‘curly’; Kuṛux *kūrnā* ‘to put on and tie a *sāri* round one’s waist’; Malto *kuṛge* ‘to roll up, to wrap up’; Brahui *kūring* ‘to roll up (tr.), to make a clean sweep of’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:232—233, no. 2684; Krishnamurti 2003:126 **cur-V-*/**cūr-* ‘to curl, to roll up’.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **c’r-ax-* and **c’r-ex-*/**c’r-ix-* ‘to twist tightly together’: Georgian *c’rex-*/*c’rix-* ‘to twist tightly together’, *da-c’rax-n-a-* ‘to twist tightly together’ (< **c’r-ax-*); Mingrelian *c’irox-*/*c’irix-* ‘to twist tightly together’. Klimov 1998:302 **çr-ex-* : **çr-ix-* ‘to twist, to weave; to interlace’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:510 **çr-ex-*/**çr-ix-*; Fähnrich 2007:635 **çrex-*/**çrix-*. Perhaps also: Proto-Kartvelian **c’ur-* ‘to filter, to strain, to press out’ > Georgian *c’ur-* ‘to filter, to strain, to press out’; Mingrelian *c’ur-*, *c’ər-* ‘to filter, to strain, to press out’; Laz *(n)c’or-*, *(n)c’ir-* ‘to press, to squeeze’; Svan *c’wr-*, *c’ur-* ‘to filter, to strain, to press out’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:511 **çur-*; Fähnrich 2007:637 **çur-*; Klimov 1964:246 **çur-* and 1998:303 **çur-* ‘to press, to squeeze out; to flow out’. Proto-Kartvelian **c’r-ed-*/**c’r-id-*/**c’ɣ-d-* ‘to filter, to strain’ > Georgian *c’ret’-*/*c’rit’-*/*c’rt’-* ‘to filter, to strain’, [*c’ret’il-*] in *dac’ret’il-* ‘filtered, strained’; Mingrelian *c’irad-*/*c’irid-*/*c’ird-* ‘to filter, to strain, to be filtered’, *c’iradil-*, *c’əradil-* ‘filtered, strained’; Laz *c’rod-*/*c’urd-* ‘to filter, to strain’. Klimov 1964:246 ***çred-*/**çrid-*/**çerd-* and 1998:301 **çr-ed-*/**çr-id-*/**çr-d-* ‘to filter, to strain’ and 302 **çred-il-* ‘filtered,

strained’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:509—510 **çred-/*çrid-/*çrd-*; Fähnrich 2007:634—635 **çred-/*çrid-/*çrd-*.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); wind, wrap (vb.); roll (vb.).

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| s- | s- | c- | s- | s- | s- | s- | |
| -s- | -s- | -c(c)- | -s- | -s- | -s- | -s- | |

315. Proto-Nostratic root **saʔ-* (~ **səʔ-*):
Extended form:
(vb.) **saʔ-V-y-* ‘to sift’;
(n.) **saʔ-y-a* ‘sieve’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *sȝỉ*, *sỉȝ* ‘to sift (flour)’. Hannig 1995:657 and 664; Faulkner 1962:209; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.4:16.
B. Proto-Indo-European **seʔ(y/i)-* ‘(vb.) to sift; (n.) sieve’: Greek ἤθω, ἠθέω ‘to sift, to strain’, ἠθμός ‘a strainer’; Welsh *hidl* ‘sieve’; Old Icelandic *sáld* ‘sieve’, *sælda* ‘to sift’; Faroese *sáld* ‘sieve’; Norwegian *saald* ‘sieve’, *sælda* ‘to sift’; Swedish *såll* ‘sieve’, (dial.) *sälda*, *sälla* ‘to sift’; Danish *saald*, *sold* ‘sieve’, (dial.) *sælde* ‘to sift’; Lithuanian *síetas* ‘sieve’, *sijóju*, *sijóti* ‘to sift’; Old Church Slavic **sějǫ*, **sěti* (**sějati*) in *pro-sějati* ‘to sift, to winnow’, *sito* ‘sieve’; Russian *síto* [сито] ‘sieve, sifter, bolt, bolter, strainer’; Serbian *sȉjati* ‘to sift’, *sȉto* ‘sieve’. Rix 1998a:469—470 **seh$_1$(i)-* ‘to sift’; Pokorny 1959:889 **sē(i)-* ‘to sift’; Walde 1927—1932.II:459 **sē(i)-*; Watkins 1985:56 **sē-* and 2000:73 **sē-* ‘to sift’ (contracted from earlier **se$_2$$_1$-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:518 **seh$_1$(i)-* ‘to sift’; Boisacq 1950:315; Beekes 2010.I:511 **seh$_1$-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:624; Hofmann 1966:105; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:407; Orël 2003:327 Proto-Germanic **sēđlan*; Kroonen 2013:430 Proto-Germanic **sēdla-* ‘sieve, riddle’ (< **seh$_1$-* ‘to sift’); Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:254; De Vries 1977:460 and 575; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:783 and II:784 **sēi̯-*; Derksen 2008:448 **seh$_1$i-* and 2015:397; Smoczyński 2007.1:549 **sih$_1$-eh$_2$-*, **seh$_1$i̯-*.
C. Altaic: Proto-Tungus **sayi-ǯa* (~ *-ga*) ‘sieve’ > Ulch *sayǯa* ‘sieve’; Nanay / Gold *sayǯa* ‘sieve’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1198 **săjgo* ‘to filter, to ooze’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also compare Proto-Mongolian **saɣa-* ‘to milk’ and Proto-Turkic **sag-* ‘to milk’.

316. Proto-Nostratic root **sad$^y$-* (~ **səd$^y$-*):
(vb.) **sad$^y$-* ‘to hear, to listen, to judge’;
(n.) **sad$^y$-a* ‘hearing, judgment, condemnation, punishment’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *sḏm* ‘to hear, to listen, to obey, to understand, to judge’, *sḏmỉ* ‘judge’; Coptic (Sahidic) *sōtm* [ⲥⲱⲧⲙ], (Bohairic) *sōtem* [ⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ] ‘to hear, to listen to, to obey’. Hannig 1995:794; Faulkner

1962:259; Erman—Grapow 1921:177 and 1926—1963.4:384—387; Gardiner 1957:593; Vycichl 1983:199; Černý 1976:165.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **saǯg-/*sǯg-* ‘to judge, to try, to punish’: Georgian *saǯ-/sǯ-* ‘to judge, to try, to punish’, *rǯul-* (< **sǯul-*) ‘law, trust’; Mingrelian *zoǯ-* (< **soǯg-*, with assimilation of initial *s-* to *z-*) ‘to wish, to desire’; Svan *sgoǯ-* ‘to judge, to try’ (Zan loan, with consonants transposed). Klimov 1998:163 **saǯ-* : **sǯ-* ‘to judge, to try, to punish’.

C. Proto-Altaic **saǯV-* ‘to slander, to condemn’: Proto-Tungus **saǯī-* ‘to condemn’ > Evenki *saǯī-ča-* ‘to condemn’; Solon *sāǯilā-* ‘to condemn’. Proto-Mongolian **seǯig* ‘doubt’ > Written Mongolian *seǯig* ‘doubt, suspicion, distrust’, *seǯigle-* ‘to doubt, to suspect, to distrust’; Khalkha *seǯig* ‘doubt’; Buriat *heǯeg* ‘doubt’; Kalmyk *seǯəg* ‘doubt’; Ordos *seǯik* ‘doubt’. Proto-Turkic **say-* ‘(vb.) to slander, to lie; (n.) slander, lie’ > Uzbek *sayiγ* ‘delirium’; Khakas *sayγa-* ‘to slander, to lie’, *sayγaχ* ‘slander, lie’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *sayγaq* ‘slander, lie’; Chuvash *soy-* ‘to slander, to lie’, *soy* ‘slander, lie’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1221 **saǯV* ‘to slander, to condemn’.

Buck 1949:15.41 hear; 15.42 listen; 15.43 hearing (sb.); 15.44 sound (sb.); 21.16 judge (vb.); 21.162 decide; 21.17 judgment; 21.32 condemn.

317. Proto-Nostratic root **sag-* (~ **səg-*) or **šag-* (~ **šəg-*):
(vb.) **sag-* or **šag-* ‘to reach, to arrive at, to attain, to achieve, to get, to obtain’;
(n.) **sag-a* or **šag-a* ‘acquisition, attainment, victory’

A. Proto-Afrasian **sag-* ‘to get, to obtain’: Proto-Semitic **sag-al-* ‘to get, to obtain, to possess’ > Hebrew *səγullāh* [סְגֻלָּה] ‘possession, property’; Akkadian *sugullāte* ‘herds’; Ugaritic *sgl* ‘treasure’; Aramaic *siggēl*, *sīγēl* ‘to acquire’; Arabic *sağala* ‘to possess many goods’. Murtonen 1989:296; Klein 1987:434. Egyptian *sḏ̲ʒwt* (?) ‘precious things, treasure’, *sḏ̲ʒwtyw* (?) ‘treasurers’, *sḏ̲ʒw* (?) ‘precious’. Faulkner 1962:258.

B. Proto-Indo-European **segʰ-/*sogʰ-* ‘to get, to obtain’: Greek ἔχω ‘to have, to hold’; Sanskrit *sáhate* ‘to overcome, to conquer’, *sáhas-* ‘strength, power, force, victory’; Avestan *hazah-* ‘power, victory’; Gothic *sigis* ‘victory’; Old Icelandic *sigr* ‘victory’, *sigra* ‘to vanquish, to overcome’; Old English *sigor*, *sige* ‘triumph, victory, success’, *sigorian* ‘to triumph’; Old Frisian *sī* ‘victory’; Old Saxon *sigi-*, only in *sigi-drohtin* ‘lord of victory, God’; Dutch *zege* ‘victory’; Old High German *sigu*, *sigi* ‘victory’, *sigirōn* ‘to conquer’ (New High German *Sieg* ‘victory, triumph, conquest’, *siegen* ‘to be victorious, to triumph, to gain a victory’ [*über* ‘over’], *Sieger* ‘conqueror, victor, winner’); Tocharian A/B *sāk-* ‘to remain (behind), to restrain, to hold back’. Rix 1998a:467—468 **seĝʰ-* ‘to have, to hold; to overcome, to defeat, to conquer’; Pokorny 1959:888—889 **seĝh-* ‘to hold

fast'; Walde 1927—1932.II:481—482 **seĝh-*; Mann 1984—1987:1118 **sĕĝhis*, 1119 **seĝhlos* 'hold, grip', 1119 **seĝhmn-* (**seĝhəno-*, **seĝhno-*) 'hold, holder, beam, support, stay, strut', 1119 **seĝhō* 'to hold, to seize', 1119 **seĝhos*, *-es-* 'hold, grip, might; mighty, firm', 1119 **seĝthis*, 1119—1120 **seĝhuros* (**soĝh-*) 'strong, firm', 1239—1240 **sogh-* (**soghos*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə*) 'hold, holder, handle', 1240 **soghuros* (**soĝhuros*) 'firm, stable', 1240 **soghlos*, **soghelos* (**soĝh-*) 'hold, holder', 1240 **soĝh-*; Watkins 1985:56 **segh-* and 2000:74 **segh-* 'to hold'; Mallory—Adams 1997:123—124 **seĝh-* 'to hold fast, to conquer'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:155 **seĝ[ʰ]-*/**sĝ[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:134 **seĝʰ-*/**sĝʰ-* 'to have, to hold; to defeat, to conquer'; Boisacq 1950:302—303 **seĝh-*; Hofmann 1966:100—101 **seĝhō*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:392—394 **segh-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:602—604; Beekes 2010.I:490—491 **seǵʰ-*; Orël 2003:322 Proto-Germanic **seƶez* ~ **seƶaz*, 322 **seƶezōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:430 Proto-Germanic **segiz-* 'victory'; Feist 1939:419 **seĝhos-*; Lehmann 1986:302 **seĝh-* 'to hold fast, to conquer'; De Vries 1977:474; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:707—708 **seĝh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:671; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:450—451 and III:452; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:416 and I:417 **seĝh-*; Adams 1999:679—680 and 2013:743—744 **segʰ-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:600—604 **seĝʰ-*.

C. Proto-Uralic **saxe-* 'to reach, to arrive at, to attain, to achieve, to get, to obtain': Finnish *saa-* in *saada* 'to get, to obtain; to receive', *saapua* 'to arrive (at, in), to come (to), to get (there), to approach', *saavuttaa* 'to reach, to achieve, to attain', (causative) *saatta-* 'to accompany, to go with, to escort; to be able (to), to be capable; to get, to induce' (> Lapp / Saami *sat'te-* 'to be able, to bring something upon someone or bring someone or something somewhere; to make, to get to, to do something'); Lapp / Saami (Kola) *sakky-* 'to procure, to get'; Mordvin (Erza) *sa-*, (Moksha) *sajə-* 'to come, to arrive, to become; to overtake, to find, to meet'; (Erza) *saje-*, *sai-*, (Moksha) *sëvə-*, *sävə-*, *śavə-* 'to take, to get'; (Erza) *sato-*, (Moksha) *satõ-* 'to suffice; to attain, to come upon; to procure, to bring'; (Erza) *savto-* 'to bring'; Cheremis / Mari *šua-*, *šoa-* 'to get; to attain to, to arrive', *šukte-* 'to complete, to finish'; Votyak / Udmurt (derivative) *sut-* 'to attain to'; Zyrian / Komi *su-* 'to overtake, to reach; to come and take unawares; to occur'; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *tõõwa-* 'to arrive, to reach, to attain'; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *tuuʔa-* 'to attain, to reach'; (?) Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *tae-*, *toe-* 'to attain, to reach'; (?) Selkup Samoyed *tü-*, *tüüa-*, *tüüwa-* 'to come, to arrive'; (?) Kamassian *tu-* 'to arrive somewhere, to reach a destination'. Collinder 1955:54 and 1977:72; Sammallahti 1988:553 Proto-Finno-Permian **sëxi-*'to come'; Rédei 1986—1988:429—430 **saγe-* and 749—750 **saγe-kta-* (~ *-tta-*); Janhunen 1977b:146 **t'ə̂'jwə̂-* (? ~ **t'ə̂'jwå-*); Décsy 1990:17 **sanga* (**sagha*) 'to arrive, to reach'. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *šegešej-*, *šegišej-* 'to carry away'. Nikolaeva 2006:400.

Buck 1949:11.11 have; 11.12 own, possess; 11.16 get, obtain; 11.41 property; 11.46 treasure. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:359—360, no. 185; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2021, **sagæ* (= **sage* ?) ‘to obtain, to hold’.

318. Proto-Nostratic root **saħ-* (~ **səħ-*) or **šaħ-* (~ **šəħ-*):
(vb.) **saħ-* or **šaħ-* ‘to examine, to consider, to try to find out, to try to understand, to think about’;
(n.) **saħ-a* or **šaħ-a* ‘thought, idea, understanding, inquiry, examination, consideration, investigation’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *sḫꜣ* ‘to remember, to call to mind, to think about’, *sḫꜣw* ‘remembrance, memory’, *sḫr* ‘thought, idea, plan, counsel, will, determination’; Coptic *eršiši* [ⲉⲣϣⲓϣⲓ] ‘to have power, to have authority’ (< *ỉrỉ sḫr* ‘to take care of’, literally, ‘to make plans’). Gardiner 1957:591; Hannig 1995:742 and 748—749; Faulkner 1962:240 and 243—244; Erman—Grapow 1921:168, 170, and 1926—1963.4:232—234, 4:258—260; Černý 1976:38; Vycichl 1983:47.
B. Proto-Indo-European **seḫ̲ḫ̲-k'-* [**saḫ̲ḫ̲-k'-*] (> **sāk'-*) ‘to examine, to consider, to try to find out, to try to understand, to think about’: Latin *sāgiō* ‘to perceive quickly, to feel keenly’, *sāgus* ‘prophetic’, *sāga* ‘wise woman, fortune-teller’, *sāgax* ‘keen, acute, intellectually quick’; Greek ἡγέομαι ‘to go before, to lead the way, to guide, to conduct; to suppose, to believe, to hold’; Old Irish *saigid* ‘to seek out, to approach, to attack’; Gothic *sōkjan* ‘to seek, to desire, to long for, to argue with, to dispute’, *sōkjan samana* ‘to reason together, to discuss’, *sōkns* ‘search, inquiry’, *sōkeins* ‘investigation’, *us-sōkjan* ‘to search, to examine, to judge’, *sōkareis* ‘investigator, disputer’; Old Icelandic *sækja* ‘to seek’; Swedish *söka* ‘to seek’; Norwegian *søkja* ‘to seek’; Danish *søge* ‘to seek’; Old English *sēcan* ‘to seek, to try to find, to try to get, to try to find out, to investigate, to inquire’, *sōcn* ‘investigation’; Old Frisian *sēka* ‘to seek’; Old Saxon *sōkian* ‘to seek’; Dutch *zoeken* ‘to seek’; Old High German *suohhan* ‘to seek’ (New High German *suchen*), *suochāri* ‘searcher’. Perhaps also Hittite *šākiya-* ‘to give a sign or omen; to signify, to declare’, *šagaiš* ‘sign, omen’ (cf. Melchert 1994a:69 — Melchert assumes loss of the laryngeal *ə₂*, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel). Rix 1998a:470—471 **seh₂g-* ‘to investigate, to look or inquire into, to track’; Pokorny 1959:876—877 **sāg-* (: **səg-*) ‘to seek out’; Walde 1927—1932.II:449 **sāg-* (: **səg-*); Mann 1984—1987:1107 **sắgiō* ‘to get to know, to inquire, to perceive, to sense’; Watkins 1985:55 **sāg-* and 2000:72 **sāg-* ‘to seek out’ (oldest form **seə̯₂g-*, colored to **saə̯₂g-*, contracted to **sāg-*; suffixed form **sāg-yo-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:805 **sāk'-* and 1995.I:705—706 **sāk'-* ‘to recognize by signs, omens; to ask (the god’s will)’; Mallory—Adams 1997:505—506 **sah$_a$g-* ‘to perceive acutely, to seek out’; Boisacq 1950:314 **sāg-* : **səg-*; Frisk

1970—1973.I:621—622 **sāgeu̯o/e-*; Hofmann 1966:104 **sāg-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:405—406; Beekes 2010.I:508—509 **seh$_2$g-*; De Vaan 2008:534—535; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:464—465 **sāg-*, **səg-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:580 **sāg-*, **səg-*; Orël 2003:360 Proto-Germanic **sōkiz*, 360 **sōkjanan*, 360 **sōkniz*; Kroonen 2013:464 Proto-Germanic **sōkjan-* 'to seek, to find, to demand' (< **seh$_2$g-u̯e-*); Feist 1939:442 **sāg-* (or **sāĝ-*); Lehmann 1986:318 **sāg-* 'to perceive acutely'; De Vries 1977:577; Falk—Trop 1903—1906.II:343; Onions 1966:806 **sāg-*, **səg-*; Klein 1971:668 **sāg-*; Skeat 1898:538; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:762 **sāg-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:713; Kloekhorst 2008b:697—698 **seh$_2$g-ōi-*.

C. Proto-Altaic **sā-* 'to think, to consider, to count': Proto-Tungus **sā-* 'to know' > Manchu *sa-* 'to know, to understand'; Evenki *sā-* 'to learn, to come to know'; Lamut / Even *hā-* 'to find out', *hān* 'knowledge'; Negidal *sā-* 'to know'; Ulch *sāwụ* 'to know'; Orok *sā-* 'to know'; Nanay / Gold *sā-* 'to know'; Oroch *sā-* 'to know'; Udihe *sā-* 'to know'; Solon *sā-* 'to know'. Proto-Mongolian **sā-n-a-* 'to think' > Mongolian *sana-* 'to think, to reflect, to ponder', *sanaγ-a(n)* 'thought, thinking, idea, reflection, attention', *sanal* 'thought, reflection, idea, supposition, proposal, intention; opinion, viewpoint', *sanamžʲi* 'thought, idea'; Buriat (Alar) *hana-* 'to think'; Dagur *sana-* 'to think'; Ordos *sana-* 'to think'; Monguor *sana-* 'to think'. Poppe 1955:164. Proto-Turkic **sā(y)-* 'to count, to consider', **sā-n* 'number, count' > Old Turkic *sa-* 'to count', *san* 'number'; Turkish *sayı* 'number, reckoning', *say-* 'to count, to number, to enumerate; to regard, to count as; to esteem, to respect; to deem, to suppose', *saygı* 'respect, esteem; thoughtfulness, consideration', *sayım* 'a counting, census', *sayın* 'esteemed; excellent', *san-* 'to think, to suppose, to deem', *sanı* 'idea, imagination'; Gagauz *say-* 'to count, to consider'; Azerbaijani *say-* 'to count, to consider'; Karaim *say-* 'to count, to consider'; Turkmenian *sāy-* 'to count, to consider', *sān* 'number'; Kazakh *say-* 'to count, to consider'; Chuvash *su-*, *sъv-* 'to count, to consider'; Yakut *ā-* 'to count'. Poppe 1960:29, 97, and 123; Street 1974:25 **sā-* 'to think, to consider, to count', **sā-n-a-*. Different etymology in Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1219—1220 (**sāŕi* 'to know, to beware, to feel'). Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak (2003:1275) follow A. M. Ščerbak (Щербак) in considering the Mongolian forms cited above to be Turkic loans.

Buck 1949:11.31 seek; 13.12 number; 17.13 think (= reflect); 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 17.31 remember. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:365—366, no. 195. Different (false) etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2029, **sāaħk[a]* 'to search, to find, to know'.

319. Proto-Nostratic root **sak$^h$-* (~ **sək$^h$-*):
(vb.) **sak$^h$-* 'to cut, to split';

(n.) *$sak^h$-*a* ‘any sharp instrument used for cutting: knife, sword, dagger, axe, etc.’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *sk* ‘to fell (trees)’, *skỉ* ‘to perish; to destroy’, *sksk* ‘to fell (trees), to destroy’. Hannig 1995:772, 773, and 775; Faulkner 1962:251 and 252; Erman—Grapow 1921:173 and 1926—1963.4:312—313 and 4:319; Gardiner 1957:592.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$sek^h$-/*$sok^h$- ‘to cut’: Latin *secō* ‘to cut’, *secūris* ‘axe, hatchet’, *sectūra* ‘a cutting’; Middle Irish *tescaid* ‘to chop off’, *eiscid* ‘to cut off’; Old Icelandic *sax* ‘a short, one-edged sword’, *sög* ‘saw’, (m.) *sigðr*, (f.) *sigð* ‘sickle’; Norwegian *sag* ‘saw’, *saks* ‘sword’; Swedish *såg* ‘saw’, *sax* ‘sword’; Danish *sav* ‘saw’, *saks* ‘sword’; Old English *seax* ‘knife, short sword, dagger’, *secg* ‘sword’, *sigðe*, *sīðe* ‘scythe’, *sagu* ‘saw’; Old Frisian *sax* ‘knife’; Old Saxon *sahs* ‘knife’; Dutch *zicht* ‘sickle’, *zaag* ‘saw’; Old High German *saga*, *sega* ‘saw’ (New High German *Säge*), *sahs* ‘knife’ (New High German *Sachs* ‘weapon’); Old Lithuanian *ešsekti* (also *ešsėkti*) ‘to chisel’; Old Church Slavic *sěkǫ*, *sěšti* ‘to cut, to chop’, *sekyra* ‘axe’. Rix 1998a:475 **sekH-* ‘to cut, to separate’; Pokorny 1959:895—896 **sĕk-* ‘to cut’; Walde 1927—1932.II:474—476 **seq-*; Mann 1984—1987:1123 **sek-*, **-sekā*, *-i̯ə* ‘cutting, mowing’, 1123 **sĕkīu̯os*, *-om* ‘cut, cutting’, 1123 **sekmn-* (**sēkn-*) ‘cutting; offcut’, 1123 **sĕkō* (**sĕkāi̯ō*) ‘to cut’, 1123 **sektos*, *-ā* pp. form of type **sĕkō*, 1123—1124 (**sekūrā*, *-is* ‘chopper, cutter, axe’; “[a] hybrid, said to be of Semitic origin”), 1242 **sok-* (**sokı̯ós*, *-i̯ə*, **sokū́s*) ‘cutting; cutting implement, billhook’; Mallory—Adams 1997:144 **sek-* ‘to cut’; Watkins 1985:56—57 **sek-* and 2000:74 **sek-* ‘to cut’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:607—608 **sek-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:504—505; De Vaan 2008:550—551; Orël 2003:311 Proto-Germanic **saǥjōn*, 311 **saǥō*, 311 **saǥōjanan*, 312 **saxsan*; Kroonen 2013:420 Proto-Germanic **sagja-* ‘sedge’, 421 **sagō-* ‘saw’, 421 **sahaza-* ‘sedge’, and 421 **sahsa-* ‘knife’; De Vries 1977:465—466 **sek-*, 473, and 578; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:140 **sek-* and 141; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:327; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:619 **sek-* : **sok-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:612 and 613 **sek-*; Derksen 2008:446 **sek-*. Note: This root had numerous derivatives in Proto-Indo-European.

C. Proto-Altaic **$sak^h$a-* (~ *z-*) ‘(vb.) to cut, to split; (n.) sharp instrument’: Proto-Tungus **sak-pi* ‘axe’ > Ulch *saqpị* ‘axe’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1203 **sak‘a* (~ *z-*) ‘sharp instrument; to cut, to split’.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut (vb.); 9.25 ax; 9.27 split (vb. tr.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2037, **sVḴV* ‘to carve, to chisel’.

320. Proto-Nostratic root **sak’$^w$-* (~ **sək’$^w$-*):
(vb.) **sak’$^w$-* ‘to tie, to bind, to fasten’;
(n.) **sak’$^w$-a* ‘fastening, loop’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **sk'w-* 'to tie (up), to bind (up)': Georgian [*sk'v-*] in *sk'v-en-/sk'v-n-* 'to conclude, to enclose, to comprise', *sk'ul-* 'knot'; Mingrelian *sk'v-*, *skv-* 'to tie (up)', *sk'vir-* 'fastened' (also, figuratively, 'stingy, greedy'); Laz *sk'v-*, *skv-* 'to tie (up)'; Svan [*sk'w-*] in *le-sk'w-er* 'cord, rope'. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:302—303 **sḳw-*; Fähnrich 2007:368—369 **sḳw-*; Klimov 1964:164 **sḳw-* and 1998:166 **sḳw-* 'to tie (up), to bind (up)'.

B. Proto-Indo-European **sek'$^{w}$-/*sok'$^{w}$-* 'to attach, to fasten': Sanskrit *sájati* 'to cling or stick or adhere to, to be attached to or engaged in or occupied with', (passive) *sajyáte* 'to be attached or fastened; to adhere, to cling, to stick', *saktá-ḥ* 'clinging or adhering to'; Lithuanian *segù*, *sègti* 'to fasten, to attach, to fix, to button'. Rix 1998a:468 **seg-* 'to attach, to fasten'; Pokorny 1959:887—888 **seg-*, (with nasal infix) **seng-* 'to attach, to fasten'; Walde 1927—1932.II:480—481 **seg-*, (with nasal infix) **seng-*; Mann 1984—1987:1118 **seg-* 'to attach, to fasten'; Mallory—Adams 1997:64 **seg-* 'to fasten'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:419; Smoczyński 2007.1:539 **seg-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:770; Derksen 2015:391 **seng-*.

C. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *šoqnə-* 'to put together', *šaqal'əš-* 'to gather, to collect', *šaqal'ə-* 'to gather', (Northern / Tundra) *soqol'e* 'coils of a lasso', *soqol'es-* 'to roll up a lasso'. Nikolaeva 2006:397 — Nikolaeva notes: "This root shows the irregular correspondence K[olyma] *-a-* ~ T[undra] *-o-*, and the variations *-a-* ~ *-o-* are irregular as well, both in T[undra] and in K[olyma]."

D. Proto-Altaic **sị̄ku-* (~ *z-*) '(vb.) to loop, to fasten, to tie; (n.) loop, fastening': Proto-Tungus **siaKu-* 'loop, hinge' > Ulch *śaqụ(n)*, *sə̑χụ(n)* 'loop, hinge'; Nanay / Gold *sịoχor* 'loop, hinge'. Proto-Mongolian **segel-dereg/*sagal-darag* 'loop, fastening' > Mongolian *sayaldurγ-a* 'string for attaching objects to the saddle or for fastening a hat under the chin'; Khalkha *segeldreg*, *sagaldraga* 'string, cord; loop', *sagaldragalaχ-* 'to tie a string or cord', *malagai sagaldraga* 'cord for tying a hat under the chin'; Buriat *hagaldarga* 'belt buckle'; Kalmyk *segḷdṛ-* 'to pass through an opening'; Shira-Yughur *saldərɢa* 'loop, fastening'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1276 **sị̄ku* (~ *z-*) 'loop, lace'.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 9.19 rope, cord. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2030, **śäk[V]ʔU* 'to plait, to tie, to bind; wicker'.

321. Proto-Nostratic root **sal-* (~ **səl-*):
(vb.) **sal-* 'to go up, to lift up, to raise up';
(n.) **sal-a* 'ascent; height'; (adj.) 'elevated, high, raised'

A. Proto-Afrasian **sal-* 'to go up, to lift up, to raise up': Proto-Semitic **sal-al-* 'to go up, to lift up, to raise up' > Hebrew *sālal* [סָלַל] 'to lift up, to heap up, to lay out (a road); to pile up', *sōləlāh* [סֹלְלָה] 'siege-mound',

*sullām* [סֻלָּם] ‘ladder’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Phoenician *slmt* ‘stairs’; (?) Akkadian *simmiltu* ‘ladder, stair; siege ladder’; Arabic *sullam* ‘ladder, (flight of) stairs, staircase’ (Aramaic loan); Tigre *sälla* ‘to climb a slope’; Tigrinya *mäsaləl* ‘ladder’; Gurage (Soddo) *mäsälal* ‘ladder’, (Muher) *sällälä* ‘the cheese comes to the top and the whey remains at the bottom’ (< ‘to go up’); Amharic *mäsälal* ‘ladder’. Murtonen 1989:301; Klein 1987:447—448; Leslau 1979:429 and 543. Semitic loan (?) in Hadiyya *salalo* ‘cheese’. Proto-Semitic **sal-ak’-* ‘to ascend, to climb up’ > Hebrew *sālaḳ* [סָלַק] ‘to ascend, to climb up’ (Aramaic loan); Aramaic *səlēḳ* ‘to go up, to ascend’; Arabic *salaḳa* ‘to ascend, to mount, to climb, to scale’; metathesis in: Soqoṭri *sīḳlhel* ‘high’; Harari *(tä)sēḳäla* ‘to climb’; Amharic (Gondar) *tä-säḳḳälä* ‘to climb’. Murtonen 1989:301; Klein 1987:448; Leslau 1963:141—142.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **sal-* ‘steep, high’: Georgian *sal-* ‘steep, high’; Mingrelian *sol-* ‘steep, high’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:294 **sal-*; Fähnrich 2007:359 **sal-*; Klimov 1998:162 **sal-* ‘steep’.

C. (?) Proto-Indo-European **sel-*/**sol-* ‘(vb.) to go up, to lift up, to raise up; (adj.) raised, elevated, high’: Armenian *elanem* (< **sel-* ?) ‘to go up, to climb, to ascend; to go out, to leave, to exit’, *el* ‘ascent, exit’. Mann 1984—1987:1124 **sel-* ‘to jump, to rise’; Hübschmann 1897:441, no. 120. Perhaps also the following (assuming semantic development from ‘raised, elevated, high’ > ‘fully grown, adult’ as in Latin *ad-ultus*): Hittite (nom. sg.) *šal-li-iš* ‘big, great, large, important; adult, fully grown’, (nom.-acc. sg.) *šal-la-a-tar* ‘greatness; kingship, rulership’; Luwian *ša-al-ḫa-a-ti* ‘great, grown’, *ša-al-ḫi-an-ti-in* ‘growth’, *ša-al-ḫi-it-ti-iš* ‘growth’. Note also Tocharian A *ṣul*, B *ṣale* ‘mountain, hill’, B *ṣlyiye* ‘pertaining to a mountain or hill’, *ṣlīye leṅke* ‘mountain valley’. Adams 1999:651—652 **swelo-*, 669 and 2013:714 **swelo-* and 733; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:465 **selu-*, **selo-s*.

Buck 1949:10.22 raise, lift; 12.31 high; 12.53 grow; 12.55 large, big (great).

322. Proto-Nostratic root **sam-* (~ **səm-*):
(vb.) **sam-* ‘to resemble, to be like’;
(n.) **sam-a* ‘form, shape, appearance, likeness’; (adj.) ‘similar, alike, same’

A. Proto-Afrasian **sam-* ‘to resemble, to be like’: Proto-Semitic **sam-al-* ‘to resemble, to be like’ > Hebrew *semel* [סֶמֶל] ‘image, statue’; Phoenician *sml* ‘image, statue’; Geez / Ethiopic (with metathesis) *masala* [መሰለ], *masla* [መስለ] ‘to be like, to look like, to be likened to, to resemble, to appear, to seem’, *məsl* [ምስል] ‘likeness, similarity, form, figure, image, statue, parable, proverb’; Tigrinya *mäsälä* ‘to be like’; Tigre *mäsla* ‘to be similar, to resemble, to seem’; Amharic *mässälä* ‘to be like, to look like, to resemble, to liken, to simulate, to seem, to appear’, *məsəl* ‘likeness, image,

effigy, figure (picture)’; Gurage *mäsälä* ‘to resemble, to be like, to look like, to appear, to seem’; Harari *mäsäla* ‘to appear, to be like, to resemble, to seem’. Murtonen 1989:302; Klein 1987:449; Leslau 1987:365—366; Tomback 1978:230. Egyptian *sm* ‘form, image’, *smi̯ti̯* ‘to assimilate, to equalize’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.4:121; Hannig 1995:705.

B. Proto-Indo-European **sem-*/**som-*/**sm̥-* ‘like, same’: Sanskrit *samá-ḥ* ‘equal, same’; Pāḷi *sama-* ‘equal, like, level’; Avestan *hāma-* ‘like’; Old Persian *hama-* ‘equal, same’; Greek ὁμός ‘same’; Latin *similis* ‘like, similar’; Old Irish *-som* ‘that one’; Gothic *sama* ‘the same one’; Old Icelandic *samr* ‘the same’; Old English (adv.) *same* ‘similarly, also’; Old High German *samo* ‘the same’; Old Church Slavic *samъ* ‘same’. Pokorny 1959:902—905 **sem-* ‘one, together’; Walde 1927—1932.II:488—492 **sem-*; Mann 1984—1987:1125 **sem-* ‘one’, 1126 **semen-*, 1126 **seməlis*, *-os* ‘as one, like, equal, simple’, 1230—1231 **sm̥-* ‘in one, together’, 1231 **sm̥i̯i̯ə* ‘one’, 1231 **sm̥os* ‘one, a certain, some’, 1231 **sm̥-pl-* ‘onefold, simple’, 1231 **sm̥-tero-* comparative of type **sm̥-*, 1244 **som-* ‘together, in one, by itself, alone; self’, 1244—1245 **soməlos* ‘together, equal, even, like’, 1245 **somn-* (**somen-*, **somn̥d-*) ‘together, altogether, all’; Watkins 1985:57 **sem-* and 2000:75 **sem-* ‘one; together with’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:199 **sm̥mo-* and 1995.I:172 **sm̥mo-*, I:740—741 **sem-*/**som-* ‘one’; Mallory—Adams 1997:499 **somós* ‘same’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:436—437; Boisacq 1950:702 **somó-s*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:390; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:799—800 **somo-*; Hofmann 1966:232—233 **somós*; Beekes 2010.II:1079 **som-h₂-o-*; De Vaan 2008:564—565; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:539—540 **sem-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:626—627 **sem-*; Thurneysen 1946:485; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:436—437; Orël 2003:317—318 Proto-Germanic **samōn*; Kroonen 2013:425 Proto-Germanic **sama(n)-* ‘the same’; Lehmann 1986:294—295 **somo-* ‘same’; Feist 1939:409 **sem-*; De Vries 1977:462; Onions 1966:785 **somós*, base **sem-*, **sōm-*, **səm-*; Klein 1971:653 **sem-*, **sm̥-* ‘one, together’; Hoad 1986:415 **som-*.

C. Proto-Altaic **sāmo* ‘shape, appearance’: Proto-Tungus **sāma* ‘sign, mark’ > Manchu *samχa* ‘mole or birthmark on the face or body’; Evenki *sāme* ‘sign, mark’; Lamut / Even *hām* ‘sign, mark’; Orok *sama-lkị* ‘sign, mark’; Nanay / Gold *sāmogdã̄* ‘a talisman placed on the breast of the deceased so that the shaman can recognize him when taking his soul to the other world’. Proto-Turkic **som* ‘number; honor; shape, silhouette’ > Khalay *soma* ‘shape, silhouette’; Khakas *som* ‘shape, silhouette’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *som* ‘shape, silhouette’; Tuva *soma* ‘shape, silhouette’; Chuvash *som* ‘number; honor’; Yakut *omoon* ‘shape, silhouette’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1207 **sāmo* ‘shape, appearance’.

Buck 1949:12.51 form, shape; 12.91 equal; 12.92 like, similar. Brunner 1969:106, no. 580; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:358—359, no. 184; A. Dybo 2004:100.

323. Proto-Nostratic root **san-* (~ **sən-*) or **šan-* (~ **šən-*), **sin-* (~ **sen-*) or **šin-* (~ **šen-*), **sun-* (~ **son-*) or **šun-* (~ **šon-*):
(vb.) **san-* or **šan-*, **sin-* or **šin-*, **sun-* or **šun-* 'to sense, to perceive';
(n.) **san-a* or **šan-a*, **sin-a* or **šin-a*, **sun-a* or **šun-a* '(a) that which senses or perceives: mind, nose; (b) that which is sensed or perceived: perception, sense, feeling'

A. Proto-Afrasian **san-*, **sin-* '(vb.) to smell; (n.) nose': Egyptian *sn* 'to smell, to kiss, to breathe', *snsn* 'to smell, to stink'. Hannig 1995:716; Faulkner 1962:230; Erman—Grapow 1921:163. Proto-East Cushitic **san-/*sin-/*son-/*sun-* 'nose' > Rendille *sam* 'nose'; Somali *san* 'nose'; Boni *saŋ* 'nose'; Burji *sún-a* 'nose'; Arbore *son-o* 'nose'; Gidole *sin-a* 'nose'; Konso *siin-a* ~ *soon-a* 'nose'; Sidamo *san-o* 'nose'; Kambata *san-e* 'nose'; Hadiyya *san-e* 'nose'; Gedeo / Darasa *san-o* 'nose'. Sasse 1979:5, 24 and 1982:169; Hudson 1989:106. Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *sina* 'nose'. Proto-Chadic **sunə* 'to smell' > Hausa *sansànaa* 'to smell, to sniff'; Warji *səsən-* 'to smell'; Tumak *hunən* 'to smell'. Newman 1977:31. Omotic: Ome *siŋan* 'nose'; Gim *sən* 'nose'; Nao *sin-us* 'nose'; Maji *sinu* 'nose'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:463, no. 2194, **san-/*sin-* 'nose' and 476, no. 2251, **sin-* 'to smell'. [Ehret 1995:161, no. 224, **siiŋ$^{w}$-* 'to smell (tr.)'.]

B. Proto-Indo-European **sent$^{h}$-/*sont$^{h}$-/*sn̥t$^{h}$-* 'to sense, to perceive': Latin *sentiō* 'to feel, to experience, to perceive', *sēnsus* 'sense, feeling, perception'; Old High German *sin* 'mind, understanding, meaning' (New High German *Sinn*); Old Frisian *sinna* 'to think, to ponder'; Dutch *zinnen* 'to consider, to ponder', *zin* 'sense, meaning, sentence; inclination, desire, mind'. Rix 1998a:483 **sent-* 'to go' → 'to perceive'; Pokorny 1959:908 **sent-* 'to take a direction, to go'; Walde 1927—1932.II:496—497 **sent-*; Mann 1984—1987:1129 **sentō*, *-i̯ō* 'to track, to trace, to sleuth, to proceed, to follow'; Watkins 1985:58 **sent-* and 2000:75 **sent-* 'to head for, to go'; Mallory—Adams 1997:418 **sent-* 'to perceive, to think'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:515—516; Ernout—Meillet 1979:614; De Vaan 2008:554; Orël 2003:325 Proto-Germanic **senþanan*; Kroonen 2013:437 Proto-Germanic **sinnan-* 'to head for; to long for'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:709; Kluge—Seebold 1989:673; Vercoullie 1898:337. This stem is distinct from Proto-Indo-European **sent$^{h}$-/*sont$^{h}$-/*sn̥t$^{h}$-* 'to go, to proceed'.

Buck 1949:15.11 perceive by the senses; sense (sb.); 15.21—15.24 smell. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:360—361, no. 187. Different etymologies in

Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2078, **SoñV* (= **ŝoñV* ?) ‘to hear’ and, no. 2090, **sûŋV* ‘to smell’.

324. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **s[e]n-a* or **š[e]n-a* (the root vowel is uncertain but is probably **e*) ‘sinew, tendon’:

A. Proto-Indo-European **senHw-*, **sneHw-* (> **snēw-*) ‘sinew, tendon’: Sanskrit *snáva-* ‘tendon, muscle, sinew’; Armenian *neard* ‘sinew, fiber’; Greek νεῦρον ‘sinew, tendon’; Latin *nervus* (metathesis from **newro-s*) ‘sinew, tendon, nerve’; Old Icelandic *sin* ‘sinew, tendon’; Faroese *sin(a)* ‘sinew’; Norwegian *sin(a)* ‘sinew’; Swedish *sena* ‘sinew’; Danish *sene* ‘sinew’; Old English *sin(e)we*, *sionwe*, *seonew-* (oblique form of *sinu-*, *seonu* [< Proto-Germanic **senawō*]) ‘sinew’; Old Frisian *sini*, *sin(e)* ‘sinew’; Old Saxon *sinewa* ‘sinew’; Middle Low German, Middle Dutch *sene* ‘sinew’; Dutch *zeen*, *zenuw* ‘sinew’; Old High German *senawa* ‘sinew’; Middle High German *sene* ‘sinew’ (New High German *Sehne*); Tocharian B *ṣñor* ‘sinew, tendon’. Note also Hittite *išḫunauwar* ‘sinew, bowstring’ (< **snawar* < Proto-Indo-European **snóHwr̥* ‘sinew, tendon’). According to Puhvel (1984— .1/2:403—404), **snawar* was probably “contaminated” by forms of *išḫiya-* ‘to bind’. Walde 1927—1932.II:696 **snēu̯-(e)r-*; Pokorny 1959:977 **snēu̯-(e)r-*, *-en-* ‘tendon, sinew’; Mann 1984—1987:1235 **snēu̯ā* (**senu̯ā*, **sēnəu̯ā*, **sneu̯os*) ‘twist, cord, sinew’, 1235—1236 **snēu̯əros* (**sneuros*, *-ā*, *-i̯ā*) ‘sinew, nerve, vein’; Watkins 1985:62 **(s)neu̯-* ‘tendon, nerve’ and 2000:81 **(s)nēu-* ‘tendon, sinew’ (contracted from earlier **sneu̯₁u-*, extension of **sneu̯₁-* ‘to sew’ [**(s)nē-*]; suffixed form **(s)nēw-r̥-*, with further suffixes); Mallory—Adams 1997:568 **sneh̓₁u̯r̥* ‘sinew, tendon’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:816 **sneu-r/n-* and 1995.I:716 **sneu-r/n-* ‘tendon, sinew’; Boisacq 1950:665 **senēu-*, **senōu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:303—304; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:747 **snē-wer/n-*; Hofmann 1966:215—216 **snēu-er-*, **snēu-en-*; Beekes 2010.II:1010—1011 **sneh₁-ur/n-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:439; De Vaan 2008:407 **sneh₁-ur* ‘sinew’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:165 **sneŭ̯eros*; Adams 1999:665 **sneh₁wr̥*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:458 **snē-u̯er/n-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:433—434; Orël 2003:329 Proto-Germanic **sin(a)wō*; Kroonen 2013:433 Proto-Germanic **senuwō-* ‘sinew’; De Vries 1977:476; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:152; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:341—342; Onions 1966:828; Klein 1971:686; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:698; Kluge—Seebold 1989:663—664. Note: Kloekhorst (2008b:395—396) translates Hittite *išḫunauwar* as ‘arm, upper arm’ and rejects the etymology proposed here.

B. Proto-Uralic **sene*/**soone* (< **sone*) ‘sinew, tendon’: Finnish *suoni* ‘sinew, tendon, vein’; Estonian *soon* ‘sinew, tendon, vein’; Lapp / Saami *suodnâ*/*suonâ-* ‘sinew, tendon, artery, vein’; Mordvin *san* ‘sinew, vein’; Cheremis / Mari *šün* ‘sinew’; Votyak / Udmurt *sön* ‘sinew’; Zyrian / Komi

*sõn* ‘sinew, vein’; Vogul / Mansi *tõõn* ‘sinew, vein’; Hungarian *ín*/*ina*- ‘sinew’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *taaŋ*/*tana*- ‘sinew’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *tiˀ*/*tin*- ‘sinew’; Selkup Samoyed *ten*-, *čän*, *can* ‘sinew’; Kamassian *ten* ‘sinew’. Collinder 1955:58, 1965:145 **sõõnõ*, and 1977:75; Joki 1973:316 Proto-Uralic **sōne* (< Pre-Uralic **sone*); Décsy 1990:107 **senä*/**sona* ‘vein, tendon, sinew’; Rédei 1986—1988:441 **sẹ̄ne* (**sōne*); Sammallahti 1988:548 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **sɨ̄ni*; Janhunen 1977b:32—33 **cẹ̄n*-.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:361—362, no. 189; Hakola 2000:178, no. 795; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2081, **son[∇q][ü]* (= **soni[q][ü]* ?) ‘sinew, tendon; root’.

325. Proto-Nostratic second person pronoun stem **si*- (~ **se*-) ‘you’:

A. Proto-Kartvelian **si*- second person singular pronoun stem: ‘you’: Mingrelian *si* ‘you’; Laz *si(-n)* ‘you’; Svan *si* ‘you’. Schmidt 1962:142; Klimov 1964:162—163 **sen*- and 1998:164 **sen* ‘you’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:300 **si*- (variant **si-n*- with secondary -*n*-); Fähnrich 2007:366 **si*-. In Georgian, this stem has been replaced by that of the possessive pronoun: Georgian *šen*- ‘you’ (< **škwe[n]*-).
B. Proto-Indo-European *-*si* (< *-*s* plus deictic particle *-*i*) second person singular primary verb ending, *-*s* second person singular secondary verb ending: Hittite second person singular *mi*-conjugation: -*ši*, preterit second person singular of thematic verbs: -*š*; Sanskrit (primary) -*si*, (secondary) -*s*; Avestan (primary) -*si*, (secondary) -*s*; Greek (primary) -σι, (secondary) -ς; Latin -*s*; Gothic -*s*; Old Russian -*šь* [-шь]; Lithuanian -*si*. Beekes 1995:232—234; Brugmann 1904:590; Meillet 1964:227—228 and 229; Szemerényi 1996:233—236; Burrow 1973:306—314; Fortson 2010:92—93; Sihler 1995:459—460.
C. Proto-Altaic **si* second person singular pronoun: ‘thou, you’: Proto-Tungus **si*, **sū* second person singular pronoun: ‘thou, you’ > Manchu *si* ‘you’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *šī* ‘you’; Evenki *si* ‘you’; Lamut / Even *hī* ‘you’; Negidal *sī* ‘you’; Ulch *si* ‘you’; Orok *si* ‘you’; Nanay / Gold *śi* ‘you’; Oroch *si* ‘you’; Udihe *si* ‘you’; Solon *ši* ‘you’. Second person singular possessive suffixes: Lamut / Even (after vowels) -*s*, (after consonants) -*as*, (after *n*) -*si*; Evenki (after vowels) -*s*, (after consonants) -*is*. Proto-Turkic **sẹ*- second person singular pronoun: ‘thou, you’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *sen* ‘you’; Karakhanide Turkic *sen* ‘you’; Turkish *sen* ‘you’; Gagauz *sän* ‘you’; Azerbaijani *sän* ‘you’; Turkmenian *sen* ‘you’; Tatar *sin* ‘you’; Bashkir *hin* ‘you’; Karaim *sïn* ‘you’; Kazakh *sen* ‘you’; Kirghiz *sen* ‘you’; Noghay *sen* ‘you’; Uzbek *sen* ‘you’; Uighur *sän* ‘you’; Tuva *sen* ‘you’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *sen* ‘you’; Sary-Uighur *sen* ‘you’; Chuvash *ezə* ‘you’; Yakut *en* ‘you’. Second person singular possessive

suffixes/personal markers: Turkish *-sIn*; Kazakh *-sIŋ*; Kirghiz *-sIŋ*; Uzbek *-sàn*. Fuchs—Lopatin—Menges—Sinor 1968; Johanson—Csató 1998. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1237—1238 **si* 'thou'.

Greenberg 2000:74—76; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2006a, **ś[ü]* (> ***śi*) 'thou'.

326. Proto-Nostratic 3rd person pronoun stem **si-* (~ **se-*) 'he, she, it; him, her; they, them'; 3rd person possessive suffix **-si* (~ **-se*) 'his, her, its; their':

A. Proto-Afrasian **si-* 3rd person pronoun stem, **-s(i)* 3rd person suffix: Egyptian *-s*, *-sy* third person singular suffix; dependent pronouns: *sw* 'he, him, it', *sy* 'she, her, it', *sn* 'they, them', *st* old form of the dependent pronoun 3rd singular f., which has been specialized for certain particular uses, mainly in place of the 3rd plural 'they, them' or of the neuter 'it'. Gardiner 1957:45, §43, 46, §44, and 98, §124; Hannig 1995:647, 674, 712, and 777; Faulkner 1962:205, 211, 215, 230, and 252. Berber: Tamazight 3rd person indirect pronouns: (singular after preposition and possessive with kinship) *s*, *as*, (poss. sg.) *-nnəs* or *ns*; (m. pl.) *sən*, *-sən*, *asən*, (f. pl.) *sənṯ*, *-sənṯ*, *asənṯ*, (poss. m. pl.) *-nsən*, (poss. f. pl.) *-nsənṯ*. Penchoen 1973:26—27. Tuareg (after prepositions) (m. and f. sg.) *-s*, *-əs*, *-ās*, *-is*, (m. pl.) *-sən*, *-əsən*, *-isən*, (f. pl.) *-sənət*, *-əsənət*, *-isənət*; (after kinship terms) (m. and f. sg.) *-s*, *-əs*, *-is*, (m. pl.) *-sən*, *-ssən*, *-əsən*, *-isən*, (f. pl.) *-sənət*, *-isənət*; (after nouns) (m. pl.) *-(n)əsən*, (f. pl.) *-(n)əsənət*; Kabyle (after prepositions) (m. and f. sg.) *-s*, (m. pl.) *-sən*, (f. pl.) *-sənt*; (after kinship terms) (m. and f. sg.) *-s*, (m. pl.) *-(t-)sən*, (f. pl.) *-(t-)sənt*; (after nouns) (m. and f. sg.) *-as*, (m. pl.) *-asən*, (f. pl.) *-asənt*; Ghadames (after prepositions) (m. and f. sg.) *-əs*, (m. pl.) *-sən*, (f. pl.) *-əsənət*; (after kinship terms) (m. and f. sg.) *-is*, (m. pl.) *(it)-sən*, (f. pl.) *(it)-əsnət*; (after nouns) (m. and f. sg.) *-(ənn)əs*, (m. pl.) *-(ənn)asən*, (f. pl.) *-(ənn)əsnət*. Chadic: Ngizim demonstratives (previous reference): (deictic predicator) *sánà* 'here/there (it) is, here/there they are (pointing out or offering)', (pronoun) *sánú* 'this one, that one; this, that (thing or event being pointed out or in question)'; Hausa *šii* 'he', (direct object) *ši* 'him'. Proto-East Cushitic **ʔu-s-uu* 'he' > Burji *ís-i* 3rd singular m. personal pronoun abs. (= obj.) 'him'; Gedeo / Darasa *isi* 3rd singular m. nom. pronoun 'he'; Kambata *isi* 3rd singular m. nom. pronoun 'he'; Sidamo *isi* 3rd singular m. nom. pronoun 'he'. Proto-East Cushitic **ʔi-š-ii* 'she' > Burji *íš-ée* 3rd singular f. personal pronoun abs. (= obj.) 'her'; Gedeo / Darasa *ise* 3rd singular f. nom. pronoun 'she'; Hadiyya *isi* 3rd singular f. nom. pronoun 'she'; Kambata *ise* 3rd singular f. nom. pronoun 'she'; Sidamo *ise* 3rd singular f. nom. pronoun 'she'. Sasse 1982:106 and 107; Hudson 1989:77 and 132. Highland East Cushitic: Kambata *-si* 3rd singular possessive pronoun (m.): 'his', *-se* 3rd singular possessive pronoun (f.): 'her'; Sidamo *-si* 3rd singular possessive pronoun (m.): 'his', *-se* 3rd singular possessive pronoun (f.): 'her'. Hudson

1989:80. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʔ*i-si-* ‘she’ > Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa *-s* in *-os* ‘his, her, its’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *-*si* (bound) ‘her’ > Dahalo *ʔíði* ‘she’, *-ði* ‘her’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʔ*u-su-* ‘he’ > Iraqw, Burunge, Alagwa *-s* in *-os* ‘his, her, its’. Proto-Southern Cushitic *-*su* (bound) ‘his’ > Ma’a *-ʔu* in *ku-ʔu* ‘his, her, its’; Dahalo *ʔúðu* ‘he’, *-ðu* ‘his’. Ehret 1980:290 and 295. Omotic: Gamo *sekki* ‘that, those’; 3rd person singular subject markers (affirmative): (m.) *-es*, (f.) *-us*; Zayse bound 3rd person singular subject pronouns: (m.) *-s*, (f.) *-is*; 3rd person singular independent pronouns: (subject m.) *ʔé-s-í*, (subject f.) *ʔí-s-í*, (direct object complement m.) *ʔé-s-a*, (direct object complement f.) *ʔí-s-a*, (postpositional complement m.) *ʔé-s-u(-ro)*, (postpositional complement f.) *ʔí-s-u(-ro)*, (copular complement m.) *ʔé-s-te*, (copular complement f.) *ʔí-s-te*.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Elamite *-š* (< *-*si* ?) 3rd singular personal suffix (Khačikjan 1998:34; Grillot-Susini 1987:33; Reiner 1969:76).

C. Proto-Kartvelian *-*s* verb suffix used to mark the 3rd person singular (subjective conjugation): Georgian *-s*; Mingrelian *-s*; Laz *-s*; Svan *-s*. Klimov 1964:160 *-*s*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:292 *-*s*; Fähnrich 2007:357—358 *-*s*.

D. Proto-Indo-European *-*s-* 3rd person singular verb ending: Hittite *ḫi*-conjugation 3rd singular preterit ending *-š* (cf. J. Friedrich 1960:76—79; Sturtevant 1951:144, §270a); Sanskrit 3rd singular root aorist optative ending *-s* in, for example, *bhū-yā́-s* (cf. Burrow 1973:352); Tocharian A 3rd singular verb ending *-ṣ* (< *-*se*) in, for example, *pälkäṣ* ‘shines’ (cf. Adams 1988:56, §4.212). According to Watkins (1962), it was this suffix that gave rise to the sigmatic aorist in Indo-European. (?) Proto-Indo-European *-*s-* in (m.) *ʔ*ey-s-os*, (f.) *ʔ*ey-s-eA* [*-aA*] (> *-ā*), *ʔ*ey-s-yos* a compound demonstrative pronoun: ‘this’: Sanskrit *eṣá-ḥ* (f. *eṣā́*) ‘this’; Avestan *aēša-* (f. *aēšā*) ‘this’; Oscan *eíseís* ‘he’; Umbrian *erec*, *erek*, *ere*, *eřek*, *erse* ‘he, it’. Note: the *-*s-* element could be from the Proto-Indo-European demonstrative stem *-*so-* ‘this, that’ (< Proto-Nostratic *-*ša-*/*-*šə-* ‘this, that’) instead. Pokorny 1959:281—283; Walde 1927—1932.I:96—98; Mann 1984—1987:235 *-*eisi̯os* (*-*eiso-*, *-*eito-*) a compound pronoun; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:129.

E. Proto-Uralic *-*se* 3rd person singular possessive suffix / 3rd person verb suffix (determinative conjugation). Abondolo 1998:29; Hajdú 1972:40 and 43—44.

F. Proto-Altaic **sV* (~ **š-*) ‘this, that’ (3rd person pronoun): Proto-Turkic *-*sï* 3rd person possessive suffix > Old Turkic *-sï*; Karakhanide Turkic *-sï*; Turkish *-sı*; Gagauz *-sï*; Azerbaijani *-sï*; Turkmenian *-sï*; Tatar *-sï*; Bashkir *-hï*; Karaim *-sï*; Uzbek *-sï*; Kazakh *-sï*; Kirghiz *-sï*; Uighur *-sï*; Noghay *-sï*; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *-sï*; Tuva *-zï*; Chuvash *-šə*. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1320—1321 **sV* (~ **š-*) ‘this, that’ (3rd person pronoun).

Greenberg 2000:99—101; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2006, **sE* ‘he/she’. This is an old anaphoric pronoun stem distinct from Proto-Nostratic **ša-*/**šə-* ‘this, that’.

327. Proto-Nostratic root **sig-* (~ **seg-*):
(vb.) **sig-* ‘to flow forth, to rain’;
(n.) **sig-a* ‘flowing, raining, storm’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **sag-ar-* ‘to flow forth, to rain’ > Hebrew *saγrīr* [סַגְרִיר] ‘steady, persistent rain’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); Syriac *saγrā* ‘heavy rain’; Arabic *sağara* ‘to cause water to flow, to shed, to fill the sea, to swell’, *sağrat* ‘small cistern for rain-water’. Klein 1987:435; Zammit 2002:215—216.
B. (?) Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **siksʸe* (**süksʸe*) ‘autumn’ > Finnish *syksy*, *syys* (gen. *syyksen*) ‘autumn’; Estonian *sügis* (gen. *sügise*) ‘autumn’; Lapp / Saami *čâk'čâ/čâvčâ-* ‘autumn’; Mordvin (Erza) *sokś*, *śoks*, *śokś*, (Moksha) *śoks*, *śokś* ‘autumn’; Cheremis / Mari *šəžə*, *šižə* ‘autumn’; Votyak / Udmurt *siźyl* ‘autumn’; Vogul / Mansi *tüks* ‘autumn’; Ostyak / Xanty *sŏ̆gəs* ‘autumn’; Hungarian *ősz* ‘autumn’. Collinder 1955:116, 1960:414 **sükeśe*, and 1977:130; Rédei 1986—1988:443 **sikśe* (**sükśe*); Sammallahti 1988:549 **śükśi* ‘autumn’. Semantic development as in Evenki *siγelese(nī)* ‘autumn’ cited below.
C. Proto-Altaic **sigi* (~ *z-*; *-e*, *-o*) ‘rain, storm’: Proto-Tungus **sig-* ‘(vb.) to be foggy, misty; (n.) fog, mist’ > Udihe *siga-* ‘to be foggy, misty’; Manchu *siɢan* ‘mist, heavy fog’; Evenki *siglamāt-* ‘to be foggy, misty’, *siγelese(nī)* ‘autumn’. Proto-Mongolian **siɣur-* ‘(vb.) to rage (as a storm); (n.) blizzard, snowstorm’ > Mongolian *siγur-* ‘to rage (as a storm)’, *siγurγa(n)* ‘snowstorm, blizzard, storm with cold rain’, *siγurγala-* ‘to rage (of a snowstorm)’; Khalkha *šūra-* ‘to rage (of a snowstorm)’, *šūrga* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’; Buriat *šūrga* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’; Kalmyk *šūr-* ‘to rage (of a snowstorm)’, *šūrγn̥* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’; Ordos *šūrɢan* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’; Shira-Yughur *šūrɢa* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’; Dagur *šōrgə* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’; Monguor *śūrɢa* ‘snowstorm, blizzard’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1242—1243 **sigi* (~ *z-*; *-e*, *-o*) ‘rain, (snow) storm’.

Buck 1949:1.75 rain (sb.); 1.76 snow (sb.). Hakola 2000:180, no. 805.

328. Proto-Nostratic root **siħ-* (~ **seħ-*):
(vb.) **siħ-* ‘to scatter, to strew, to cast or throw, to sprinkle (with water)’;
(n.) **siħ-a* ‘the act of scattering, strewing, casting, or throwing about’; (adj.) ‘scattered, strewn, cast, or thrown about’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **saħ-aw-* ‘to extend, to spread out; to be scattered, strewn, dispersed, spread out’ > Geez / Ethiopic *saḥwa* [**ሰሐወ**], *saḥawa*

[**ሰሐወ**] ‘to be extended, expanded, spread out, dispersed; to run (liquid)’, *səḥəw* [**ስሕው፡**] ‘scattered, dispersed’; Tigre *säḥa* (*sḥw*) ‘to be extended’; Tigrinya *säḥawä* ‘to be scattered, to be thinly sown’. Leslau 1987:495. Arabic *saḥḥa* ‘to pour out plenteously; to be poured out, to shed, to flow down’.

B. (?) Proto-Kartvelian **sx-* ‘to bear fruit, to grow’: Georgian *sx-* ‘to bear fruit, to grow’; Svan [*cx-*]. Klimov 1998:169 **sx-* ‘to bear fruit, to grow’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:306 **sx-*; Fähnrich 2007:373 **sx-*. Proto-Kartvelian **sx-am-*/**sx-m-* ‘to bear fruit, to grow’: Georgian *sxam-*/*sxm-* ‘to bear fruit’, *m-sxm-o-j* ‘fruit-bearing’; Svan *cxem-* ‘to grow’. Klimov 1998:169—170 **sx-am-* : **sx-m-* ‘to bear fruit, to grow’. Semantic development from ‘to throw, to scatter’ > ‘to sow (seeds), to make to grow’ > ‘to grow, to bear fruit’ as in Old English *sǣd* ‘seed (of plants and animals); fruit, crop; growth; sowing; source; progeny, posterity’ cited below.

C. Proto-Indo-European **siḫ̲h-* [**seḫ̲h-*] (> **sē-*) ‘to throw, to scatter’ > ‘to sow (seeds), to make to grow’: Latin *sēmen* ‘seed’, *sēmentis* ‘a sowing, planting’, *serō* (< **sisō*) ‘to sow, to plant’; Gothic *saian* ‘to sow’, *-sēþs* in *manasēþs* ‘mankind’; Old Icelandic *sá* ‘to sow; to throw, to scatter’, *sáð* ‘seed, corn, crop’, *sæði* ‘seed, (in pl.) crops’; Swedish *så* ‘to sow’, *sådd* ‘seed’; Danish *saa* ‘to sow’; Old English *sāwan* ‘to sow, to strew seeds, to plant’, *sǣd* ‘seed (of plants and animals); fruit, crop; growth; sowing; source; progeny, posterity’; Old Saxon *sāian* ‘to sow’, *sād* ‘seed’, *sāmo* ‘seed’; Old Frisian *sēd* ‘crop, sowing’; Old High German *sāen*, *sāwen* ‘to sow’ (New High German *säen*), *sāt* seed’ (New High German *Saat*), *sāmo* ‘seed’ (New High German *Same* ‘seed, grain; sperm, semen; germ, source; offspring, descendents’); Lithuanian *sėju*, *sėti* ‘to sow’, *sėmens*, *sėmenys* ‘flax seed’, *sėlena* ‘husk of a seed’; Old Church Slavic *sějǫ*, *sěti* (also *sějati*) ‘to sow’, *sěmę* ‘seed’; Polish *siać* ‘to sow’; (?) Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *iš-ḫu-u-wa-a-i* ‘to shed, to throw, to scatter, to sow (seeds), to pour’. Rix 1998a:469 **seh$_1$-* ‘to plant’ → ‘to sow’; Pokorny 1959:889—891 **sē(i)-* : **səi-* : **sī-*; **sē-* : **sə-* and **sei-* : **si-* ‘to throw, to scatter, to let fall, to sow’; Walde 1927—1932.II:459—463 **sēi-*; Mann 1984—1987:1122 **sē̯i̯ō* (**sə̯i̯ō*) ‘to sow’, **sē̯i̯ə* ‘sowing, seed-time’, 1126 **sēmn-*, **sēmō(n)* ‘seed’, 1133 **sēt-* (**sētos*) ‘sown, planted; sowing, seed’, 1134 **sētlos*, *-ā*, *-om* ‘sowing, seed; sowing-basket, seedlop, seedlip’; Watkins 1985:56 **sē-* (contracted from **seə̯-*) and 2000:73 **sē-* ‘to sow’ (contracted from earlier **seə̯$_1$-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:688—689 **seH(i)-* and 1995.I:594—595 **seH(i)-* ‘to sow’, **sēmen-* ‘seed, semen’; Mallory—Adams 1997:505 **seh$_1$men-* ‘seed’, 534 **seh$_1$-* ‘to sow’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:617—618 **sē-*, **sə-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:522 **sē-*; De Vaan 2008:557 **si-sh$_1$-e/o-* ‘to sow’; Orël 2003:327 Proto-Germanic **sēanan*, 327 **sēđan*, 327 **sēđiz*, 328 **sēmōn*; Lehmann 1986:290 **sē(y)-* (< **seˀ-*), **sī-*, **sei-*; Feist 1939:403—404 **sē(i̯)-*; De Vries 1977:459

**sē(i)-*, **seḭā-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:137—138; Onions 1966:806 and 849; Klein 1971:668 **sē-* and 700 **sē(i)-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:617 *sei-*, 619 **sē(i̯)-*, and 622—623 **sēi-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:612, 613 **sē-*, and 616; Tischler 1977— .2:391—392 and 2:393—394; Kloekhorst 2008b:396—399; Puhvel 1984— .1/2:404—409; Smoczyński 2007.1:545 **seh$_1$-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:778—779 **sē-*.

Buck 1949:5.71 fruit; 8.31 sow; seed; 12.53 grow.

## 22.17. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *ǯ

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Karvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| *ǯ- | *ʒ- | *c- | *ǯ- | *dʰ- | *č- | *ǯ-/ *-d- | *c- |
| *-ǯ- | *-ʒ- | *-c(c)- | *-ǯ- | *-dʰ- | *-č- | | |

329. Proto-Nostratic root *ǯaʔ- (~ *ǯəʔ-):
(vb.) *ǯaʔ- ‘to die, to fade, to wither’;
(n.) *ǯaʔ-*a* ‘death’

A. Proto-Afrasian *ʒaʔ- ‘to die, to fade, to wither’: Semitic: Arabic *zaʾama* ‘to die suddenly’. Egyptian *zꜣ* ‘to become weak or feeble’, *zꜣ-ʿ* ‘weak, feeble man’. Hannig 1995:657; Faulkner 1962:209. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʒaaʔ- ‘to be extinguished’ > Alagwa *tsaʾata* ‘barren (animal, person)’; Dahalo *dzaaʾ-* ‘to die’, *dzaaʾe* ‘death’, *dzaaʾama* ‘corpse’, *dzaaʾaṯa* ‘enemy’. Ehret 1980:197. Proto-Southern Cushitic *ʒaʔes- ‘to extinguish’ > Iraqw *tsaʾes-* ‘to extinguish’; Dahalo *dzeʾeð-* ‘to kill’. Ehret 1980:197.

B. Proto-Dravidian **caH-* ~ **ceH-* ‘to die’: Tamil *cā* (*cāv-*/*cākuv-*, *cett-*) ‘to die, to be spoiled or blighted (as crops), to be exhausted’, *cāvu* ‘death, ghost’, *cettal* ‘dying’, *cākkāṭu* ‘death’; Malayalam *cāka* (*catt-*) ‘to die’, *cākku* ‘death, mortality’, *cāvu* ‘death, case of death, mourning feast’, *catta* ‘dead’; Toda *soy-* (*sot-*) ‘to die (of others than Todas)’; Kannaḍa *sāy* (*sattu*) ‘to die’, *sāvu* ‘death, a corpse’; Koḍagu *ca·ḷ-* (*ca·v-*, *catt-*) ‘to die’, *ca·vu-* ‘corpse’; Telugu *caccu* (*cā-*, *cāv-*) ‘to die, to fade, to wither, to disappear, to cease’, *caccu* (adj.) ‘dead, listless, insipid’, *cāvu* ‘death’; Tuḷu *saipini*, *taipini* ‘to die, to be starved’, *sāvu*, *tāvu* ‘death, mourning feast’; Parji *cay-* (*cañ-*) ‘to die’; Kui *sāva* (*sāt-*) ‘to die, to be ill, to suffer’; Konḍa *sā-* ‘to die, to go out (of fire)’; Kuwi *hā-* ‘to die’, *hāki* ‘death’; Kuṛux *khēʾenā* (*keccas*) ‘to die, to fall out of use (as a law)’; Malto *keye* (*kec-*) ‘to die’, *keype* ‘dead’, *keyu* ‘mortal’; Brahui *kahing* ‘to die, to die down (of fire)’, *kasifing*, *kasfing* ‘to kill’. Krishnamurti 2003:46, 118, 126—127, 156, and 293 **caH-* ~ **ceH-* ‘to die’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:212—213, no. 2426.

C. Proto-Kartvelian (*ǯʔ-*in-* >) *ǯ-*in-* ‘to sleep, to fall asleep’: Georgian *ʒin-* ‘to sleep, to fall asleep’; Mingrelian *ǯir-* ‘to lie (down); to lean (on)’, *o-nǯir-al-i* ‘bed’; Laz *ǯin-*, *ǯir-* ‘to go to bed; to sleep’, *o-nǯir-e* ‘bed’. Schmidt 1962:152; Klimov 1964:238 *ʒ$_1$in- and 1998:287 *ʒ$_1$-in- ‘to sleep, to fall asleep’; Fähnrich 2007:607—608 *ʒ$_1$in-/*ʒ$_1$il-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:489—490 *ʒ$_1$in-/*ʒ$_1$il-. Proto-Kartvelian (*ǯʔ-il- >)

*ǯ-il-* ‘dream, sleep’: Georgian *ʒil-i* ‘dream, sleep’; Mingrelian [*ǯir-*] ‘dream, sleep’; Laz *(n)ǯir-*, *nǯi-* ‘dream, sleep’. Klimov 1964:238 **ʒ₁il-* and 1998:287 **ʒ₁-il-* ‘dream, sleep’.

D. Proto-Indo-European **dʰeʔ-*/**dʰoʔ- > **dʰē-*/**dʰō-* ‘to waste away; to become exhausted, faded, withered, weak, weary’: Latin *famēs* ‘hunger’, *fatīgō* ‘to weary, to tire’; Old Irish *ded-* ‘to dwindle’; Old English *demm* ‘damage, injury, loss, misfortune’; Old Icelandic *dási* ‘sluggard, lazy fellow’, *dasast* ‘to become weary, exhausted’, *dasaðr* ‘weary, exhausted (from cold or bodily exertion)’; Swedish *dasa* ‘to lie idle’. Pokorny 1959:239 **dhē-* ‘to pass away’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:829 **dhē-*; Watkins 1985:13 **dhē-* ‘to vanish’ (contracted from **dheẹ̄-*); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:451 **dhē-* (: **dhə-*); De Vaan 2008:200 and 204—205; Orël 2003:69 Proto-Germanic **đasōn* ~ **đasaz*; De Vries 1977:74; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:96.

Buck 1949:4.61 sleep (vb., sb.); 4.75 die; dead; death; 4.91 tired, weary; 5.14 hunger (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:347, no. 172.

330. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ǯagʷ-a* ‘a small tree, a bush or shrub’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʒagʷ-* ‘a kind of tree’: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *zagbā* [ዘግባ] possibly ‘podocarpus’ (it renders Biblical ‘cedar, cypress’); Tigrinya *zägba* ‘podocarpus’; Amharic *zägba*, *zəgba* ‘podocarpus’; Gurage *zəgba* ‘a kind of tree’. Leslau 1979:704 and 1987:633. New Egyptian *sg* (< **zg* ?) ‘tree’. Hannig 1995:775. Proto-Highland East Cushitic **dzagiba* ‘cedar tree’ > Hadiyya *digiba* ‘cedar tree’; Kambata *zagiba*, *zagisšu* (< **zagib-cu*) ‘cedar tree’; Sidamo *daguba*, *dagucco* (< **dagub-co*) ‘cedar tree’. Hudson 1989:37.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *cakli* ‘the Manilla tamarind tree’; Tuḷu *cakkulimara* ‘the Manilla tamarind tree’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:201, no. 2273.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **ǯegw-* ‘blackthorn, sloe’: Georgian (Lečxumi dialect) *ʒegv-* ‘blackthorn, sloe’; Mingrelian [*ǯag(v)-*] ‘small shrubbery’. Fähnrich 2007:603 **ʒ₁egw-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:485—486 **ʒ₁egw-*; Klimov 1998:284 **ʒ₁egw-* ‘blackthorn, sloe’.

331. Proto-Nostratic root **ǯaħ-* (~ **ǯəħ-*):
(vb.) **ǯaħ-* ‘to call (out), to cry (out)’;
(n.) **ǯaħ-a* ‘call, cry; name’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʒaħ-* ‘to call (out), to cry (out), to groan’: Proto-Semitic **ʒaħ-ar-* ‘to grunt, to groan, to moan’ > Arabic *zaḥara* ‘to groan, to moan’, *zaḥīr* ‘groan, moan’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *zaḥár* ‘(animal) to push out its young squealing; (woman) to push out a child grunting and groaning’; Mehri

*zəḥār* ‘to squeak, to grunt, to squeal’; Ḥarsūsi *zeḥār* ‘to grunt or squeak while giving birth’. Egyptian *zḥzḥ* ‘to cry out, to shriek’. Hannig 1995:737.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **ǯax-*/**ǯx-* ‘to call, to be called’: Georgian *ʒax-* ‘to call, to cry, to shout’; Mingrelian *ǯox-* ‘to be called’; Laz *ǯox-*, *jox-* ‘to call’; Svan *žäx-*/*žx-* (*šx-*) ‘to be named, to be called’. Klimov 1964:236—237 **ʒ$_{I}$ax-* and 1998:283 **ʒ$_{I}$ax-* : **ʒ$_{I}$x-* ‘to call, to be called’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:484—485 **ʒ$_{I}$ax-*; Fähnrich 2007:602—603 **ʒ$_{I}$ax-*. Proto-Kartvelian **ǯax-e-* ‘name’: Georgian *sax-el-* ‘name’; Mingrelian *ǯox-o* ‘name’; Laz *ǯox-o* ‘name’; Svan *žax-e*, *žäx-e* ‘name’. Klimov 1964: 237 **ʒ$_{I}$axe-* and 1998:283—284 **ʒ$_{I}$ax-e-* ‘name’.

Buck 1949:18.41 call (vb. = summon); 18.42 call (vb. = name; b) be called, named).

332. Proto-Nostratic root **ǯal-* (~ **ǯəl-*):
(vb.) **ǯal-* ‘to fasten, to tie’;
(n.) **ǯal-a* ‘string, strap, cord’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **ǯal-* ‘string, cord’: Georgian *ʒal-* ‘string’; Svan (Lower Bal) *ǯəl-*, (Upper Bal) *ǯil-* ‘string, cord’. Klimov 1998:282 **ʒ$_{I}$al-* ‘sinew, string’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:482—483 **ʒ$_{I}$al-*; Palmaitis—Gudjedjiani 1985:313. Different etymology in Fähnrich 2007:600 [**ʒ$_{I}$il-*].

B. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *tude-čalete-* ‘to hang oneself’. Nikolaeva 2006:122. This stem is an exception to vowel harmony.

C. Proto-Altaic **ǯălo-* ‘(vb.) to fasten, to tie; (n.) string, strap, cord’: Proto-Tungus **ǯala-n* ‘joint; shoe straps’ > Manchu *ǯala(n)* ‘a section (of bamboo, grass), a joint; generation, age; world; subdivision of a banner, ranks; measure word for walls and fences’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ǯalən* ‘joint’; Evenki *ǯalan* ‘joint’, *ǯalaptun* ‘shoe straps’; Lamut / Even *ǯalḍn* ‘joint’, *ǯalḍpkir* ‘shoe straps’; Negidal *ǯalan* ‘joint’, *ǯalaptin* ‘plummet’; Ulch *ǯala(n)* ‘joint; generation, world’; Orok *dala(n)* ‘joint; generation, world’; Nanay / Gold *ǯalã* ‘joint; generation world’; Oroch *ǯala(n)* ‘joint; generation, world’; Udihe *ǯala(n)* ‘joint; generation world’. Proto-Mongolian **ǯalga-* ‘to fasten, to join’ > Written Mongolian *ǯalγa-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Khalkha *ʒalga-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Buriat *zalga-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Kalmyk *zalγə-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Ordos *ǯalɢa-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Dagur *ǯalga-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Shira-Yughur *ǯalɢaǯab-* ‘to fasten, to join’; Monguor *ʒirɢa-*, *ǯalɢā-* ‘to fasten, to join’. Proto-Turkic **yala-* ‘sacred band; flag; tie, strap’ > Turkmenian (dial.) *yalow* ‘flag’; Uzbek *yalɔw* ‘flag’; Uighur (dial.) *ǯala* ‘tie, strap’; Tatar (dial.) *yalaw* ‘flag’, *yala* ‘tie, strap’; Kirghiz *yalau* ‘flag’; Kazakh *žalaw* ‘flag’; Sary-Uighur *ǯala* ‘tie, strap’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *yalaγa*, *d'alaγa* ‘tie, strap’; Tuva *čalā* ‘tie, strap’, *čalama* ‘sacred band’; Yakut *salama* ‘sacred band’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:1526—1527 **ǯălo* ‘to fasten, to bind, to hang’.

Sumerian *zal* ‘to bind’.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 9.19 rope, cord.

333. Proto-Nostratic root **ǯaw-* (~ **ǯəw-*):
(vb.) **ǯaw-* ‘to wear out, to be used up, to cease to function’;
(n.) **ǯaw-a* ‘cessation, end, extinction’; (adj.) ‘worn out, used up, wasted, decrepit, old’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ʒaw-* ‘to wear out, to be used up, to cease to function’: Proto-Semitic **ʒaw-al-* ‘to wear out, to be used up, to cease to function’ > Hebrew *zūl* [זוּל] ‘to waste, to lavish, to squander; to be cheap’, *zūlāh* [זוּלָה] ‘removal, cessation’; Arabic *zāla* ‘to cease to be in a place, to remove; to cease, to perish; to cause to cease, to disappear; to destroy; to abolish’, *zawāl* ‘end, passage, extinction, disappearance, vanishing, cessation, setting (of the sun); decline, change for the worse, injury, harm’, *ʔizāla* ‘removal, elimination’; Sabaean *zwl* ‘to vanish, to complete’. Murtonen 1989:163; Klein 1987:196; Zammit 2002:211. Arabic *zawā* ‘to take away, to remove’. Egyptian *zwn* ‘to perish’, *zwn* ‘affliction’. Hannig 1995:677; Faulkner 1962:217; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.3:428. [Ehret 1995:262, no. 477, **jaw-* or **dzaw-* ‘to wear out, to be used up, to cease to function’.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *cavalai* ‘leanness of an infant not fed on mother’s milk, tenderness, immaturity’, *cavu* ‘to become weak, to be emaciated’, *cavaṅku* (*cavaṅki-*) ‘to become lean, emaciated; to shrink, to subside, to faint, to languish’, *cāvi* ‘withered crop, blighted or empty grain’, *cāvaṭṭai* ‘withered grain, chaff, emaciated person, dried betel leaves’; Malayalam *cavala* ‘empty corn, leanness, hollowness’, *cāvi*, *cāṟi* ‘empty grain, blighted corn; cankerworm, palmerworm’, *cāṭa* ‘seedless, empty (as husk)’; Kota *jag-* (*jagy-*) ‘to become lean’, *jalv-* (*jald-*) (< **javl-*) ‘to become lean and stringy with old age’; Tuḷu *cavuḷi* ‘old’; Telugu *cavile* ‘leanness, thinness’, *cavile-pōyina* ‘lean, thin (as an infant)’, *sāvi* ‘a blasted stalk of withered corn’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:210, no. 2392.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **ǯw-el-* ‘decrepit, old (of things)’: Georgian *ʒveli* ‘decrepit, old (mostly of things)’; Mingrelian *ǯvesi* ‘old’; Laz *m-ǯveši*, *n-ǯveši* ‘old’; Svan *ʒwinel* ‘old’. Fähnrich 2007:606 **ǯw-*; Schmidt 1962: 152; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:488 **ǯw-*; Klimov 1964:238 **ʒ₁wel-* and 1998:286 **ʒ₁w-el-* ‘decrepit, old’. Proto-Kartvelian **ǯw-en-*/**ǯw-in-* ‘to become old’: Laz *m-ǯven-* ‘to become old’; Svan [*ǯwin-*] ‘to become old’. Klimov 1964:238 **ʒ₁wen-* and 1998:286—287 **ʒ₁w-en-* : **ʒ₁w-in-* ‘to become old’.

D. Proto-Indo-European **dʰw-iH-* (> **dʰw-ī-*) ‘to dwindle, to waste away, to wane’: Old Icelandic *dvína* ‘to dwindle, to cease, to subside’; Old English *dwīnan* ‘to become smaller, to dwindle, to waste away’; Middle Low

German *dwīnan* ‘to waste away’; Dutch *verdwijnen* ‘to waste away, to vanish’. Mann 1984—1987:228 **dhu̯ĭnō* ‘to wane’; Watkins 1985:14 **dheu-* ‘to become exhausted, to die’ (suffixed zero-grade form **dhwī-no-* in Germanic) and 2000:19 **dheu-* (also **dheuə-*) ‘to die’ (extended zero-grade form **dhuə̯i-*, metathesized to **dhwiə̯-*, contracted to **dhwī-*, whence suffixed form **dhwī-no-*); Orël 2003:81 Proto-Germanic **đwīnanan*; Kroonen 2013:112—113 Proto-Germanic **dwīnan-* ‘to diminish’; De Vries 1977:89; Klein 1971:233 **dhwei-*; Onions 1966:296.

E. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *čawire-*, *čawure-* ‘to pretend to be poorer than one is’. Nikolaeva 2006:127.

F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **ðawwaca-* ‘to perish’ > Chukchi *rakwaca-* ‘to perish; to be crippled, maimed’; Kerek *jakwa(a)ca-* ‘to perish; to be crippled’; Koryak *jawwaca-* ‘to be crippled, maimed’; Alyutor *sawwasa-* ‘to perish; to be crippled’. Fortescue 2005:55.

Buck 1949:12.56 small, little; 14.15 old; 14.28 cease; 16.31 pain, suffering. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:346, no. 171.

334. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **ǯem-a* ‘anything that is sour, bitter, pungent, sharp’; (adj.) ‘sour, bitter, pungent, sharp’:

A. (?) Afroasiatic: Semitic: Akkadian (reduplicted) *zimzimmu* (*zinzimmu*) ‘a type of onion’, probably ‘red onion’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **ǯ̬-* ‘salt’: Georgian [*ʒm-*] ‘salt’; Mingrelian *ǯimu-* ‘salt’; Laz *(n)ǯumu-* ‘salt’; Svan *ǯəm-*, *ǯim-* ‘salt’. Klimov 1964:239 **ʒ₁ᵑ̬-* and 1998:289—290 **ʒ₁m(u)-* ‘salt’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:493—494 **ʒ₁um-*; Fähnrich 2007:611—612 **ʒ₁um-*. Proto-Kartvelian **ǯm-ar-* ‘vinegar’: Georgian *ʒm-ar-i* ‘vinegar’; Mingrelian [*ǯimol-*] ‘vinegar’; Laz *ǯumori* ‘vinegar’; Svan *ǯimar-* (?) ‘vinegar’. Klimov 1964:240 **ʒ₁m-ar-* and 1998:289 **ʒ₁m-ar-* ‘vinegar’; Schmidt 1962:152—153.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **čemɜ* ‘sour; to become sour’ > Votyak / Udmurt *šõm* ‘taste, leaven’; Zyrian / Komi *šom* ‘leaven, sourness’; Ostyak / Xanty (Tremyugan) *čim-*, (North Kazym) *šĭm-*, (Obdorsk) *sĭm-* ‘to turn sour (dough), to ferment, to rise, to get spoiled, to rot from humidity (of garment or rope)’. Collinder 1955:118 and 1977:131; Rédei 1986—1988:56—57 **čemɜ*.

Buck 1949:5.81 salt (sb.); 5.83 vinegar; 15.36 salt (adj.); 15.38 acid, sour. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:347—348, no. 173.

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| čʰ- | c- | c- | č- | tʰ- | č- | čʰ- | c- |
| -čʰ- | -c- | -c(c)- | -č- | -tʰ- | -č- | -čʰ- | -c(c)- |

335. Proto-Nostratic root **čʰal-* (~ **čʰəl-*):
(vb.) **čʰal-* ‘to leave, to leave behind, to abandon, to get rid of, to empty; to set free, to release, to let go’;
(n.) **čʰal-a* ‘freedom, leisure, emptiness’; (adj.) ‘empty, abandoned, released, freed (from), at leisure’

Semantics as in Sanskrit *ric-* and its derivatives: *ric-* ‘to empty, to evacuate, to leave, to give up, to resign; to release, to set free; to leave behind; to separate, to remove from’, *ricyáte* ‘to be emptied, to be deprived of or freed from’, *riktá-ḥ* ‘emptied, empty, void’.

A. Proto-Afrasian **cal-* ‘to empty, to get rid of’: Proto-Semitic **cal-ay-* ‘to empty, to get rid of’ > Hebrew *sālāh* [סָלָה] ‘to make light of, to toss aside, to treat as worthless’; Aramaic *səlā* ‘to throw away, to despise, to reject’; Arabic *salā*, *saliya* ‘to get rid of the memory of, to forget; to comfort, to console, to cheer up; to distract, to divert; to amuse, to entertain; to alleviate, to dispel; to take delight, to take pleasure, to have a good time, to have fun’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *essóli* ‘to amuse, to entertain’, *eslé* ‘to amuse’; Mehri *sōli* ‘to amuse, to entertain’; (?) Akkadian *salū* (also *šalū*, *šalāʾu*) ‘to reject, to throw away’ (also ‘to whirl up, to kick up dust, to toss, to sprinkle, to spit blood or spittle; to shoot arrows, to hurl weapons’). Klein 1987:447. (?) Egyptian: Coptic (Sahidic, Bohairic) *sōl* [ⲥⲱⲗ], (Bohairic) *sol-* [ⲥⲟⲗ-], (Sahidic) *sēl* [ⲥⲏⲗ] ‘to dissipate, to pervert’. Černý 1976:151 — according to Černý (1976:160—161), *sōl* [ⲥⲱⲗ] is “probably identical with ⲥⲱⲣ”; Crum 1939:330. On the other hand, *sōl* [ⲥⲱⲗ] is not listed in Vycichl 1983.

B. (?) Dravidian: Kannaḍa *calla*, *cella* ‘great mirth, fun, jest, smiling, laughter’, *callavāḍu* ‘to frolic, to sport, to gambol’, *callāṭa*, *cellāṭa* ‘sport, fun’; Telugu *cellāṭamu* ‘sport, play, toying’, *cellāḍu* ‘to sport, to play, to frolic’, *ceral-āḍu* ‘to sport, to play, to roam about for pleasure’, *ceral-āṭamu* ‘sport, play, roaming for pleasure’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:209, no. 2378. Semantic development as in the Arabic and South Arabian forms cited above.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **čal-*/**čl-* ‘to empty’: Georgian *cal-*/*cl-* ‘to empty; to have spare time’, *cal-ier-i* ‘empty’; Mingrelian *čol-* ‘to empty’; Laz [*čol-*]. Schmidt 1962:148; Klimov 1964:227 **c₁al-* and 1998:269 **c₁al-* ‘to

empty'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:457—458 *$c_1al$-; Fähnrich 2007: 570—571 *$c_1al$-.

D. Proto-Indo-European *$t^hel$-/*$t^hol$-/*$t^hl̥$- 'to leave, to leave behind, to abandon, to get rid of, to empty; to set free, to release, to let go' (extended form in Germanic: *$t^hl$-*ew*-/*$t^hl$-*ow*-/*$t^hl$-*u*-, with root in zero-grade and suffix in full-grade): Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *ta-la-a-i*, *da-li-ya-zi* 'to leave, to abandon, to let go'; Gothic *þliuhan* 'to flee', *unþa-þliuhan* 'to escape', *þlauhs* 'flight'; Old Icelandic *flýja* (< *θleuχan-) 'to flee, to take flight', *flugr* 'flight', *flótti* 'flight'; Norwegian *flya* 'to flee'; Old English *flēon* 'to fly from, to flee, to escape', *flyht* 'flying, flight', *flēam* 'flight'; Old Frisian *fliā* to flee', *flecht* 'flight'; Old Saxon *fliohan* 'to flee', *fluht* 'flight'; Middle Dutch *vlien*, *vlieden* 'to flee', *vlucht* 'flight'; Old High German *fliohan* 'to flee' (New High German *fliehen* 'to flee, to run away, to escape'), *fluht* 'flight' (New High German *Flucht*). According to Onions (1966:361), the Common Germanic forms are to be reconstructed as follows: *þleuχan, *þlauχ, *þluɣum, *þloɣan-. Semantic development in Germanic from 'to leave, to leave behind, to depart' to 'to flee, to escape' as in Kashmiri *rinzun* 'to escape, to flee away secretly' (cf. Pāḷi *riñcati* 'to leave behind'). Kroonen 2013:544 Proto-Germanic *þleuhan 'to flee'; Orël 2003:107 Proto-Germanic *fleuxanan; Uhlenbeck 1900:151—152 Proto-Indo-European *tleuk-, *tluk-; Balg 1887—1889:474 Germanic root *þluh- (*þlug- by grammatical change), Pre-Germanic *tluk-, *tleuk-; Feist 1939:499—500 Proto-Indo-European *$tl̥kį́$ (Osthoff), Old Icelandic *flýja* (< *þleuhjan ?), *fløja* (< *þlauhjan) (Noreen); Lehmann 1986:363—364; De Vries 1977:134; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:174 *þluh-; Onions 1966:361; Klein 1971:285; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:120—121 Proto-Germanic *þleuhanaN; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:207 and 209; Kluge—Seebold 1989:221 and 223; Bomhard 2004a:34—35. Different Hittite etymology in Kloekhorst 2008b:816—818. Probably also: Old Irish *-tella*, (analogical) *-talla* (< *telp-nā-) 'there is room for'; Lithuanian *telpù*, *tiĨpti* 'to find or have room enough, to go in', *talpà* 'capacity, holding power', *ištiĨpti* 'to make oneself free'; Tocharian B *tälp-* 'to be emptied, purged', *tälpālle* 'purgative'. Rix 2001:623 *telp- 'to make room'; Pokorny 1959:1062 *telp- 'to have room', *tolpā 'space, room'; Walde 1927—1932.I:741—742 *telp-; Mallory—Adams 1997:534 *telp- 'to have room' and 2006:287—288 *telp- 'to have room'; Mann 1984—1987:1377 *telpō (*tolp-, *$tl̥p$-) 'to have room', 1402 *$tl̥p$- 'space', and 1410 *tolp- 'space, area; to find room'; Thurneysen 1946:55 and 95; Smoczyński 2007.I:678 *telp-, *$tl̥p$-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1094; Adams 1999:297 *telp-; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:500.

Sumerian *sal* 'to set free, to release, to let loose, to let go; to leave, to abandon'.

Buck 1949:10.51 flee; 12.18 leave; 13.22 empty. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:352, no. 178.

336. Proto-Nostratic root *$č^h$*an-* (~ *$č^h$*ən-*):
(vb.) *$č^h$*an-* ‘to bring forth, to produce, to grow, to be born’;
(n.) *$č^h$*an-a* ‘that which is brought forth, produced, grown: fruit; bringing forth: birth’

A. Dravidian: Parji *cand-* ‘to grow up’, *candip-* (*candit-*) ‘to make to grow up, to bring up, to rear’; Gadba (Ollari) *sand-* ‘to grow’, *sandup-* (*sandut-*) ‘to make to grow’, (Salur) *sand-* ‘to grow (plants, etc.)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:205, no. 2329.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **čen-/*čn-* ‘to grow, to flourish (plants)’: Georgian *cen-* ‘to grow, to flourish (plants)’; Mingrelian *čan-* ‘to grow, to flourish’; Laz *čan-* ‘to grow, to flourish’; Svan *šen-* (< **čen-*) : *šn-*, *šän-* ‘to bear fruit’, *ma-šen*, *ma-šän* ‘fruit’. Schmidt 1962:149; Klimov 1964:228 **$c_1$en-* and 1998:271 **$c_1$en-* : **$c_1$n-* ‘to grow, to flourish (about plants)’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:461 **$c_1$en-*; Fähnrich 2007:574—575 **$c_1$en-*.
C. Proto-Uralic **ča(n)čɜ-* ‘to be born, to grow’: Mordvin (Erza) *šačo*, *čačo*, (Moksha) *šačə-* ‘to be born, to arise, to develop’; Cheremis / Mari *šača-*, *šoča-*, *čoča-* ‘to be born, to grow’; Votyak / Udmurt *čyžy* : *čyžy-vyžy* ‘family, tribe, race, stock’; Zyrian / Komi *čuž-*, *ćuž-* ‘to be born, to grow’; Vogul / Mansi *såssä* ‘indigenous’; Ostyak / Xanty *čăčə* ‘indigenous; birthplace, home’, *čăčə-məg* ‘native land, homeland’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *tõõnc* ‘sort, kind, family’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *tansa* ‘family’; (?) Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *tid'o*, (Baiha) *tizo* ‘family’; Selkup Samoyed *čaž*, *taaže* ‘family’. Collinder 1955:60 and 1977:77; Rédei 1986—1988:52 **čačɜ- ~ *čančɜ-*.

Buck 1949:5.71 fruit; 12.53 grow; 19.23 tribe, clan, family (in wide sense).

337. Proto-Nostratic root *$č^h$*ečʰ-*:
(vb.) *$č^h$*ečʰ-* ‘to press, to squeeze, to crush’;
(n.) *$č^h$*ečʰ-a* ‘the act of pressing, squeezing, crushing; that which is pressed, squeezed, crushed: crumb(s)’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ssḥ* ‘to destroy (enemies), to shatter’. Hannig 1995:756; Faulkner 1962:246; Gardiner 1957:592.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **čeč-* ‘to crumble’: Georgian [*cec-*] ‘to crumble’ in: *na-m-cec-* ‘bread crumbs’ (Old Georgian *na-m-cuec-*, with an unclear *-u-*); Mingrelian *čač-* ‘to thresh, to crumble’. Klimov 1964:228 **$c_1$e$c_1$-* and 1998:271 **$c_1$e$c_1$-* ‘to crumble’ (Klimov notes that, in view of the Old Georgian derivative, a proto-form **$c_1$ue$c_1$-* is also possible); Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:462—463 **$c_1$we$c_1$-* (Fähnrich—Sardshweladse state

that -*w*- has been lost in Mingrelian: *$c_1wec_1$- > *čač*-); Fähnrich 2007:577 *$c_1wec_1$-.

C. Proto-Altaic *$čʰečʰi$- ‘to press, to squeeze’: Proto-Tungus *čeče-re- ‘to press, to embrace’ > Manchu *čečere*- ‘to press tightly, to embrace tightly’, *čečerše*- ‘to exert a great amount of effort, to quiver from exertion’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:420 *$č‘eč‘i$ ‘to press, to squeeze’.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.).

338. Proto-Nostratic root *$čʰokʰ$-:
(vb.) *$čʰokʰ$- ‘to bend, to twist, to turn, to wind’;
(n.) *$čʰokʰ$-*a* ‘the act of bending, twisting, turning, winding’

A. Proto-Kartvelian *čok*- ‘to kneel down’: Georgian *čok*- in *da-čok-eb-a* ‘to kneel down’; Svan *čok*-/*čk*- ‘to kneel down’. Fähnrich 2007:544 *čok*-.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$tʰokʰ$- ‘to bend, to turn, to twist, to wind’: Old Irish *tochraim* ‘to wind, to thread’, *tochras* ‘coiling’; Lithuanian *tãkilas* ‘grindstone, wheel of a lathe’; Russian *tokárnyj* [токарный] ‘turning’, *tókar′* [токарь] ‘turner, lathe operator’. Mann 1984—1987:1408 *tokəl*-, *tokər*- ‘spin, turn; spinner, turner’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1074.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.).

## 22.19. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *č’

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| č’- | c’- | c- | č’- | t’- | č- | č- | c- |
| -č’- | -c’- | -c(c)- | -č’- | -t’- | -č- | -č- | -c- |

339. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *č’am-a ‘reed, grass’:

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *ḏmꜥ* ‘papyrus (book), papyrus (sheet or roll)’; Coptic *ǧōōme* [ϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ] ‘sheet, roll of papyrus, written document, book’. Hannig 1995:1006; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:574; Vycichl 1983:327; Černý 1976:314.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *campu* ‘elephant grass’, *campaṅ-kōrai* ‘elephant grass’, *caṇpu* ‘elephant grass; a species of sedge grass’; Kannaḍa *jambu* ‘a kind of reed or sedge’; Telugu *jambu* ‘a bulrush, sedge’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:207, no. 2347.
C. Proto-Kartvelian *č’am- (or *č’em-) ‘grass’: Georgian [*c’am-*] in *ler-c’am-* ‘rush, reed’, *c’am-al-* ‘medicine, drug’; Laz *(m)č’am-* ‘medicine, drug’; Svan *č’ēm* ‘hay’. Fähnrich 2007:643—644 *$ç_1$am-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:518—519 *$ç_1$am-*; Klimov 1964:249 *$ç_1$em-* and 1998:306 *$ç_1$am- // *$ç_1$em-* ‘grass’.
D. Proto-Altaic *čamu ‘brier, thorny plant’: Proto-Tungus *ǯamu ‘brier, thorny plant’ > Manchu *ǯamu* ‘wild rose, sweet-brier, dog-brier, dog-rose’, *ǯamu ilha* ‘an exotic red rose without odor’, *ǯamuri ilha* ‘hedgerose’, *ǯamuri orho* ‘gromwell, puccoon’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ǯamərə* ‘wild-rose, sweet-brier, dog-brier, dog-rose’; Udihe *ǯamukta* ‘wild-rose, sweet-brier, dog-brier, dog-rose’. Manchu loan in Written Mongolian *ǯamur* ‘fruit of sweet-brier (eglantine)’. Tsintsius 1975—1977.I:247—248; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:392 *čamu ‘a kind of tree’. Note: The alleged Mongolian and Japanese cognates proposed by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak are not included here.

Buck 1949:8.51 grass; 8.52 hay. Bomhard 1996a:227, no. 641.

340. Proto-Nostratic root *č’ik’- (~ *č’ek’-):
(vb.) *č’ik’- ‘to be small’;
(n.) *č’ik’-a ‘small things’; (adj.) ‘small’

A. Afrasian: North Omotic: Male *c’ik’o* ‘small’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *cikka* ‘in brief, in a nutshell’; Malayalam *cikkiṇi* ‘young, small (said of girls)’; Iruḷa *cikkeḍu* ‘mosquito’; Kota *cikn* ‘mouse’; Kannaḍa *cikka*, *ciga* ‘little, small, young’, *cīku* ‘smallness, littleness of size

(used of grain and pulse)’, *cikkatana* ‘childhood, youth’; Koḍagu *cikk-aḍake* ‘very young, tender areca-nut’; Tuḷu *cikka* ‘little, young, small, short’, *cikini* ‘tender, young, small’, *cikkè* ‘a dwarf’, *cikkeli* ‘a small variety of mouse’; Telugu *cikiciki* ‘small, little’; Gondi *cikkāl*, *cikkal* ‘muskrat’, *cikkāl* ‘mouse’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:218, no. 2495.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **č’ik’-* ‘tiny, wee; small things’: Georgian (Tušian) *c’ik’-u-j* ‘smallest; crumb’, (Kartlian) *c’ik’-o-mak’-o-* ‘small things’; Mingrelian *č’ik’-u* ‘small, little’. Klimov 1998:313 **ç ₁iḳu-* ‘tiny, wee; small things’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:527 **ç₁iḳ-*; Fähnrich 2007:654 **ç₁iḳ-*.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Kamchadal / Itelmen (Eastern) *-cic*, *-cuc* ‘small’ (note also *-dec* in *kigidec* ‘small river’), (Western) *-c(a)X* ‘little, small’, *-cxicaX* ‘very small’, (Southern) *-cic* ‘small’. Fortescue 2005:390—391.

Buck 1949:12.56 small, little. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 334, **çEḳV* ‘small’. Note: The Altaic material cited by Dolgopolsky does not belong here.

341. Proto-Nostratic root **č’ir-* (~ **č’er-*):
(vb.) **č’ir-* ‘to cut, to cut off, to cut through; to cut into, to scratch, to scrape’;
(n.) **č’ir-a* ‘that which is cut, cut off, cut into: slice, board, plank, scratch; that which cuts: knife, axe, adze’

A. Proto-Afrasian **c’ir-* ‘to cut, to cut off, to cut through, to cut into’: Proto-Semitic **c’ar-am-* ‘to cut, to cut off’ > New Hebrew *ṣāram* [צָרַם] ‘to grate on the ear; to injure, to split’; Syriac *ṣəram* ‘to crop, to cut off (the ears), to cut grass (for cattle); to pluck, to tear up (plants); to dare’; Arabic *ṣarama* ‘to cut off, to sever, to break, to tear’, *ṣarm*, *ṣurm*, *ṣuram* ‘separation, breach, rupture’, *ṣarīm* ‘cut off’. Murtonen 1989:367; Klein 1987:557; Zammit 2002:254. Proto-Semitic **c’ar-ay-* ‘to cut, to cut off’ > Arabic *ṣarā* ‘to cut, to cut off, to lop’; Syriac *ṣərā* ‘to rend asunder’. Proto-Semitic **c’ar-ab-* ‘to cut, to hew, to carve’ > Arabic *ṣaraba* ‘to cut, to remove’; Soqoṭri *ṣerob* ‘to cut’; Mehri *məṣrāb* ‘saw-edged knife used (by women) to cut grass for fodder’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *məṣrɛ́b* ‘grass-cutting knife (used by women in autumn)’; Geez / Ethiopic *ṣaraba* [ጸረበ] ‘to hew, to act as a carpenter, to do carpentry’, *maṣrab* [መጽረብ] ‘axe’, *ṣarb* [ጸርብ] ‘plank’; Tigrinya *ṣäräbä* ‘to hew, to carve’; Tigre *ṣärba* ‘to hew, to carve’; Gafat *ṣärräbä* ‘to hew, to carve’; Gurage *ṭärräbä* ‘to slice thin pieces of wood from a surface, to plane wood, to chip stones, to tear off a leaf of the *äsät*, to remove leaves with a stroke, to hit the edge of a whip’; Amharic *ṭärräbä* ‘to carve, to hew (wood, stones)’, *ṭärb* ‘board, plank, lumber, beam (of wood)’, *mäṭräbiya* ‘hatchet, axe, adze’; Argobba *ṭärräba* ‘to carve, to hew’. Leslau 1979:630 and 1987:563. Lowland East Cushitic: Galla / Oromo *c’ir-* ‘to cut’. Highland East Cushitic (perhaps loans from Oromo): Burji *c’ir-* ‘to chop, to clear forest, to gnaw’; Sidamo *c’ir-* ‘to gnaw, to

shave'. Hudson 1989:71, 184, and 357; Sasse 1982:49. Orël—Stolbova 1995:105, no. 444, **çir-* 'to cut'.

B. (?) Proto-Dravidian **cēr-* 'to scratch, to scrape' > '(vb.) to plow; (n.) plow (with draught oxen)': Tamil *ēr* (Jaffna *cēr*) 'plow, plow and team of oxen, yoke of oxen'; Malayalam *ēr* 'a yoke of oxen, plow with draught oxen'; Kota *e·r* 'pair of bullocks used for plowing'; Toda *e·r* 'plow'; Kannaḍa *ēru*, *ār* 'pair of oxen yoked to a plow'; Telugu *ēru* 'plow with draught oxen made ready for plowing'; Kolami *cēr* 'plow and team of bullocks'; Parji (pl.) *cereyakul* 'pair of bullocks'; Gondi *sēr*, *hēr* 'a plow'; Konḍa *sēru* 'yoke of oxen'; Pengo *hēr* 'set of plow and bullocks'; Kui *sēru* 'a yoke of oxen, a pair, two of cattle for plowing'; Kuwi *hērū* 'plow', *hēru* 'pair of plowing bullocks'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:244—245, no. 2815; Krishnamurti 2003:6 **cēr* 'plow'.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **č'er-*/**č'r-* 'to cut into, to scratch, to carve', hence 'to write': Georgian *c'er-* 'to write; to depict'; Mingrelian *(n)č'ar-* 'to write'; Laz *(n)č'ar-*, *č'a(r)-* 'to write'; Svan *jr-* 'to write something'. Schmidt 1962:154; Klimov 1964:249 **ç$_1$er-* and 1998:309 **ç$_1$er-* : **ç$_1$r-* 'to scratch; to depict'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:521—522 **ç$_1$er-*; Fähnrich 2007:648—649 **ç$_1$er-*. Semantic development as in Latin *scrībō* 'to engrave with a sharp-pointed instrument, to draw lines', hence 'to write' from the same root found in Latvian *scrīpāt* 'to notch, to scratch' and Old English *sceran*, *scieran* 'to cut, to shear', *scierdan* 'to injure, to destroy', *scierpan* 'to sharpen', *scort* 'short', etc.

D. Proto-Altaic **čị̆ŭru-* (~ *-a*) 'to scratch': Proto-Tungus **ǯurū-* 'to draw', **ǯura-n* 'a scratch, a line' > Manchu *ǯiǯu-* 'to draw lines, to draw, to write, to cast lots', *ǯiǯun* 'stroke, line, lines of a divination figure', *ǯiǯuχan*, *ǯiǯuɢan* 'diagram, trigram, or hexagram of the *Book of Changes*'; Evenki *ǯurū-* 'to draw'; Negidal *ǯoyan* 'a scratch, line'; Ulch *ǯụra(n)* 'a scratch, line'; Nanay / Gold *ǯorã* 'a scratch, line'; Oroch *ǯurara* 'striped'; Udihe *ǯūnda-* 'to draw'; Solon *ǯurī-* 'to draw'. Proto-Turkic **dïrŋa-* 'to scratch, to scrape', **dïrŋa-k* 'fingernail, claw' > Old Turkic *tïrŋaq* 'fingernail, claw'; Karakhanide Turkic *tïrŋaq* 'fingernail, claw'; Turkish *tırnak* 'fingernail, toenail, claw', *tırnakla-* 'to scratch with the nails', *tırman-* 'to cling with the claws or fingertips', *tırmık* 'scratch; rake; harrow; drag-hook', *tırmıkla-* 'to scratch, to rake, to harrow', *tırmala-* 'to scratch, to worry, to annoy, to offend'; Gagauz *tïrnaq* 'fingernail, claw'; Azerbaijani *dïrnaɢ* 'fingernail, claw'; Turkmenian *dïrnaq* 'fingernail, claw'; Uzbek *tirnɔq* 'fingernail, claw'; Uighur *tirnaq* 'fingernail, claw'; Karaim *tïrnaχ* 'fingernail, claw'; Tatar *tïrnaq* 'fingernail, claw'; Bashkir *tïrnaq* 'fingernail, claw'; Kirghiz *tïrnaq* 'fingernail, claw'; Kazakh *tırnaq* 'fingernail, claw'; Noghay *tïrnaq* 'fingernail, claw'; Sary-Uighur *dərmaq* 'fingernail, claw'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *tïrɢaq* 'fingernail, claw'; Tuva *dïrγaq* 'fingernail, claw'; Chuvash *čərne* 'fingernail, claw'; Yakut *tïŋïraχ*

‘fingernail, claw’; Dolgan *tïŋïrak* ‘fingernail, claw’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:402 **čʲŭru* (~ *-a*) ‘to scratch’.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow (vb.; sb.); 9.81 carve; 18.51 write. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:356—357, no. 183.

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| š- | s- | c- | š- | s- | s- | s- | |
| -š- | -s- | -c(c)- | -š- | -s- | -s- | -s- | |

342. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative pronoun stem *šа- (~ *šə-) ‘this, that’:

A. Afrasian: Chadic: Ngizim demonstrative pronoun *sánú* ‘this one, that one; this, that’; near demonstrative pronoun *sáu* ‘this one’, *sáu … sáu* ‘this one … that one’; demonstrative pronoun *síyú* ‘that one’; Hausa *sà* ‘his, him’; independent pronouns: (m. sg.) *šii* ‘he’, (m. pl.) *suu* ‘they’; direct objects: (m. sg.) *ši* ‘him’, (m. pl.) *su* ‘them’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian *-*š*- pronoun stem: Georgian [-*s*-]; Mingrelian [-*š*-]; Laz [-*š*-]; Svan [-*š*-]. Klimov 1964:173 *$s_1$- and 1998:178 *$s_1$- pronoun stem; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:310—311 *-$s_1$-; Fähnrich 2007:378 *-$s_1$-.

C. Proto-Indo-European **so*-, (f.) **seA* [**saA*] (> **sā*) demonstrative pronoun stem: ‘this, that’: Sanskrit *sá-ḥ*, (f.) *sā* (also *sī*) demonstrative pronoun; Avestan *ha*- demonstrative pronoun stem; Greek ὁ, (f.) ἡ demonstrative pronoun and definite article; Old Latin (m. singular) *sum* ‘him’, (f. singular) *sam* ‘her’, (m. plural) *sōs*, (f. plural) *sās* ‘them’; Gothic *sa*, (f.) *sō* (also *si*) ‘this, that; he, she’; Old Icelandic *sá*, *sú* ‘that’; Old English *sē̆* ‘that one, he’, (f.) *sēo* ‘she’; Dutch *zij* ‘she’; Old High German (f.) *sī̆*, *siu* ‘she’ (New High German *sie*) ; Tocharian A (m.) *sa*-, (f.) *sā*-, B (m.) *se(-)*, (f.) *sā(-)* demonstrative pronoun; Hittite *ša* connective particle, *-še* 3rd person singular enclitic pronoun. Pokorny 1959:978—979 **so(s)*, **sā* ‘the, this’; Walde 1927—1932.II:509 **so*, **sā*; Mann 1984—1987:1137 **sī*- (**sīm*) ‘he, she, it’, 1142—1143 **si̯ā* (**si̯ə*) ‘she, it’, 1143—1144 **si̯os*, **si̯ā* ‘he; she; this, it’, 1250 **sos*, (f.) **sā* ‘this; he, she’; Watkins 1985:62 **so*- and 2000:81 **so*- ‘this, that’ (nominative); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:384 **so*, (f.) **sā* and 1995.I:336 **so*, (f.) **sā*; Mallory—Adams 1997:457 (m.) **so*, (f.) **seh$_a$*, (n.) *tód* ‘that (one)’; Boisacq 1950:681—682 **so*-, ***sā*-; Hofmann 1966:223 **so*, **sā*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:342—343 **so(s)*, **sā*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:770; Beekes 2010.II:1041 **so*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:630 **so*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:550 **so*-, **sā*-; Feist 1939:402; Lehmann 1986:289 **so*, **sā*; Orël 2003:310 Proto-Germanic **sa*, 329 **sī*; De Vries 1977:459; Onions 1966:817; Klein 1971:678; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:706; Kluge—Seebold 1989:671; Adams 1999:698 **so*/**seh$_a$*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:410 **so*, **sā*. (?) Proto-Indo-European *-*s*- in (m.) **ʔey-s-os*, (f.) **ʔey-s-eA* [-*aA*] (> -*ā*), **ʔey-s-yos* compound demonstrative pronoun: ‘this’: Sanskrit *eṣá-ḥ* (f. *eṣā́*) ‘this’; Avestan *aēša*- (f. *aēšā*) ‘this’; Oscan *eíseís* ‘he’; Umbrian *erec*,

*erek*, *ere*, *eřek*, *erse* ‘he, it’. Note: the *-*s*- element could be from the Proto-Nostratic 3rd person anaphoric stem **si*-/**se*- instead. Pokorny 1959:281—283; Walde 1927—1932.I:96—98; Mann 1984—1987:235 **eisi̯os* (**eiso*-, **eito*-) a compound pronoun; De Vaan 2008:309—310; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:129.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **s[ä]* ‘he, she, it’ > Finnish *hän* (< **sän*) ‘he, she’; Lapp / Saami *son* ‘he, she’; Mordvin *son* ‘he, she’; Votyak / Udmurt *so* ‘that, yonder; he, she, it’; Zyrian / Komi *sy* ‘he, she, it’, *sija* ‘he, she, it; that, yonder’; Vogul / Mansi *täu* ‘he, she’; Ostyak / Xanty (Vasyugan) *jŏ̆h* ‘he, she’; Hungarian *ő* ‘he, she, it’. Collinder 1955:80—81 and 1977:97; Rédei 1986—1988:453—454 **sŭ̈*; Décsy 1990:107 **sä* ‘he, she, it’; Hajdú 1972:40 Proto-Uralic **se*; Abondolo 1998:25 Proto-Uralic **sF* (*F* = front vowel).

Greenberg 2000:99—101; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:364—365, no. 194.

343. Proto-Nostratic root **šar*- (~ **šər*-):
(vb.) **šar*- ‘to split, to rip apart, to tear asunder’;
(n.) **šar-a* ‘that which splits: knife’

A. Proto-Afrasian **sar*- ‘to split, to rip apart, to tear asunder’: Berber: Tuareg *surət* ‘to split, to crack, to be split’, *səssurət* ‘to make split’, *tasārit* ‘split, crack, fissure’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ssər* ‘to pierce, to drill, to make a hole in’; Tamazight *tisirit* ‘plot of land to be plowed’. East Cushitic: Hadiyya *seer-e* ‘knife’; Burji *ser-óo* ‘knife’; Dobase *seer-e* ‘knife’; Koyra *soro* ‘knife’ (probably a loan from Burji). Sasse 1982:164 and 168; Hudson 1989:87. Proto-Southern Cushitic **sar*- ‘to cut with repeated knife strokes’ > Burunge *sar*- ‘to scarify’; Dahalo *sar*- ‘to cut’. Ehret 1980:178.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *šá-ra*- ‘to cut, to split’.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **šar*-/**šr*- ‘to destroy, to ruin’: Georgian *sar*-/*sr*- ‘to destroy’; Mingrelian *šər*-, *šir*- ‘to wear out, to destroy’; Laz *šir*- ‘to wear out’. Schmidt 1962:132; Klimov 1964:177—178 **s$_1$r*- and 1998:178 **s$_1$ar*-/**s$_1$r*- ‘to destroy, to ruin’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:311—312 **s$_1$ar*-/**s$_1$r*-; Fähnrich 2007:378—379 **s$_1$ar*-/**s$_1$r*-.

D. Proto-Indo-European **ser*-/**sor*-/**sr̥*- ‘to split, to rip apart, to tear asunder’: Hittite (3rd singular pres.) *šar-ra-i* ‘to separate, to divide, to break’. Proto-Indo-European **sor-g$^h$*- ‘to wound, to tear’: Icelandic *sarga* ‘to hack (with a blunt instrument)’; Swedish *sarga* ‘to wound, to graze, to tear’; Old Church Slavic *sragъ* ‘awful’; Russian *sražát′* [сражать], *srazít′* [сразить] ‘to slay, to strike down, to smite’. Mann 1984—1987:1249 **sorgh*- (?).

E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **särʒ*- ‘to break’ > Mordvin (Erza) *seŕed′e*- ‘to be sick, to hurt, to be in pain’; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *sẹ̑r*- ‘to break, to smash, to destroy’. Rédei 1986—1988:756 **särʒ*-.

F. Altaic: Turkic: Chuvash *soran* ‘wound, loss, damage’.

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.); 9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.23 knife; 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 11.27 destroy. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:363—364, no. 192.

344. Proto-Nostratic root **šaw-* (~ **šəw-*):
(vb.) **šaw-* ‘to drink, to swallow’;
(n.) **šaw-a* ‘drink, juice’

A. Afrasian: Berber: Tamazight *səw* ‘to drink’; Kabyle *səw* ‘to drink’.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **šw-* ‘to drink’: Georgian *sv-* ‘to drink’; Mingrelian *š(v)-* ‘to drink’; Laz *š(v)-* ‘to drink’; Svan *š(w)-* ‘to drink’. Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:223 **ŝw-* ‘to drink’; Klimov 1964:173 **$s_1$w-* and 1998:179 **$s_1$w-* ‘to drink’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1998:313 **$s_1$w-*; Fähnrich 2007:380 **$s_1$w-*. Proto-Kartvelian **šw-am-/*šw-m-* ‘to drink’: Georgian *svam-/sm-* ‘to drink’; Mingrelian *šum-* ‘to drink’; Laz *šum-* ‘to drink’. Schmidt 1962:131 **šu-*; Klimov 1964:173—174 **$s_1$w-am-/*$s_1$w-m-* and 1998:179 **$s_1$w-am-/*$s_1$w-m-* ‘to drink’.
C. Proto-Indo-European **sew(H)-/*sow(H)-/*su(H)-* ‘to suck, to drink, to swallow’: Latin *sūgō* ‘to suck’, *sūcus* ‘juice, sap’; Old Irish *súgid* ‘to suck’ (Latin loan ?); Old Icelandic *súpa* ‘to sip, to drink’, *súga*, *sjúga* ‘to suck’; Old English *sēaw* ‘juice, liquid’, *sūcan* ‘to suck’, *sūpan* ‘to swallow, to sip, to taste, to drink, to sup’, *sūpe* ‘sup, draft’, *sūgan* ‘to suck, to suck in’, *sōgian* ‘to suckle’; Old Saxon *sou* ‘juice, liquid’, *sūgan* ‘to suck’; Dutch *zuifen* ‘to guzzle, to booze’, *zuigen* ‘to suck’; Old High German *sou* ‘juice, liquid’, *sūfan* ‘to gulp down liquids, to guzzle, to booze’ (New High German *saufen*), *sūgan* ‘to suck’ (New High German *saugen*), *sougen* ‘to suckle’ (New High German *säugen*); Old Church Slavic *sъsǫ*, *sъsati* (< **sup-s-*) ‘to suck’. Rix 1998a:488 **seu̯k̂-* ‘to suck’; Pokorny 1959:912—913 **seu-*, **seu̯ə-* : **sū-* ‘juice’; Walde 1927—1932.II:468—469 **seu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1331—1332 **sŭb-* (**subō*, **subāi̯ō*) ‘to suck up, to slurp’, 1332—1333 **sūgō*, *-i̯ō* (**sūĝ-* ?) ‘to suck’, 1333 **sŭghō*, 1333 **sūk-* ‘juice, sap, resin, whey, liquor’, 1338 **suslā* ‘fluid, liquid’; Watkins 1985:58 **seuə-* and 2000:76 **seuə-* ‘to take liquid’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:143—144, fn. 1, **seuk[$^h$]-* ~ **seuk’-* ‘to suck’ and 1995.I:123—124, fn. 64, **seuk$^h$-* ~ **seuk’-* ‘to suck’; Mallory—Adams 1997:556 **seug/k-* ‘to suck’; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:622 **seuq-*, **seug-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:662 and 664; De Vaan 2008:596 and 598; Orël 2003:320 Proto-Germanic **sauǥjanan*, 320 **saupan* ~ **saupaz*, 320 **sawan*, 388 **sūǥanan*, 389 **sūpanan*; Kroonen 2013:428 Proto-Germanic **sawwa-* ‘juice’; De Vries 1977:560 and 562; Onions 1966:882 and 886; Klein 1971:728 **seuq-*, **seug-* and 730 **seu-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:627 **seu-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:619 **seuə-*. Proto-Indo-European **sw-el-* ‘to

swallow': Avestan *xᵛar-* 'to consume, to eat, to drink'; Old Icelandic *svelga* 'to swallow', *sollr* 'swill', *sylgr* 'a drink of something, a draft'; Faroese *svølgja* 'to swallow'; Norwegian *svelgja* 'to swallow'; Swedish *svälja* 'to swallow'; Danish *svelge* 'to swallow'; Old English *swelgan* 'to swallow; to devour, to consume'; Old Saxon *far-swelgan* 'to swallow'; Dutch *zwelgen* 'to gulp, to swallow'; Old High German *far-swelhan*, *fir-swelgan*, *swelahan*, *swelgan* 'to swallow' (New High German *schwelgen* 'to feast'), *swelgo* 'glutton'. Rix 1998a:554 **su̯el-* 'to swallow'; Pokorny 1959:1045 **su̯el-(k-)* 'to swallow greedily'; Walde 1927—1932.II:530 **su̯el-*; Watkins 1985:68 **swel-* and 2000:88 **swel-* 'to eat, to drink'; Orël 2003:390 **swal(ǯ)wōn*, 394 **swelǯanan*; De Vries 1977:529, 567 **su̯elkō*, and 573; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:329; Onions 1966:891; Klein 1971:734; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:692 **su̯el-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:660.

Buck 1949:5.13 drink (vb.); 5.16 suck (vb.). Palmaitis 1986b:313; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:362—363, no. 190; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2141, **sVwH₂V* 'to drink'.

345. Proto-Nostratic root **šaw-* (~ **šəw-*):
(vb.) **šaw-* 'to sigh, to pant, to gasp, to breathe deeply';
(n.) **šaw-a* 'breath, sigh'
Related to:
(vb.) **šaw-* 'to sleep, to rest';
(n.) **šaw-a* 'sleep, slumber, rest'

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *swḥ* 'wind, air, breath'. Hannig 1995:679; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.4:72; Faulkner 1962:217. Berber: Tuareg *usu* 'to cough', *təsut* 'cough'; Tawlemmet *əsəw* 'to cough', *təsuwt* 'cough'; Tamazight *asu*, *usu* 'to cough', *tasutt*, *tusutt* 'cough'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *ttusu* 'to cough strongly', *tusut* 'cough'; Riff *usu* 'to cough', *tusut* 'cough'; Kabyle *usu* 'to cough', *tusut* 'cough'; Chaouia *ussi* 'to cough', *tussit* 'cough'.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **šw-er-*/**šw-r-* 'to sigh': Georgian *sur-* 'to wish', *survil-* 'wish, desire'; Mingrelian *šur-* 'to smell'; Laz *šur-* 'to smell (at), to smell (of)', *šur-on-* 'fragrant, odorous'; Svan *šwr-*, *šur-* 'to sigh', *li-šur-jēl* 'to sigh', *šwär* 'sigh'. Klimov 1964:174—175 **s₁wer-* 'deep breath, sigh' and 178 **s₁ur-* 'to breathe', 1998:180 **s₁wer-*/**s₁wr-* 'to sigh'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:313—314 **s₁w-*; Fähnrich 2007:380—381 **s₁w-*. Proto-Kartvelian **šul-* 'soul, spirit': Georgian *sul-* 'soul, breath, smell'; Mingrelian *šur-* 'soul, spirit'; Laz *šur-* 'soul, spirit'. Klimov 1964:178 **s₁ul-* 1998:182 **s₁ul-* 'soul, spirit'; Schmidt 1962:132; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:319—320 **s₁ul-*; Fähnrich 2007:387—387 **s₁ul-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **sew-*/**sow-*/**su-* 'to sigh, to pant, to gasp': (?) Armenian *hev* 'breath, gasp', *hevam* 'to gasp'; Middle High German

*siufzen* (earlier *siuften*; Old High German *sūftōn*, *sūfteōn*) ‘to sigh’ (New High German *seufzen* ‘to sigh’, *Seufzen* ‘a sigh’), *sūft* ‘a sigh’; Lithuanian *siaubiù*, *siaũbti* ‘to fume, to rage’. Mann 1984—1987:1134 **seu-* (**sēu̯-*) ‘to sigh, to pant, to gasp’, 1134 **seubō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to fume, to pant, to gasp’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:705; Kluge—Seebold 1989:670; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:779.

Buck 1949:4.51 breathe; breath; 16.39 groan (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 366—367, no. 196.

346. Proto-Nostratic root **šaw-* (~ **šəw-*):
(vb.) **šaw-* ‘to sleep, to rest’;
(n.) **šaw-a* ‘sleep, slumber, rest’
Related to:
(vb.) **šaw-* ‘to sigh, to pant, to gasp, to breathe deeply’;
(n.) **šaw-a* ‘breath, sigh’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **šw-en-*/**šw-n-* ‘to breathe, to sigh; to rest’: Georgian *sven-* ‘to rest’, *sun-* ‘breath, smell’; Mingrelian [*švan-*] ‘to breathe, to sigh’, *švanǯ-* ‘rest’; Laz *švan-* ‘to breathe, to sigh’, *švaǯ-* ‘rest, respite’; Svan *šwem-*/*šwm-* ‘to rest’. Schmidt 1962:132 **šwen-*/**šwer-*, **šwem-*; Klimov 1964:174 **s$_1$w-en-* and 1998:179 **s$_1$wen-*/**s$_1$wn-* ‘to breathe, to sigh; to rest’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:313—314 **s$_1$w-* Fähnrich 2007:380—381 **s$_1$w-*.

B. Proto-Indo-European **sw-ep$^h$-*/**sw-op$^h$-*/**su-p$^h$-*‘to sleep’: Sanskrit *svapiti* (Vedic also *svápati*, *svápate*) ‘to sleep, to fall asleep, to lie down, to recline’, (causative) *svāpáyati* ‘to cause to sleep, to lull to rest’, *svápna-ḥ* ‘sleep, sleeping, sleepiness, drowsiness’; Avestan *x$^v$ap-* ‘to sleep, to slumber’, *x$^v$afna-* ‘sleep’; Greek ὕπνος ‘sleep, slumber’, ὑπνόω ‘to put to sleep’; Latin *sōpiō* ‘to put to sleep, to lull to sleep’, *sŏpor* ‘deep sleep’, *somnus* ‘sleep, slumber’; Old Irish *súan* ‘sleep’; Old Icelandic *sofa* ‘to sleep’, *sofna* ‘to fall asleep’, *svefja* ‘to lull to sleep’, *svefna* ‘sleep’; Old English *swefan* ‘to sleep’, *swefn* ‘sleep, dream’; Old Saxon *swe*þ*an* ‘dream’; Old High German *-swebben*, etc., in: *ant-swebben*, *bi-swebben*, *be-sweven*, *in-swebben*, *in-sweppan* ‘to fall asleep’; Lithuanian *sãpnas* ‘dream’; Old Church Slavic *sъnъ* ‘sleep’; Tocharian A *ṣpäṃ*, B *ṣpäne* ‘sleep’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *šu-up-pa-ri-y[a-zi ?]* ‘to sleep’. Rix 1998a:556—557 **su̯ep-* ‘to fall asleep’; Pokorny 1959:1048—1049 **su̯ep-*, **sup-* ‘to sleep’, **supno-s* ‘sleep’; Walde 1927—1932.II:523—524 **su̯ep-*, **sup-*; Mann 1984—1987:1336 **supnos*, *-om* ‘sleep, drowsiness, dream’, 1347 **su̯epnos*, *-om* ‘sleep’, 1347 **su̯epō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to be drowsy, to sleep’; **su̯opei̯ō* ‘to lull’, 1362—1363 **su̯op-* ‘sleep’; **su̯ōpei̯ō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to put to sleep’; Watkins 1985:68 **swep-* and 2000:88 **swep-* ‘to sleep’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:117, I:217, I:224 **su̯ep[$^h$]-* and 1995.I:100,

I:187, I:194 **swep$^h$-* ‘to sleep’; Mallory—Adams 1997:527 **su̯ep-* ‘to sleep, to dream’, **su̯ópnos*, **su̯épnos*, **supnós* ‘sleep, dream’; Boisacq 1950:1004—1005 **sup-no-s*, **su̯epno-*, **su̯opno-*; Hofmann 1966:385—386 **sup-no-s*, **su̯epnos*, **su̯opnos*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1159—1160; Frisk 1970—1973.II:970—971 **sup-no-s*, **su̯op-no-s*, **su̯ep-no-s*; Beekes 2010.II:1535 **su(e/o)p-no-*; De Vaan 2008:573—574 and 575; Walde—Hofmann 1966—1972.II:557—558 **su̯epnos*, **su̯opnos* and II:561; Ernout—Meillet 1979:634—635 **swep-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:561 and III:561—562; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:460—461 **sepno-s*; Adams 1999:666 **swepno-*; Orël 2003:392 Proto-Germanic **sweƀnaz*, 392—393 **swefanan*, 393 **swefnōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:497 Proto-Germanic **swēbjan-* ‘to cause to sleep’ and 497—498 **swefna-* ‘sleep’; De Vries 1977:528 and 566; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:762; Smoczyński 2007.1:534 **su̯óp-no-*; Derksen 2008:481 **sup-n-o-* and 2015:389 **su(e/o)p-no-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:787—788 **sup-ó*, **sup-tó* and 788—789 **sup-r-i̯e/o-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:675—680 **su̯ep-*.

Buck 1949:4.61 sleep (vb.; sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:367, no. 197.

347. Proto-Nostratic root **šiħ-* (~ **šeħ-*):
(vb.) **šiħ-* ‘to separate into (equal) parts, to divide’;
(n.) **šiħ-a* ‘part, portion, separation, division, section’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **šx-w-a-* ‘one; other’: Georgian *sx-v-a* ‘other, another; foreign’; Mingrelian *šx-v-a* ‘other, foreign’; Laz *čk-v-a* ‘other, one more’; Svan *ešxu* ‘one’. Klimov 1964:178—179 **s$_1$xwa-* and 1998:184 **s$_1$xwa-* ‘one; other’; Schmidt 1962:133; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:322 **s$_1$xwa-*; Fähnrich 2007:389 **s$_1$xwa-*.
B. Proto-Indo-European **si$\underset{\frown}{ħ}$h-* [**se$\underset{\frown}{ħ}$h-*] > **sē-* ‘separately, apart’: Latin *sēd*, *sē* (shortened forms *sĕd*, *sĕ*) (preposition) ‘without’, (prefix) ‘apart’; (?) Old Icelandic *sér* ‘for oneself, separately, singly’; Middle English *sēr* (adj.) ‘several, particular’ (Norse loan), *sĕre-lĕpi* (adj.) ‘separate, various’, (adv.) *sēr-līche* ‘particularly’. Mann 1984—1987:1115; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:506—507 **su̯e-*, **se-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:609; De Vaan 2008:549—550; De Vries 1977:470 **se*. Proto-Indo-European **si$\underset{\frown}{ħ}$h-t$^h$-* [**se$\underset{\frown}{ħ}$h-t$^h$-*] > **sē-t$^h$-* ‘division, section’: Avestan *hāiti-* ‘division, section’; Latvian *sẽ̆ta* ‘hedge, section, division, staff’. Mann 1984—1987:1133—1134 **sēt-* ‘division, separation’. Proto-Indo-European **si$\underset{\frown}{ħ}$h-mi-* [**se$\underset{\frown}{ħ}$h-mi-*] > **sē-mi-* ‘half’: Sanskrit (indeclinable) *sāmí* ‘half, incompletely, imperfectly, partially’; Greek (prefix) ἡμι- ‘half’, (adj. and noun) ἥμισυς ‘half’; Latin (prefix) *sēmi-* ‘half’, *sēmis* ‘the half of anything’; Old High German (prefix) *sāmi-* ‘half’; Old Saxon (prefix) *sām-* ‘half’; Old English (prefix) *sām-* ‘half’. Pokorny 1959:905—906 **sēmi-* ‘half’; Walde 1927—

1932.II:493 **sēmi-*; Mann 1984—1987:1126 **sēmi-* ‘half’; Mallory—Adams 1997:253 **sēmis* ‘half’; Watkins 1985:57 **sēmi-* and 2000:75 **sēmi-* ‘half’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:843 **sēm-i-* and 1995.I:741 **sēm-i-* ‘half’; Boisacq 1950:324—325; Hofmann 1966:108; Frisk 1970—1973.I:636; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:413; Beekes 2010.I:519—520 **sēmi-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:512—513 **sēmi-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:612—613 **sēmi-*; De Vaan 2008:553; Orël 2003:328 Proto-Germanic **sēmiz*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:459 **sēmí-*.

Buck 1949:13.24 half. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:367—368, no. 198. For the semantics, cf. (1) Sanskrit *néma-ḥ* ‘one, several; half; portion; time; limit, boundary’, *néma-néma-ḥ* ‘the one, the other’; (2) Kannaḍa *bēr̲e* ‘separate, apart, different, other, else; separately’; (3) Geez / Ethiopic *nəfḳ* [ንፍቅ] ‘half, middle, semi-’, *manfaḳ … manfaḳ* [መንፈቅ…መንፈቅ] ‘one part … (and) another part’ < *nafaḳa* [ነፈቀ] ‘to tear off, to tear away, to rend, to divide, to divide in two, to separate, to cleave asunder, to split’.

348. Proto-Nostratic root **šiw-* (~ **šew-*):
(vb.) **šiw-* ‘to swell’;
(n.) **šiw-a* ‘swelling’; (adj.) ‘swollen, puffed up’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **šiw-* ‘to swell, to swell up’: Georgian *siv-* ‘to swell, to swell up’, *si-m-sivn-e* ‘swelling’; Mingrelian *šin-* (< **šiw-n-*) ‘to swell, to swell up’; Svan *ši(w)-* ‘to swell’, *mə-ši(w)-* ‘swollen’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:316 **$s_1$iw-*; Klimov 1964:177 **$s_1$i-* and 1998:180—181 **$s_1$i(w)-* ‘to swell, to swell up’; Fähnrich 2007:383 **$s_1$iw-*. Proto-Kartvelian (reduplicated) **ši(w)-ši(w)n-* ‘to stuff oneself’: Georgian *sisin-* ‘to stuff oneself’; Mingrelian *šišin-* ‘to stuff oneself’. Klimov 1964:177 **$s_1$is$_1$in-* and 1998:181 **$s_1$i(w)-s$_1$i(w)n-* ‘to stuff oneself’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **sw-el-* ‘to swell’: Proto-Germanic **swellan* ‘to swell’ > Gothic *uf-swalleins* ‘swollen, puffed up’ (< causative **swalljan* ‘to make swell’); Old Icelandic *svella* ‘to swell’; Faroese *svølla* ‘to swell’; Norwegian *svella* ‘to swell’; Swedish *svälla* ‘to swell’; Danish *svelle* ‘to swell’; Old English *swellan* ‘to swell’, *swyle* ‘swelling’; Old Frisian *swella* ‘to swell’; Old Saxon *swellan* ‘to swell’, *swil* ‘swelling’; Dutch *zwellen* ‘to swell’; Old High German *swellan* ‘to swell’ (New High German *schwellen* ‘to swell’), (m.) *swilo*, (n.) *swil* (< **swiliz*) ‘callous swelling, welt’ (New High German *Schwiele*). Orël 2003:394 Proto-Germanic **swellan*, 394 **swellanan*; Kroonen 2013:494 Proto-Germanic **swalljan-* ‘to cause to smell’ and 499 **swellan-* ‘to swell’; Feist 1939:513; Lehmann 1986:373; De Vries 1977:567; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:329—330; Onions 1966:893; Klein 1971:735; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:692 **su̯el-* and 693 **su̯el-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:660 and 661 **swel-*.

349. Proto-Nostratic root **šuw-* (~ **šow-*):
(vb.) **šuw-* ‘to be wet, moist; to make wet, to soak’;
(n.) **šuw-a* ‘liquid, moisture’; (adj.) ‘moist, wet, soaked’
Extended form:
(vb.) **šuw-V-l-* ‘to be wet, moist; to make wet, to soak’;
(n.) **šuw-l-a* ‘liquid, moisture’; (adj.) ‘moist, wet, soaked’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **šow-* ‘to be wet, soaked’, **šow-el-* ‘wet, soaked’: Georgian [*sov-*] ‘to be wet, soaked’, *sovel-* ‘wet, soaked’, [*sovl-*] ‘to wet, to make wet’; Mingrelian *šol-* ‘to wet, to make wet’, *šə-* ‘wet, soaked’, *šol-ir-i* ‘wet’; Laz *šuv-* ‘to be wet, soaked’, *šu-* ‘wet, soaked’, *šol-* ‘to wet, to make wet’. Klimov 1964:174 **$s_1$wel-* and 1998:182 **$s_1$ow-* ‘to be wet’, **$s_1$ow-el-* ‘wet, soaked’, **$s_1$owl-* ‘to wet, to make wet’; Fähnrich 2007:385 **$s_1$ow-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:318 **$s_1$ow-*; Schmidt 1962:131—132.

B. Proto-Indo-European **swel-/*sul-* ‘(vb.) to wet, to moisten, to flow; (n.) liquid, moisture’: Sanskrit *súrā* ‘spirituous liquor, wine’; Avestan *hurā* ‘drink’; Ossetic *xwlĭdz* ‘wet, wetness, humidity’; Greek ὕλη, ὗλις (ὕλις) ‘mud, slime’, ὑλίζω ‘to filter, to strain’; Old Icelandic *sulla* ‘to swill’; Old English *swillan*, *swilian* ‘to flood with water so as to wash or rinse, to drink in large quantities’, *sol* ‘mud, wet sand’, *syl* ‘wallowing place, miring place’, *sylian* ‘to make muddy or dirty, to pollute’; Old High German *sol* ‘mud, puddle’ (New High German *Suhle*), *bi-sulen* ‘to wallow in mud, mire’ (New High German *suhlen*, *sühlen*); Lithuanian *sulà* ‘sap’; Old Prussian *sulo* ‘curdled milk’. Pokorny 1959:912—913 **seu-*, **seu̯ə-* : **sū-* ‘juice’; Walde 1927—1932.II:468—469 **seu-*; Mann 1984—1987:1334 **sŭl-* (**sŭlos*, *-ā*) ‘liquor, issue, sludge’, 1334—1335 **sulu̯-* (**sulu̯i̯ō*) ‘liquid; (to flow)’; Boisacq 1950:1000—1001 **seu-*, **sŭ̄-*; Hofmann 1966:363 **sū-l-*, **seu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:963; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1155; Beekes 2010.II:1529—1530 Greek ὕλη, ὗλις (ὕλις) ‘mud, slime’ < **suol-$h_2$-* ‘firewood’ and II:1530; Orël 2003:385 Proto-Germanic **sulan*; Klein 1971:735; Onions 1966:893 English *swill*, no known cognates; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:763; Kluge—Seebold 1989:714; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:487; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:940; Smoczyński 2007.1:614; Derksen 2015:434—435 **su-leh$_2$-*.

Buck 1949:1.214 mud; 15.83 wet, damp. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 2140, **[s][ü]wħâ* ¬ **[s]Eʔuwħ*V* ‘moisture, water, wet, rain’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:363, no. 191.

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| g- | g- | k- | g- | $g^h$- | k- | g- | k- q- |
| -g- | -g- | -k- | -g- | -$g^h$- | -x- | -g- | -ɣ- |

350. Proto-Nostratic root *$ga\text{ʔ}$- (~ *$gə\text{ʔ}$-):
(vb.) *$ga\text{ʔ}$- ‘to go, to leave, to depart; to leave behind, to abandon, to forsake’;
(n.) *$ga\text{ʔ}$-*a* ‘abandonment, lack, want, need, deprivation, loss, deficit’; (adj.) ‘abandoned, forsaken, left behind; wanting, lacking, deprived of’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *gʒw* ‘to be narrow, constricted; to languish; to lack, to be lacking; to deprive’, *gʒw* ‘lack’, *gʒwt* ‘lack, want’, *ngʒw* ‘without’, *ngʒ* ‘to lack, to want, to be short of’. Hannig 1995:439 and 893—894; Gardiner 1957:597; Faulkner 1962:287 and 288; Erman—Grapow 1921:197 and 1926—1963.2:349, 5:151—152.

B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *kānā* ‘to go, to lead to (as a road), to progress favorably, to go on, to continue, to perish, to pass (of time), to come to an end, to have diarrhea (stomach), to bring oneself to, to be able to’; Malto *kale* ‘to go, to come to’; Brahui *hining* (pres. indef. *kāv*, *kās*, *kāe*, *kān*, *kāre*, *kār*; pres.-fut. *kāva*, *kāsa*, *kāik*, *kāna*, *kāre*, *kāra*) ‘to go, to depart, to disappear, to be past, to pass beyond, to be no longer fit for, to flow, to have diarrhea (stomach)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:133, no. 1419.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$g^he\text{ʔ}$-/*$g^ho\text{ʔ}$- (> *$g^hē$-/*$g^hō$-), *$g^he\text{ʔ}$-*y*/*i*-/*$g^ho\text{ʔ}$-*y*/*i*- (> *$g^hēy$-/*$g^hōy$-; *$g^hei$-/*$g^hoi$-) ‘to go, to leave, to depart; to abandon, to forsake’: Sanskrit (reduplicated) *já-hā-ti* ‘to leave, to abandon, to desert, to quit, to forsake, to relinquish’, (causative) *hāpayati* ‘to cause to leave or abandon; to omit, to neglect; to fall short of, to be wanting’, *hāni-ḥ* ‘abandonment, relinquishment, decrease, diminution; deprivation; damage, loss, failure, ruin; insufficiency, deficit’; Avestan (reduplicated) *za-zā-mi* ‘to release’; Greek (Homeric) (reduplicated) κιχά̋νω, (Attic) κιγχάνω ‘to reach, hit, or light upon; to meet with, to find; (Homeric) to overtake, to reach, to arrive at’, χῆρα (Ionic χήρη) ‘bereft of husband, widow’, χῆρος ‘widowed, bereaved’, χώρα ‘the space in which a thing is’, χωρέω ‘to make room for another, to give way, to draw back, to retire, to withdraw; to go forward, to move on or along’, χῶρος ‘piece of ground, ground, place’, (adv.) χωρίς ‘separately, asunder, apart, by oneself or by themselves’, (dat.) χήτει ‘in lack of’, χατέω ‘to crave, to long for, to have need of, to lack’, χατίζω ‘to have need of, to crave; to lack, to be without’, χατίζων ‘a needy, poor person’; Latin *hērēs* ‘heir’; Gothic *gaidw* ‘lack’; Crimean Gothic *geen* ‘to go’; Swedish *gå* ‘to go’; Danish *gaa* ‘to go’; Old

English *gān* ‘to go, to come, to proceed’, *gād* ‘want, lack’, *gæsne* ‘barren, deprived of, without; wanting, scarce; dead’; Old Frisian *gān*, *gēn* ‘to go’; Old Saxon *-gān* in *ful-gān* ‘to accomplish’; Middle Dutch *gaen* ‘to go’ (Modern Dutch *gaan*); Old High German *gān* ‘to go’ (New High German *gehen*). Rix 1998a:152—153 *$\hat{g}^{h}eh_{1}$- ‘to leave behind, to abandon’; Pokorny 1959:418—419 *$\hat{g}hē$-, *$\hat{g}hēi$- ‘to be empty, void; to lack’; Walde 1927—1932.I:542—544 *$\hat{g}hē(i)$-; Mann 1984—1987:311 *$ghāi̯ō$ (*$ghāmi$, *$ghǐghāmi$) ‘to go, to move, to depart’, 331—332 *$ghōros$ (?) ‘space, extent, stretch’, 417 *$ghǐghāmi$; Watkins 1985:21 *$ghē$- (contracted from *$gheə̯$-) (suffixed *o*-grade form: *$ghō$-$ro$- ‘empty space’) and 2000:28 *$ghē$- ‘to release, to let go’ (contracted from earlier *$gheə̯_{1}$-); Mallory—Adams 1997:349 *$gheh_{1}$- ‘to leave’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:426; Boisacq 1950:461—462 *$\hat{g}hē(i)$-, *$\hat{g}hī$-, *$\hat{g}hə$-, 1046, 1058—1059, and 1059 *$\hat{g}hē$-, *$\hat{g}hēi$-, *$\hat{g}hī$-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:861—862, II:1077—1078, II:1095—1096, and II:1125—1126; Hofmann 1966:145 *$\hat{g}hē(i)$-, *$\hat{g}hə$-, 417 *$\hat{g}hē(i)$-, and 424 *$\hat{g}hēi$-; Beekes 2010.I:705—706 *$ǵ^{h}eh_{1}$-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:536 *$ghi$-$ghē$-$mi$, II:1249 *$ghē$-, *$ghə$-, II:1257 *$ghē$-$re/o$-, and II:1281—1282; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:641—642 *$\hat{g}hēi$-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:292; De Vaan 2008:282—283 *$ǵ^{h}eh_{1}ro$- ‘derelict’; Orël 2003:125 Proto-Germanic *$ƶanƶanan$, 133—134 *$ƶēnan$; Kroonen 2013:174 Proto-Germanic *$gēn$- ‘to go’ (< *$ǵ^{h}eh_{1}$-); Lehmann 1986:139 *$\hat{g}hēy$- ‘to lack, to be empty’; Feist 1939:185 *$\hat{g}hēi̯$-; Onions 1966:403 *$ghē(i)$-; Klein 1971:316 *$\hat{g}hē$-, *$\hat{g}hēi$-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:241 *$ghē$-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:252; Benveniste 1973:68—69; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:209—210.

D. Proto-Altaic *$ga$- ‘to take, to take off, to take away; to let go, to leave; to put’: Proto-Tungus *$ga$- ‘to take’ > Manchu *ɢai*- ‘to take, to take away, to take off’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ɢia*- ‘to take, to take away, to take off’; Evenki *ga*- ‘to take’; Lamut / Even *ga*- ‘to take’; Negidal *ga*- ‘to take’; Ulch *ɢa*- ‘to take’; Orok *ɢa*- ‘to take’; Nanay / Gold *ɢa*- ‘to take’; Oroch *ga*- ‘to take’; Udihe *ga*- ‘to take’. Proto-Turkic *$Ko$- (perhaps originally *$Ka$- but changed to *$Ko$- under the influence of the synonymous stem *$Kod$- ‘to put; to leave’) ‘to put; to let go; to leave’ > Turkish *ko*-, *koy*- ‘to put; to let go; to leave; to permit; to suppose’; Karaim *qo*- ‘to put; to leave’; Chuvash *χïv*-, *χu*- ‘to put; to leave’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:525 *$ga$ ‘to take, to put’.

Buck 1949:2.76 widow; 10.47 go; 12.18 leave. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:396—397, no. 234.

351. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$gab$-$a$ ‘front, front part’:
Probably identical to:
(n.) *$gab$-$a$ ‘peak, tip, top’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gab-* 'front, front part': Proto-Semitic **gab-ah-* 'forehead, front, brow' > Hebrew *gaβ* [גַּב] 'brow'; Arabic *ǧabīn*, *ǧabha* 'forehead'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *gebhát* 'brow'; Ḥarsūsi *yábheh* 'brow'; Mehri *gebhēt* 'front'; Tigre *gäbbah* 'broad-fronted'. D. Cohen 1970— :95; Murtonen 1989:125; Klein 1987:89. Proto-Chadic **gab-* 'front, front part' (> 'breast, chest') > Hausa *gàbaa* 'front part of body (of person or animal)', (adv.) *gàba* 'in front, forward, ahead', *gàban* (prep.) 'in front of, before'; Kera *gàw* 'breast'; Tumak *gàu* 'breast'; Ndam *gàwú* 'breast'. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:46—47. Orël—Stolbova 1995:194, no. 858, **gab-* 'front'.

B. Proto-Eskimo **qavlu(ʁ)* 'eyebrow': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qauɣluq* 'eyebrow'; Central Alaskan Yupik *qavluq* 'eyebrow'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *qavluq* 'eyebrow'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qavlu* 'eyebrow'; North Alaskan Inuit *qavlu* 'eyebrow', *qavluna(a)q* 'brow ridge'; Western Canadian Inuit *qavlu* 'eyebrow', *qavlunaq* 'brow ridge'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qallu* 'eyebrow'; Greenlandic Inuit *qaɬɬu* 'eyebrow'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:292.

Sumerian *gab*, *gaba* 'breast'.

Buck 1949:4.205 forehead; 4.206 eyebrow; 4.40 breast (front of chest); 12.33 top; 12.35 end. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:383—384, no. 219.

352. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gab-a* 'peak, tip, top':
Probably identical to:
(n.) **gab-a* 'front, front part'
Note also:
(n.) **gub-a* 'highest point, summit, top'

A. Proto-Afrasian **gab-* 'peak, tip, top': Proto-Southern Cushitic **gab-* 'above, up, on' > Iraqw *gawa* 'above, up, on'; K'wadza *gawato* 'hill'; Dahalo *gáppo* 'above, up, on'. Ehret 1980:234. Ehret 1995:179, no. 263, **gab-* 'top' (the Semitic forms cited by Ehret are included instead under Proto-Nostratic **gub-a* 'highest point, summit, top').

B. Proto-Indo-European **$g^{h}eb^{h}$-* 'gable, head, pinnacle': Greek κεφαλή 'head, front, end, point' (Macedonian κεβαλή); Gothic *gibla* 'gable, pinnacle'; Old Icelandic *gafl* 'gable, gable-side'; Faroese *gavlur* 'gable'; Norwegian *gavl* 'gable-side'; Swedish *gavel* 'transverse wall, partition'; Old Saxon *giƀilla* 'skull, head'; Middle Low German *gevel* 'gable'; Old High German *gibil* 'gable' (New High German *Giebel* 'gable'), *gebal*, *gibilla* 'skull, head'; Tocharian A *śpāl-* 'head', B *śpālu*, *śpālmeṃ* 'superior, excellent'. Pokorny 1959:423 **ghebh-el-* 'gable, head'; Walde 1927—1932.I:571 **ghebh-el-*; Mann 1984—1987:316—317 **ghebhəlos*, *-ā* 'peak, tip, top; knob, head, spike'; Watkins 1985:21 **ghebh-el-* and 2000:28 **ghebh-el-*

'head'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:408 *g[ʰ]eb[ʰ]-(e)l- and 1995.I:357 *gʰebʰ-(e)l- 'head'; Mallory—Adams 1997:260 *ghebhōl 'head'; Boisacq 1950:445 *ghebh-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:835—836 *ghebh(e)l-; Hofmann 1966:141 *ghebh-$_e$lā; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:522 *ghebh(e)l-; Beekes 2010.I:682—683 *ǵʰebʰ-l-; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:488 *ghebh-ōl; Adams 1999:642—643 *gʰebʰ-(e)l- 'head'; De Vries 1977:152 *ghebh-l; Orël 2003:121 Proto-Germanic *ɣaƀlaz ~ *ɣaƀlō, 130 *ɣeƀ(e)lōn; Kroonen 2013:173 Proto-Germanic *gebla(n)- ~ *gabla- 'top'; Lehmann 1986:155 *ghebh-el-/-lo-; Feist 1939:214; Onions 1966:384 *ghebhalā; Klein 1971:301 *ghebhᵉl-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:266 *ghebh- 'head'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:257 *ghebh-l.

C. Eskimo-Aleut: Proto-Inuit *kavžaq, *kavžəq 'crown of head' > Seward Peninsula Inuit *kavžaq* 'crown of head, peak of a woman's parka'; North Alaskan Inuit *kavžaq* 'crown of head'; Western Canadian Inuit *kavžiq* 'crown of head'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kayyiq* 'crown of head'; Greenlandic Inuit *kaššiq* 'crown of head'. Aleut *kamɣ-iX* (< *kavəɣ) 'head'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:162.

Buck 1949:4.20 head; 4.202 skull; 12.33 top; 12.35 end. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:383—384, no. 219; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 586, *gabV(-ḷ|ĺV)* 'head' (→ 'top; skull').

353. Proto-Nostratic root *gab- (~ *gəb-):
(vb.) *gab- 'to grasp, to seize';
(n.) *gab-a 'hand, arm'

A. Proto-Afrasian *gab- 'hand, arm': Egyptian *gbʒ* (f. *gbt*) 'arm'; Coptic (Sahidic) *čboy* [ϭⲃⲟ(ⲉ)ⲓ], (Bohairic) *ǧphoy* [ϫⲫⲟⲓ] 'arm (of human being), leg (of animal)'. Faulkner 1962:288; Hannig 1995:898; Erman—Grapow 1921:198 and 1926—1963.5:163; Gardiner 1957:597; Vycichl 1983:338; Černý 1976:325. Cushitic: Saho-Afar *gab- 'hand' > Saho *gabaa* 'hand'; Afar *gaba*, *gabaa* 'hand'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:194, no. 859, *gabaʔ- 'hand, arm'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kavar* 'to seize, to grasp, to catch, to steal, to get control of, to receive, to experience, to desire, to have sexual intercourse with', *kavarcci* 'captivation, attraction', *kavarvu* 'captivation, attraction, desire', *kavavu* (*kavavi-*) '(vb.) to desire, to embrace, to copulate; (n.) copulation', *kavarru* (*kavarri-*) 'to attract', *kavai* 'to include, to join with, to embrace'; Malayalam *kavaruka* 'to plunder, to rob', *kavarcca* 'robbery, plunder'; Kannaḍa *kavar* 'to take away by force, to seize, to strip, to plunder', *kavarte*, *kavate* 'taking by force, seizing, plundering'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123—124, no. 1326.

C. Proto-Indo-European *gʰabʰ- 'to grab, to seize': Sanskrit *gábhasti-ḥ* 'hand, arm'; Khotanese *ggośtä* (< *gabasti-) 'handful'; Old Irish *ga(i)bid* 'to take,

to seize'; Latin *habeō* 'to have, to hold'; Umbrian *habe* 'to take, to receive, to have'; Gothic *gabei* 'riches'; Lithuanian *gãbana*, *gabanà* 'armful'. Rix 1998a:172 *$g^{h}eb^{h}$- 'to take, to seize; to give'; Pokorny 1959:407—409 **ghabh-* 'to take, to seize'; Walde 1927—1932.I:344—345 **ghabh-*; Mann 1984—1987:309 **ghabh-* 'to seize, to hold', 309—310 **ghabhəlos*, *-i̯ə*, *-i̯o-* (**ghabhul-*) 'hold, holder', 310 **ghabhən-* (**ghabhin-*, **ghabhēn-*) 'hold, holder, container', 310 **ghabsos*, *-ā* 'hold, grip, handful'; Watkins 1985:20 **ghabh-* (also **ghebh-*) and 2000:28 **ghabh-* (also **ghebh-*) 'to give or receive'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:143, I:146 **g[h]ab[h]-* and 1995.I:123, I:125, I:251 *$g^{h}ab^{h}$- 'to have, to catch'; Mallory—Adams 1997:564 **ghabh-* 'to take, to seize'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:322—323; Ernout—Meillet 1979:287—288; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:630—631 **ghab(h)-*; De Vaan 2008:277—278; Orël 2003:121 Proto-Germanic **ɣaƀiɣaz* ~ **ɣaƀuɣaz*, 121 **ɣaƀīn*; Lehmann 1986:134; Feist 1939:175—176; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:126—127. Note: Two separate stems must be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European: (1) *$g^{h}ab^{h}$- 'to grab, to seize' and (2) *$g^{h}eb^{h}$- 'to give', which is preserved only in Germanic.

Buck 1949:4.31 arm; 4.33 hand; 11.11 have; 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 11.15 hold.

354. Proto-Nostratic root **gad-* (~ **gəd-*):
(vb.) **gad-* 'to be or become big, great, mighty';
(n.) **gad-a* 'bigness, greatness, might'; (adj.) 'big, great, mighty'

A. Proto-Afrasian **gad-* 'to be or become big, great, mighty': Proto-Semitic **gad-ad-* 'to be or become great, honored, rich' > Arabic *ǧadda* 'to be great, honored, rich', *ǧadd* 'good luck, good fortune', *ǧiddan* 'very, much', *ǧadd* 'riches, wealth, good fortune; greatness, honor; rich'; Sabaean *gdd* '(the) great, great ones'. D. Cohen 1970— :99—100; Zammit 2002:118—119. Egyptian *ḏḏ* '(to be) fat'; Coptic *ǧate* [ⲭⲁⲧⲉ] 'to become ripe, mature; to advance in age', *ǧtay* [ⲭⲧⲁⲓ] 'to ripen'. Hannig 1995:1019; Faulkner 1962:325; Gardiner 1957:604; Erman—Grapow 1921:223 and 1926—1963.5:631; Černý 1976:321; Vycichl 1983:332. Berber: Nefusa *guda* 'pile, heap'; Tamazight *gudy* 'to be numerous, to be many', *sgudy* 'to produce a lot, to furnish a large quantity', *agdud* 'crowd (on a festival day), a gathering'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *gudi* 'to be in a pile or heap', *agudi* 'pile, heap'; Kabyle *agdud* 'swarm of bees'. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *gada* 'king, chief'; Sidamo *gada* 'king, chief'. Hudson 1989:86—87. Proto-Southern Cushitic **a-gad-* 'man, adult man' > Burunge *gaduwa* 'elder'; Alagwa *garmo* 'elder'; Ma'a *mwagíru* 'man, adult man'. Ehret 1980:297. Omotic: Dime *gääd* 'big'. Ehret 1995:180, no. 265, **gad-*/**gud-* 'to be big'.

B. Dravidian: Telugu *gāṭamu* ‘much, great’; Pengo *gāṭi*, *gāṭu* ‘much’; Manḍa *gāṭu* ‘much’; Kuwi *gāṭi* ‘much’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:134, no. 1442.
C. Uralic: Proto-Ugric **katɜ-* ‘to become fat’ > Ostyak / Xanty (Vasyugan) *katəm* ‘fat, stout’, (Krasnoyarsk) *χottə-* ‘to become fat’; Vogul / Mansi *koot-* ‘to become fat’; Hungarian *híz-* ‘to become fat’. Rédei 1986—1988:855 **katɜ-*.

Buck 1949:11.42 wealth, riches; 11.51 rich; 12.55 large, big (great); 13.15 much, many; 19.32 king.

355. Proto-Nostratic root **gad-* (~ **gəd-*):
(vb.) **gad-* ‘to cut, to split, to strike (with an instrument)’;
(n.) **gad-a* ‘that which cuts: (pick)axe, saw; that which is cut, split: cut, split, piece, fragment, bit’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gad-* ‘to cut, to split’: Proto-Semitic **gad-ad-* ‘to cut off’ > Akkadian *gadādu* ‘to chop’; Hebrew *gāðað* [גָּדַד] ‘to cut, to make incisions in oneself’; Aramaic *gəðað* ‘to cut’; Mandaic *gdd* ‘to cut off, to put an end to’; Arabic *ǧadda* ‘to cut, to cut off’; Geez / Ethiopic *gəddu* [ግዱ] ‘piece of wood cut with an axe or a saw’; Tigre *gädda* (< **gad-ay-*) ‘to tear off’, *gədet* ‘a piece of meat (severed from the bone)’; Amharic *gəd* ‘name of a cut of meat’. D. Cohen 1970— :99—100; Murtonen 1989:127; Klein 1987:91; Leslau 1987:180. Proto-Semitic **gad-aʕ-* ‘to cut, to cut off’ > Hebrew *gāðaʿ* [גָּדַע] ‘to cut down or off, to hew’; Aramaic *gəðaʿ* ‘to cut off, to amputate’; Arabic *ǧadaʿa* ‘to cut off, to amputate’; Geez / Ethiopic *gʷadʾa* [ጐድአ], *gʷadʿa* [ጐድዐ] ‘to strike, to smite, to thrust, to knock, to crush, to shake, to touch, to butt, to heave with sobs’; Tigre *gädʾa* ‘to push, to pound’; Tigrinya *gʷädʾe* ‘to crush, to damage’; Amharic *gʷädda* ‘to harm, to damage’; Argobba *gʷädda* ‘to harm, to damage’; Gurage *gʷäda* ‘to injure, to harm, to hurt’. D. Cohen 1970— :102; Murtonen 1989:182; Klein 1987:92; Leslau 1979:260 and 1987:180. Proto-Semitic **gad-am-* ‘to cut off’ > Akkadian *gadāmu* ‘to cut off (hair)’; Hebrew *gāðam* [גָּדַם] ‘to cut off, to lop off, to amputate’; Aramaic *gəðam* ‘to cut down’; Mandaic *gdm* ‘to cut’; Arabic *ǧadama* ‘to cut off’; Geez / Ethiopic *gadāmit* [ገዳሚት] ‘scissors’; Tigre *gəddom* ‘pickaxe’; Amharic *gäğämo* ‘axe’. D. Cohen 1970— :101; Klein 1987:92; Leslau 1987:182—183. Berber: Kabyle *ġəddəḥ* ‘to cut down, to hack’. East Chadic **gad-* ‘to split’ > Tumak *gaad-* ‘to split’; Ndam *gəda* ‘to split’. Cushitic: Bilin *gad-* ‘to smite, to hit’; Beja / Beḍawye *gaddū́m*, *gadū́m* ‘axe’; Afar *gadumaa* ‘axe’; Somali *gaduumo* ‘axe’. Reinisch 1895:91. Orël—Stolbova 1995:196, no. 868, **gad-* ‘to cut, to split’, 197, no. 872, **gadum-* ‘cut; axe, hoe’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṭi* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to cut away’, *kaṭi* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to cut into pieces’, *kaṭikai* ‘piece cut off’; Malayalam *kaṭiyuka* ‘to clear bamboos from thorns’; Kannaḍa *kaḍi* ‘to cut, to chop, to fell, to cut off, to dig (as well,

ditch)', *kaḍi*, *kaḍita*, *kaḍa*, *kaḍata*, *kaḍuku* 'cutting, a cut, portion cut off, chip, bit', *kaḍiyuvike* 'cutting', *kaḍisu*, *kaḍiyisu* 'to cause to cut', *kaḍitale* 'sword'; Tuḷu *kaḍiyuni* 'to be cut in two', *kaḍi* 'small fragment, bit', *kaḍpuni*, *kaḍụpuni* 'to cut, to fell', *kaḍḍāṭa* 'cutting, fighting', *kaḍụta*, *gaḍi* 'a cut, incision', *kaḍtale* 'a long-edged sword'; Telugu *kaḍi* 'a morsel, a mouthful', *kaḍi-kaṇḍalu* 'fragments, bits, pieces'; Kuṛux *xaṭṭnā* (*xaṭṭyas*) 'to divide, to separate into several sets or parts, to portion out'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:106, no. 1125.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$g^hod^h$- 'to hit, to strike': Avestan *gaδō* 'plague, murderer', *gaδa*- 'club, stick'; Greek (Hesychius) κοθώ· 'harm, damage'; Czech *u-hodit*- 'to strike'. Mann 1984—1987:327 **ghodh*- 'to hit, to strike'; Beekes 2010.I:729—730.

D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **katɣa* 'adze': Chukchi *ɣatɣa-tko*- 'to chop with adze', *ɣatte* 'adze'; Koryak *ɣatte* 'adze', *ɣacɣa-tku*- 'to chop with adze'; Kerek *hacci* 'adze', *Xali-ɣatɣa-ttu*- 'to chop with adze'; Alyutor *ɣatɣa-tku*- 'to chop with adze'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *kasf* 'axe'. Fortescue 2005:128.

E. Proto-Eskimo **kaðuɣ*- 'to strike (with an instrument)': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kauɣ*- 'to strike with an object'; Central Alaskan Yupik *kauɣ*- 'to strike with an object'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *kaaw*- 'to strike with a hammer'; Central Siberian Yupik *kaaw*- 'to strike with a hammer'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kauk*- 'to strike with a hammer'; North Alaskan Inuit *kauk*- 'hammer'; Western Canadian Inuit *kauk*- 'hammer'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kauk*- 'to hit with an object'; Greenlandic Inuit *kaat*- 'hammer'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:151. Proto-Eskimo **kað(ð)uɣun* and **kaðuɣutaʁ* 'hammer': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kau<ɣ>utaq* 'club'; Central Alaskan Yupik *kauɣun* 'hammer'; Central Siberian Yupik *kaaɣusiq* 'hammer'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kažžuun*, *kažžuutaq* 'hammer'; North Alaskan Inuit *kautaq* 'hammer'; Western Canadian Inuit *kautaq* 'hammer'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kautaq* 'hammer'; Greenlandic Inuit *kaataq* 'hammer'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:151.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat); 9.22 cut; 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 12.23 separate (vb.).

356. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gad-a* 'kid, young goat':

A. Proto-Afrasian **gad*- 'kid, young goat': Proto-Semitic **gady*- 'kid, young billy-goat' > Akkadian *gadū* 'male kid'; Ugaritic *gdy* 'kid'; Hebrew *gəðī* [גְּדִי] 'kid'; Punic *gdʾ* 'kid'; Aramaic *gaðyā* 'kid'; Arabic *ǧady* (pl. *ǧidāʾ*) 'kid, young billy-goat'. D. Cohen 1970— :100—101; Murtonen 1989:127; Klein 1987:91. (?) Chadic: Hausa *gàdáa* 'duiker'; Ngizim *gádùwà* 'crested duiker'; Dghwede *gàdàgírè* 'duiker'. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II: 112—113.

B. Proto-Dravidian **kaṭ-ac-* ‘young male animal’: Tamil *kaṭavu*, *kaṭā*, *kaṭāy* ‘male of sheep or goat, he-buffalo’, *kiṭā* ‘buffalo, bull, ram’, *kiṭāy* ‘male of sheep’, *kaṭāri*, *kiṭāri* ‘heifer, young cow that has not calved’, *kaṭamai* ‘female of the goat’; Malayalam *kaṭā*, *kiṭā*, *kaṭāvu* ‘male of cattle, young and vigorous; child, young person’, *kaṭacci* ‘heifer, young cow, calf’, *kiṭāri* ‘a cow-calf, heifer; female buffalo’; Kannaḍa *kaḍasu* ‘young cow or buffalo that has not yet calved’; Koḍagu *kaḍïci* ‘young cow or buffalo that has not yet calved’; Tuḷu *gaḍasu̯* ‘young cow or buffalo that has not yet calved’; Gondi *kāṛā* ‘young buffalo’; Kuṛux *kaṛā* ‘young male buffalo’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:106, no. 1123; Krishnamurti 2003:12 **kaṭ-ac-* ‘young male animal’, 16 **kaṭ-ac-* ‘young male animal’, 123 **kaṭ-aca-* ‘male of cattle, heifer’, and 160 **kaṭ-ac-* ‘male of a domestic animal’.

C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kətepa* ‘mountain sheep’: Chukchi *kətepalʏən* ‘mountain sheep’; Kerek *kəciipaŋa* ‘mountain sheep’; Koryak *kətep(a)* ‘mountain sheep’; Alyutor *ktip(a)* ‘mountain sheep’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *qtep* (Western, Sedanka *ktep*) ‘mountain sheep’. Fortescue 2005:153; Mudrak 1989b:100 **kətepʌ* ‘mountain goat’.

Buck 1949:3.36 goat; 3.37 he-goat; 3.38 kid. Dolgopolsky 1998:48—49, no. 49, **gadi* (or **gati* ?) ‘kid, young goat’. Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$ayt’o-* ‘goat’ appears to be a loan from a non-Indo-European source (cf. Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1995.I:769 and I:862).

357. Proto-Nostratic root **gal-* (~ **gəl-*):
(vb.) **gal-* ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’;
(n.) **gal-a* ‘cut, break, tear, separation’
Derivative:
(vb.) **gal-* ‘to dig, scoop, or hollow out’ (> ‘to plow’);
(n.) **gal-a* ‘the act of digging, scooping, or hollowing out’

A. Proto-Afrasian **g[a]l-* ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’: Proto-Semitic **gal-al-* ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *galla* [ገለ], *gallala* [ገለለ] ‘to separate, to pick out, to choose, to set aside, to move aside, to winnow’, *gəlāl* [ግላል] ‘matter picked out (gleanings), winnowed or cleared grain’; Tigrinya *gälälä* ‘to move away from a place, to make way’; Amharic *gäläll alä* ‘to make way, to depart’. D. Cohen 1970— :125—129; Leslau 1987:191. Proto-Semitic **gal-ay-* ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *galaya* [ገለየ] ‘to cut off, to cut away, to pluck off, to break off, to separate, to divide’; Amharic *gällälä* ‘to cut (wood)’; Harari *gäläla* ‘to cut the fingernails, to cut the edges, to remove impurities from the surface’. Leslau 1963:71 and 1987:192—193; D. Cohen 1970— :120—122. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **gal-gal-* ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’ > Geez / Ethiopic *galgala* [ገልገለ] ‘to lay bear, to empty, to evacuate, to separate, to

pillage, to destroy'; Tigre *gälgälä* 'to tear off and split'; Tigrinya *g*$^{w}$*älg*$^{w}$*älä* 'to take out'; Amharic *gäläggälä* 'to uproot'. Leslau 1987:190; D. Cohen 1970— :118. Berber: Tuareg *ağəlhim* 'hoe'; Nefusa *agəlzim* 'axe, hoe'; Ghadames *ağəlzim*, *ağərzim* 'hatchet'; Tamazight *agəlzim* 'pick, pickaxe', *tigəlzimt* 'pickaxe, hatchet, hoe'; Riff *agəlzim* 'pick, pickaxe'; Kabyle *agəlzim* 'pick, pickaxe', *tagəlzimt* 'hatchet'.

B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *kal*$^{a}$*gnā* (*kalgas*/*kalgyas*), *kal*$^{a}$*knā* (*kalkyas*) 'to bite so as to disable, to open or unhusk with the teeth'; Malto *kalge* 'to break off a part with the teeth', *kalke* 'to bite off'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1315.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **gal-*/**gl-* 'to tear, to pick; to break, to burst': Georgian *gal-*/*gl-* 'to tear, to pick; to break, to burst'; Svan *gl-*/*gil-* 'to tear, to break', *na-gil* 'piece, bit'. Klimov 1964:63 **gl-* and 1998:26 **gal-*/**gl-* 'to tear, to pick; to break, to burst'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:75—76 **gal-*; Fähnrich 2007:94—95 **gal-*. Proto-Kartvelian **gl-eǯg-*/**gl-iǯg-*/**gl-ǯg-* 'to tear, to break': Georgian *gleǯ-*/*gliǯ-*/*g(l)ǯ-* 'to tear, to break'; Mingrelian *gurǯ-on-* 'to tear, to break'. Fähnrich 2007:108—109 **glaǯ-*/**gleǯ-*/**gliǯ-*/**glǯ-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:86—87 **gleǯ-*/**gliǯ-*/**glǯ-*; Klimov 1964:63 **gl-* and 1998:30—31 **gl-eǯ-*/**gl-iǯ-*/**gl-ǯ-* 'to tear, to break'.

D. Proto-Indo-European **g*$^{h}$*el-*/**g*$^{h}$*ol-*/**g*$^{h}$*l̥-* 'to cut off': Gothic *gilþa* 'sickle'; Old Icelandic *gelda* 'to castrate', *geldr* 'yielding no milk, dry', *geldingr* 'wether, eunuch'; Middle English *gelden* 'to castrate, to geld', *geldere* 'gelder', *geldinge* 'gelding' (Norse loans); Welsh *gylym* 'knife, dagger'. Pokorny 1959:434 **ǵhel-* 'to cut' (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:629 **ĝhel-*; Watkins 1985:21 **ghel-* and 2000:29 **ghel-* 'to cut'; Lehmann 1986:156 **ĝhel-* 'to cut'; Orël 2003:124 Proto-Germanic **ɣalđinɣaz*, 124 **ɣalđiz* ~ **ɣalđjaz*, 124 **ɣalđjanan*; Kroonen 2013:164 Proto-Germanic **gald(j)a-* 'barren, not (yet) pregnant' and 165—166 **galtan-* '(castrated) boar'; Feist 1939:215 **ĝhel-*; De Vries 1977:162—163 **ĝhel-*; Onions 1966:392; Klein 1971:306.

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kəlvə-* 'to make a notch or mark': Chukchi *kəlwə-* 'to make a notch or mark', *kəlwe tajkəjo* 'carving', *kəlwəɣərɣən*, *kəlwəkəl* 'notch, line, mark'; Koryak *kəlvəɣəjŋən* 'notch, mark', *kəlɣəkəl* 'notch or step, knot on a counting string'; Alyutor *kəlv-* 'notch, mark'; Kamchadal / Itelmen *kəlva-nŏm* 'mark (on reindeer)' (this may be a loan from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:146.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 12.23 separate (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:392—393, no. 229.

358. Proto-Nostratic root **gal-* (~ **gəl-*):
(vb.) **gal-* 'to dig, scoop, or hollow out' (> 'to plow');
(n.) **gal-a* 'the act of digging, scooping, or hollowing out'
Derivative of:

(vb.) **gal-* ‘to cut, break, tear, or pluck off; to separate’;
(n.) **gal-a* ‘cut, break, tear, separation’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **gal-gal-* ‘to plow repeatedly’ > Gurage *gəläggälä* ‘to plow for the second time’; Amharic *gäläggälä* ‘to repeat, to plow for the second and third time’; Harari *gilägälä* ‘to repeat (referring to plowing)’. D. Cohen 1970— :118; Leslau 1963:71 and 1979:273.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kalappai* ‘plow, plowshare’; Malayalam *kalappa* ‘a plow and what belongs to it’; Telugu *kalapa* ‘materials for a plow, timber for buildings’; Kannaḍa *kalapu* ‘materials for a house, for a plow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1304. Malayalam *kalluka* ‘to dig out, to excavate’; Tamil *kallu* (*kalli-*) ‘to dig out (as a hole), to hollow (as a rat), to excavate, to scoop out (as a nut), to erode’, *kellu* (*kelli-*) ‘to dig’; Kota *kelv-* (*kelt-*) ‘to dig with fingers or paws’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1319.
C. Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$el-/*g$^{h}$ol-/*g$^{h}$l̥-* ‘(vb.) to plow; (n.) a plow’: Sanskrit *halá-ḥ* ‘a plow’; Armenian *jlem* ‘to plow’; Lithuanian *žúolis* ‘sleeper, tie’. Pokorny 1959:434 **ĝhel-* ‘to cut’ (?); Walde 1927—1932.I:629 **ĝhel-*; Watkins 1985:21 **ghel-* and 2000:29 **ghel-* ‘to cut’; Smoczyński 2007.1:792.

Buck 1949:8.21 plow; 8.22 dig. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:393—394, no. 230.

359. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gal-a* ‘pot, vessel’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **gal-* ‘pot, vessel’: Egyptian *gn-t* [**gl-*] ‘vessel, container (for wine)’, *gngn-t* [**gl-gl-*] ‘vessel, container (for milk)’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:173 and 5:177; Hannig 1995:901 and 902. West Chadic **gal-* ‘calabash’ > Warji *galiya* ‘calabash’; Kariya *gali* ‘calabash’; Geji *gale* ‘calabash’; Burma *kal* ‘calabash’; Buli *gal* ‘calabash’. Central Chadic **gal-* ‘pot’ > Banana *gala* ‘pot’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:199, no. 878, **gal-* ‘vessel’.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kalam* ‘vessel, plate, utensil, earthenware, ship’; Malayalam *kalam* ‘pot, vessel, ship’; Kota *kalm* (obl. *kalt-*) ‘clay pot in the making’; Kannaḍa *kala* ‘pot, vessel’; Koḍagu *kala* ‘big pot’; Tuḷu *kara* ‘an earthen vessel’; Telugu *kalamu* ‘ship’; (?) Brahui *kalanḍ* ‘broken earthen pot, any old pot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1305.

Sumerian *gal* ‘cup, beaker, goblet; a large pitcher or jug’.

Buck 1949:5.26 pot.

360. Proto-Nostratic root **gal-* (~ **gəl-*):

(vb.) **gal-* ‘to be or become visible, clear, obvious, evident; to regard, to look at, to peer at’;
(n.) **gal-a* ‘visibility, clarity, understanding’; (adj.) ‘clear, plain, evident’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gal-* ‘to be or become visible, clear, obvious, evident; to regard, to look at, to peer at’: Proto-Semitic **gal-ay-* ‘to be or become shining, bright, clear, clean; to make shining, bright, clear, clean’ > Arabic *ğalā* ‘to clean, to polish; to make clear, to clear up, to clarify, to reveal, to disclose, to unveil; to shine, to be brilliant; to distinguish (oneself); to regard, to look at’, *ğalīy* ‘clear, plain, evident’, *ğalayān* ‘vision, revelation’; Hebrew *gālāh* [גָּלָה] ‘to uncover, to reveal, to disclose’; Phoenician *gly* ‘to uncover’; Aramaic *gəlā* ‘to reveal’; Ḥarsūsi *gelō* ‘to clean (a wound)’; Geez / Ethiopic *galaya* [ገለየ] ‘to explain, to interpret, to reveal, to disclose’, *gəlyat* [ግልየት] ‘explanation, interpretation’. D. Cohen 1970— :120; Murtonen 1989:134—135; Leslau 1987:192—193; Klein 1987:99; Zammit 2002:125. Proto-Semitic **gal-ah-* ‘to be visible, clear, obvious, evident’ > Tigrinya *gälhe* ‘to reveal’, *gʷəlhi*, *gʷəl* ‘visible’, *guləh* ‘visible’; Gurage *guləh* ‘clear, evident’; Amharic *guləh* ‘evident, visible, obvious, plain (clear)’, *gʷälla* ‘to be clear, to stand out’, *agʷälla* ‘to make clear, to magnify, to accentuate, to amplify, to emphasize’. D. Cohen 1970— :120; Leslau 1979:273. Egyptian (Demotic) *glp*, *grp* ‘to reveal, to uncover’; Coptic *čōlp* [ϭⲱⲗⲡ] ‘to uncover, to reveal’. Vycichl 1983:339; Černý 1976:328. Proto-Southern Cushitic **gal-* or **gaal-* ‘to look at or look over’ > K’wadza *gal-* ‘to see’; Ma’a *-galí* ‘to try’. Ehret 1980:235. Chadic: Zaar *gali* ‘to see’. Ehret 1995:183, no. 276, **gal-* ‘to show’.

B. (?) Dravidian: Kannaḍa *gāḷaka* ‘a good, proper man’; Telugu *gāḷakũḍu* ‘a clever, ingenious man’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:139, no. 1496. For the semantics, cf. Old English *glēaw* ‘quick-sighted, sagacious, wise, prudent, clever, skillful, skilled in’, Old High German *glau* ‘intelligent’, and Welsh *glew* ‘clever’, cited below.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **gal-* ‘to know, to be acquainted with, to understand’: Georgian *gal-* in *a-gan-gal-a-ob-a* name of a children’s game; Svan (reduplicated) *gan-gal-* (< **gal-gal-*) ‘to know, to be acquainted with, to understand’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:76 **gal-*; Fähnrich 2007:95 **gal-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European **gʰel-*/**gʰol-*/**gʰl̥-*: **gʰl-en-dʰ-* ‘to be or become visible, clear, obvious, evident; to regard, to look at, to peer at’: Old Irish *glinn* ‘pure, clear’; Middle High German *glins* ‘glint, shine’; Old Church Slavic *po-ględъ* ‘aspect’, *glęždǫ*, *ględĕti* ‘to see, to look’; Russian *gljadét′* [глядеть] ‘to look (at), to peer (at), to gaze (upon)’; Serbo-Croatian *glèdati* ‘to look, to see’; Old Polish *ględać* ‘to look at’; Bulgarian *glédam* ‘to look at’; Latvian *gleñst* ‘to (barely) perceive’. Rix 1998a:178—179 **gʰlendʰ-* ‘to look or gaze at; to shine’; Mann 1984—1987:323 **ghlendō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to be clear, to be open, to shine’, 323 **ghlendos* ‘clear, open, bright; clarity,

gleam'; Kroonen 2013:181 Proto-Germanic *_glintan_- 'to shine, to look'; Derksen 2008:264 *_g$^{h}$lend_-. Proto-Indo-European *_g$^{h}$l-ewH_-/*_g$^{h}$l-owH_-/*_g$^{h}$l-uH_- 'clear, evident' > Gothic *glaggwaba* 'diligently'; Old Icelandic *glöggr* 'clear, distinct'; Old Swedish *glugga* 'to look, to lurk'; Old English *glēaw* 'quick-sighted, sagacious, wise, prudent, clever, skillful, skilled in'; Old High German *glau* 'intelligent' (New High German [dial.] *glau* 'bright, lively, quick'); Welsh *glew* 'clever'; Cornish *glew* 'bright, sharp'. Mann 1984—1987:324 *_ghleu_-, *_ghleuu̯_- 'bright, keen, clever'; Orël 2003:136 Proto-Germanic *_ɣ̄lawwaz_; Kroonen 2013:180 Proto-Germanic *_glawwa_- 'sharp-sighted'; Feist 1939:216 *_ghlou̯_-; Lehmann 1951:43, §4.42b, and 1986:157; De Vries 1977:177 *_ghleu̯_-. Note: In Indo-European, some of the reflexes of this stem fell together with those of Proto-Nostratic *_ɢil_- (~ *_ɢel_-) 'to shine, to glisten'.

E. Proto-Altaic *_ğălV_ 'clear (of sky, weather)': Proto-Tungus *_galu_- 'clear (of sky, weather)' > Manchu *ɢalɢa* 'clear (of weather)'; Ulch *ɢalụ-ɢalụ bi* 'clear (of sky, weather)'; Orok *ɢāl-* 'clear (of sky, weather)'; Nanay / Gold *ɢalɢa* 'clear (of sky, weather)'. Proto-Turkic *_K(i)alï_- '(vb.) to clear up (of sky); (n.) sky' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qalïq* 'sky'; Karakhanide Turkic (*kök*) *qarïq* 'sky'; (?) Chuvash *yъl-* 'to shine, to glitter'; Yakut *kiley-χaley* 'shining', *χalïn-* 'to clear up (of sky)', *χallān* 'clear sky, good weather'; Dolgan *kallān* 'sky'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:528 *_ğălV_ 'clear (of sky, weather)'.

Buck 1949:15.51 see; 15.52 look, look at; 17.17 know; 17.34 clear, evident. [Bomhard—Kerns 1994:390—392, no. 228.]

361. Proto-Nostratic *_gal_- (~ *_gəl_-):
(vb.) *_gal_- 'to cry out, to shout, to clamor; to be noisy, boisterous';
(n.) *_gal-a_ 'clamor, uproar, tumult, disturbance, turmoil, noise'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic *_gal-ab_- 'to cry out, to shout, to clamor; to be noisy, boisterous' > Arabic *ğalaba* 'to shout, to clamor; to be noisy, boisterous', *ğalab* 'clamor, uproar, tumult, turmoil', *ğalbada-t* 'neigh', *ğalbaḳa-t* 'clamor, noise, tumult'. D. Cohen 1970— :116—117 and 117.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kalipali*, *kalipili* 'uproar, disturbance, quarrel, wrangle'; Tuḷu *galibili* 'disorder, tumult, anarchy', *galabu* 'tumult, confusion, noise'; Kannaḍa *galabali*, *galabili*, *galibili* 'disorder, confusion', *galabe* 'hubbub, clamor'; Telugu *galibili*, *galaba* 'confusion, noise, disturbance'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1310.

C. Proto-Indo-European *_g$^{h}$el-_/*_g$^{h}$ol-_/*_g$^{h}$l̥-_ 'to cry out, to shout, to clamor; to be noisy, boisterous': Old Icelandic *gjalla* 'to scream, to shriek', *gala* 'to crow (cock); to cry, to scream; to sing, to chant', *gal* 'screaming, howling'; Faroese *gella* 'to scream, to shriek'; Swedish *gälla* 'to scream, to shriek'; Danish *gjalde* 'to scream, to shriek'; Norwegian (dial.) *gjella* 'to scream, to

shriek'; Old English *giellan* 'to scream, to cry out, to shout, to sound', *galan* 'to sing; to scream (of birds)'; Old High German *gellan* 'to make a shrill sound' (New High German *gellen*), *galan* 'to bewitch', *galm* 'outcry'; Middle High German *gal* 'sound, note'. Pokorny 1959:428 **ghel-* 'to call'; Walde 1927—1932.I:538—539 **gal-* (also **ghel-*), I:628 **ghel-*; Mann 1984—1987:318 **ghelsos* 'voice, sound, noise', 330 **gholi̯ō* 'to weep, to cry', 330 **gholos* 'cry, noise'; Kroonen 2013:164 Proto-Germanic **galan-* 'to shout, to sing, to chant' and 174 **gellan-* 'to sound, to yell'; Orël 2003:123—124 Proto-Germanic **ɣalanan*, 131 **ɣellanan*; De Vries 1977:153 and 169—170; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:22; Onions 1966:1019; Klein 1971:837 **ghel-* 'to cry out, to call, to shout, to sing'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:245 **ghel-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:2555.

Buck 1949:18.13 shout, cry out.

362. Proto-Nostratic root **gal-* (~ **gəl-*):
(vb.) **gal-* 'to ache, to be in pain, to be ill, to suffer';
(n.) **gal-a* 'ache, pain, disease, illness'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **gal-aw-* 'to ache, to be in pain, to be ill, to have a fever' > Ḥarsūsi *gēlew* 'to have a fever', *gōlew* 'fever'; Soqoṭri *góleʔ* 'fever'; Mehri *gēləw* 'to be ill, to have a fever, to have a short illness', *gōləw* 'fever'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *gíźi*/*ygɔ́l* 'to be ill, to have a fever', *gɔ́lɛʔ* 'fever', *gélɛ́ʔ* 'ill'. D. Cohen 1970— :120—122. Tigre *ǧele* 'weak, miserable', *ǧoläli gäʾa* 'to suffer pain (head, body), to have no power'; Amharic *agʷlalla* 'to mistreat, to inflict hardship on'. D. Cohen 1970— : 125 and 126.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **glo(w)-* 'to grieve': Georgian *glov-* 'to grieve, to deplore', *glova-* 'grief'; Mingrelian *rg(v)-* 'to grieve, to deplore'. Klimov 1964:63 **glo-* and 1998:31 **glo(w)-* 'to grieve, to deplore'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:86 **gl-*; Fähnrich 2007:107—108 **gl-*; Schmidt 1962: 101 **gel-*.
C. Proto-Indo-European (**gʰel-*/)**gʰol-* '(vb.) to ache, to be in pain, to be ill, to suffer; (n.) ache, pain, disease, illness': Hittite (acc. sg.) *kal-la-ra-an* 'inauspicious, unpropitious, nefarious, baleful, enormous, monstrous'; Old Irish *galar* 'disease, illness'; Welsh *galar* 'grief'; Lithuanian *žalà* 'hurt, harm, injury'. Pokorny 1959:411 **ĝhal-*, **ĝhal-ar-* 'physical defect, infirmity, affliction, ailment'; Walde 1927—1932.I:540 **ĝhal-*, **ĝhal-ar-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1286; Smoczyński 2007.1:771 **ǵʰal-*; Puhvel 1984— .4:20—21; Kloekhorst 2008b:429 **ǵ(ʰ)olH-ro-* or **g(ʰ)olH-ro-* (?); Derksen 2015:511 **ǵʰolh₃-*.

Buck 1949:16.31 pain, suffering; 16.32 grief, sorrow. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 612, **giL[U]* 'illness, pain, distress', and no. 615b, **goḷ|ĺV* 'to weep'.

363. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *gal-a ‘blemish, fault, scar, sore on the skin’:

A. Dravidian: Malayalam *kala* ‘mark as of smallpox, scar, mole’; Kannaḍa *kale*, *kali* ‘scar of an old wound, mark of smallpox; stain of mud, oil, etc.’; Koḍagu *kale* ‘scar, white spot on nail’; Tuḷu *kalè* ‘scar, mark, blemish, stain’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1313.
B. Proto-Indo-European *$g^{h}al$- ‘blemish, fault, sore on the skin’: Old Icelandic *galli* ‘defect, fault, flaw’; Old Swedish *galli* ‘defect, fault, flaw’; Old English *gealla* ‘a sore on the skin’; Middle Low German *galle* ‘a sore place on the skin’; Middle High German *galle* ‘flaw, defect; boil, blister; swelling, protuberance (on the skin of horses)’ (New High German *Galle*). Pokorny 1959:411 *ĝhal-, *ĝhal-ar- ‘physical defect, infirmity, affliction, ailment’; Walde 1927—1932.I:540 *ĝhal-; Orël 2003:124 Proto-Germanic *ɣallōn; Kroonen 2013:165 Proto-Germanic *galra- ‘swelling (?)’; De Vries 1977:154; Onions 1966:386; Klein 1971:302; Kluge—Mitzka 1967: 229; Kluge—Seebold 1989:242.

Buck 1949:16.76 fault, guilt.

364. Proto-Nostratic root *gal- (~ *gəl-):
(vb.) *gal- ‘to be strong, powerful; to be able’;
(n.) *gal-a ‘strength, power, ability’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ǧulabiz* ‘hard, brave’; Amharic *gulbät* ‘knee, strength, might, vigor, energy, effort’; Tigre *gəlb* ‘stronghold, safety; fidelity, firmness, given word’. D. Cohen 1970— :117.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kali* ‘strength, force’, *kaliyan* ‘warrior’; Kannaḍa *kali* ‘man noted for valor and prowess; warrior, hero’, *kalitana* ‘valor, heroism’; Telugu (in inscriptions) *kalitanamu* ‘bravery’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1308.
C. Proto-Indo-European *$g^{h}al$- ‘(vb.) to be strong, powerful; to be able; (n.) strength, power, ability’: Old Irish *gal* ‘fighting, valor’; Middle Welsh *gallu* ‘to be able’; Middle Breton *gal* ‘might, ability’; Cornish *gallos* ‘ability, power’; Lithuanian *galiù*, *galėti* ‘to be able (to)’, *galià* ‘might, power’. Pokorny 1959:351 *gal- or *ghal- ‘to be able to’; Walde 1927—1932.I:539—540 *gal- or *ghal-; Mann 1984—1987:311—312 *ghal- ‘(adj.) hard, strong, able; (n.) hardness, strength, ability’, 312 *ghalmos ‘fort, keep, lock-up’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:131; Smoczyński 2007.1:154.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 9.95 can, may (3rd sg.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 868, *ka[h]lV ‘(n.) power, force; (vb.) to be able’.

365. Proto-Nostratic root *gam- (~ *gəm-):
(vb.) gam- ‘to bend, to be bent’;

(n.) *gam-a* ‘a bent or curved object: hook; wrist, ankle; etc.’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gam-* ‘to bend, to be bent’: Proto-Semitic **gam-aṯɬ’-* ‘to bend, to be bent’ > Geez / Ethiopic *gamaṣa*, *gammaṣa* [ገመጸ], *gamaḍa* [ገመፀ] ‘to incline, to bend, to be bent, to bow down; to pervert (justice), to be partial (in justice)’; Tigre *gəmčuy* ‘crooked, perverted’; Tigrinya *gämäṣä* ‘to tell a lie’; Amharic *gämmäṭä* ‘to speak ill (of an absent person)’. Leslau 1987:195—196; D. Cohen 1970— :143—144. Akkadian *gamlu* ‘bent or curved stick (as projectile), throwing-stick’, *gamliš* (adv.) ‘like a bent (throwing-)stick, like a *gamlu*’. Perhaps also Ugaritic *gml*, if the meaning is ‘sickle’. D. Cohen 1970— :139. Egyptian *gmḥt* ‘a braid or plait of hair, a lock of hair, a tress; temple(s) (of head)’. Hannig 1995:900; Faulkner 1962:289; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:171. Berber: Tuareg *iğəm* ‘tent post to which the door is attached (for example, cord attached to the part of the canopy holding the door in place)’, *tağma* ‘nipple’; Siwa *gum* ‘pivot of mill’; Ghadames *uğəm* ‘pivot of the millstone of a home mill’; Wargla *asgum* ‘axle, pivot, spindle’; Tamazight *agum* ‘breechblock, pivot of mill’; Kabyle *agum* ‘pivot of mill’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$em-/*g$^{h}$om-/*g$^{h}$m̥-* ‘to bend down, to incline’: Armenian *gmem* ‘to lie down’. Mann 1984—1987:348 **ghumbhō* ‘to bend, to incline, to lie down’. Note: The Lithuanian form cited by Mann is phonologically ambiguous. It has been placed under Proto-Nostratic **k’um-* (~ **k’om-*) ‘to bend, to curve; to bend the head or body, to bow or stoop down’ below. The following probably belong here as well: Lithuanian *gémbė* ‘wooden hook’; Armenian *gam* ‘hook, catch, bracket, nail’. Mann 1984—1987:330 **ghombh-* (?) ‘claw, hook; harpy, hawk, vulture’. Note: The Old Icelandic forms cited by Mann are loanwords from Middle High German, ultimately from Romance (cf. De Vries 1977:155).

C. Proto-Eskimo **qamәŋaʁ* ‘ankle bone’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Koniag) *qamaŋaq* ‘ankle bone’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qamaŋaq* ‘ankle bone’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *qamaŋuaq* ‘pelvis’; North Alaskan Inuit *qamŋaq* ‘ankle’; Greenlandic Inuit (North Greenlandic) *qamŋak* ‘ankle or wrist bone’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:282.

Sumerian *gam* ‘to bend, to be bent’.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 12.75 hook. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 634, **g[u]m[V]ċV* ‘to incline, to bow, to bend’.

366. Proto-Nostratic root **gam-* (~ **gəm-*):
(vb.) **gam-* ‘to fill (up)’;
(n.) **gam-a* ‘plenty, surplus, abundance’

A. Proto-Afrasian *_gam-_ ‘(vb.) to fill (up); (adj.) full, abundant, plentiful, much’: Proto-Semitic *_gam-am-_ ‘(vb.) to fill (up); (adj.) full, abundant, plentiful, much’ > Arabic _ǧamma_ ‘to gather; to collect (one’s thoughts); to grow luxuriantly’, _ǧamm_ ‘(adj.) abundant, plentiful; much, a great deal of; many, numerous; manifold, multiple; (n.) crowd, group of people’, _maǧamm_ ‘place where something gathers or flows together’; Maghrebi _ǧəmm_ ‘to be near, to be abundant, to be full’, _ǧammam_ ‘to fill to the brim’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli _gimm_ ‘(water) to gather again after being depleted’; Hebrew _gam_ [גַּם] ‘also, moreover’; (?) Punic _gm_ ‘majesty’. Klein 1987:102; D. Cohen 1970— :141—142; Tomback 1978:66; Zammit 2002:126. Berber: Kabyle _əgməm_ ‘to amass, to accumulate’, _ggəmġəm_ ‘to be full to the brim; to be swarming, teeming, or bustling with people; to froth, to seethe, to bubble up’ (these may be Arabic loans). West Chadic *_gamu-_ ‘to fill, to be full’ > Sura _gam_ ‘to fill, to be full’; Tal _gàm_ ‘to fill, to be full’; Angas _gam_ ‘to fill, to be full’; Montol _gum_ ‘to fill, to be full’; Ankwe _gam_ ‘to fill, to be full’; Bolewa _gom_ ‘to fill, to be full’; Pero _kem_ ‘to fill, to be full’; Ngamo _ŋgama_ ‘to fill, to be full’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II: 156—157. Orël—Stolbova 1995:201, no. 888, *_gam-_ ‘to be full’.

B. Dravidian: Kui _gāmpa_ (_gāmbi-_) ‘(vb.) to exceed, to increase, to surpass, to be much or many; (n.) increase, excess’, _gāme_ ‘much, many, excessive, very’, _gāppa_ (_gāpt-_) ‘to cause to increase, to make more of, to make larger’, _gāpsi_ ‘much, more, excessively’, _gāminanji_ ‘eldest (son)’; Kuwi _gaph’nai_ ‘to increase’, _wenḍe gāph’nai_ ‘to multiply’, _gaphihi hīnai_ ‘to overpay’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:135, no. 1457.

Buck 1949:13.15 much; many; 13.19 multitude, crowd; 13.21 full. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 629, *_g[A]mV_ (and *_g[A]mʕV_ ?) ‘altogether, full’ and no. 630, *_g[e]mV_ ‘strong, firm’.

367. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *_gaŋ-a_ (with different extensions in the various daughter languages: *_gaŋ-s$^{y}$-_ and/or *_gaŋ-s-_, *_gaŋ-t$^{y}$-_, etc. and sporadic loss of _ŋ_) ‘a waterfowl, an aquatic bird: goose, duck, etc.’:

A. (?) Afrasian: Egyptian (*_gaŋ-s$^{y}$-_ > *_gas$^{y}$-_ >) _gš_ ‘a migratory bird’. Hannig 1995:908; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:208.

B. Dravidian: Tamil (reduplicated) _kaṅkaṇam_ ‘a waterfowl’; Telugu _kaṅkaṇamu_ ‘a large bustard with a red head’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984: 102, no. 1083.

C. Proto-Indo-European *_g$^{h}$ans-_ ‘goose’: Sanskrit _haṁsá-ḥ_ ‘goose, gander, swan’; Greek χήν (Doric χᾱ́ν) (< *χανσ-) ‘goose’; Latin _ānser_ (< *_hānser_) ‘goose’; Old Irish _géis_ (< *_gansī_) ‘swan’; Old Icelandic _gás_ ‘goose’; Swedish _gås_ ‘goose’; Danish _gaas_ ‘goose’; Old English _gōs_ ‘goose’; Old Frisian _gōs_ ‘goose’; Middle Low German _gōs_ ‘goose’; Dutch _gans_ ‘goose’; Old High German _gans_ ‘goose’ (New High German _Gans_); Lithuanian

*žąsìs* ‘goose’; Latvian *zùoss* ‘goose’; Russian *gus′* [гусь] ‘goose’; Polish *gęś* ‘goose’; Old Czech *hus* ‘goose’. Pokorny 1959:412 **ĝhan-s-* ‘goose’; Walde 1927—1932.I:536 **ĝhans-*; Mann 1984—1987:411 **ĝhansis* ‘goose’, 314 **ghansis* ‘goose’; Watkins 1985:21 **ghans-* and 2000:28 **ghans-* ‘goose’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:542 **ĝ[ʰ]ans-* and 1995.I:460 **ĝʰans-* ‘swan, goose’; Mallory—Adams 1997:236 **ĝhan-s* ‘goose’; Boisacq 1950:1058; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1256—1257 **ghăns-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1094—1095 **ĝhans-*; Hofmann 1966:417 **ĝhans-*; Beekes 2010.II:1630 **ǵʰh₂en-s-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:36 **ghans-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:52 **ĝhans-*; De Vaan 2008:44; Kroonen 2013:168 Proto-Germanic **gans-* ‘goose’; Orël 2003:126 Proto-Germanic **ƍansz*; De Vries 1977:157; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:210—211; Onions 1966:406 **ghans-*; Klein 1971:318; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:231; Kluge—Seebold 1989:243—244 **ghans-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1292—1293; Smoczyński 2007.1:774; Derksen 2008:184 and 2015:514 **ǵʰh₂ens-*.

D. Proto-Uralic (**gaŋ-tʸ-* >) **katʸɜ* ~ (?) **kanʸtʸɜ* ‘wild duck’: Votyak / Udmurt *kwaśi* ‘drake’; Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *kos* ‘a kind of duck with red legs and a pointed beak’, (Upper Demyanka) *χos* ‘a kind of large wild duck with a pointed beak’, (Kazym) *χɔs* ‘a large aquatic bird’; Selkup Samoyed *kueče* ‘wild gray duck’. Rédei 1986—1988:111 **kaćɜ* ~ (?) **kańćɜ*; Décsy 1990:100 **katja* ‘wild duck’.

E. Proto-Altaic (**gaŋ-sʸ-* > **gasʸ-* >) **gaso* (~ *-i*) ‘aquatic bird’: Proto-Tungus **gasa* ‘aquatic bird’ > Manchu *ɢasχa* ‘large bird’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ɢasəhə* ‘large bird’; Negidal *gasa* ‘swan’; Evenki *gasa* ‘crane’; Ulch *ɢasa* ‘duck’; Orok *ɢasa* ‘duck’, *ɢasawaqqu* ‘kite’; Nanay / Gold *ɢasa* ‘duck’; Oroch *gasa* ‘duck’; Udihe *gahä* ‘bird, duck’. Proto-Mongolian **geske* ‘fish-eagle’ > Written Mongolian *geske* ‘fish-eagle’; Kalmyk *geskə* ‘fish-eagle’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:532 **gaso* (~ *-i*) ‘crane, aquatic bird’.

F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kæŋu* ‘a kind of small seagull’ > Chukchi *kaŋolʏən* (pl. *keŋut*) ‘a kind of small seagull’; Koryak *kaŋullʲaq* ‘a kind of small seagull’; Alyutor *kaŋulʏa* ‘a kind of seabird’. Note also Kamchadal / Itelmen (Western) *kennec* ‘seabird, merganser’. Fortescue 2005:133.

G. Proto-Eskimo **kaŋuʁ* ‘snow goose’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Alaskan Peninsula) *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’, (Prince William Sound) *kamuk* ‘brant’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’; Central Siberian Yupik *kaaŋu* ‘snow goose’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’; North Alaskan Inuit *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’; Western Canadian Inuit *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’; Greenlandic Inuit *kaŋuq* ‘snow goose’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:158.

Buck 1949:3.56 goose; 3.57 duck. Greenberg 2002:83, no. 182.

368. Proto-Nostratic root *gaŋ- (~ *gəŋ-):
(vb.) *gaŋ- ‘to bend: to bend forward; to bend back; to bend to the side’;
(n.) *gaŋ-a ‘side, corner, flank, edge’

A. Proto-Afrasian *gaŋ- ‘(vb.) to bend; (n.) side, edge’: Proto-Semitic *gan-aħ- ‘to bend’, *gan-ħ-, *gin-ħ- ‘side, flank; wing’ > Arabic ǧinḥ ‘side, edge; shore, bank’, ǧanāḥ ‘wing (of a bird, of an airplane, of a building, of an army); side, edge, flank; shoulder, arm, hand’, ǧāniḥ ‘side, flank, wing’, ǧanaḥa ‘to incline, to be inclined; to lean (to or toward); to turn, to go over, to join, to associate oneself (with); to diverge, to depart, to turn away, to break (with)’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli gɛ́naḥ ‘wing’; Soqoṭri ganḥ ‘side’; Mehri agōnəḥ ‘to fly’. D. Cohen 1970— :157; Zammit 2002:127. Proto-Semitic *gan-ab- ‘to turn away from, to turn aside’, *gan-b- ‘side’ > Arabic ǧanaba ‘to keep away, to avert, to ward off (from someone or something), to keep someone out of the way, to spare; to be or walk by someone’s side; to run alongside of, to run parallel to, to skirt, to flank; to avoid (something)’, ǧanb (prep.) ‘beside, next to, near, at’, ǧanba ‘side, region, area’, ǧanbī (adj.) ‘lateral, side’, ǧānib ‘side; lateral portion; sidepiece; flank; wing; face (geometry); part, portion, partial amount; partial view, section (of a scene, picture, or panorama); quantity, amount; a certain number; a few, some’, ǧannābīya ‘curb, embankment, levee; side channel, lateral (following a road or railroad tracks); bypass (of a lock or sluice)’; Arabic (Yemenite) ǧanb, ǧamb ‘shoulder’; Sabaean gnb ‘to fight on the side of’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli ganb ‘side’; Ḥarsūsi yanb ‘side’, b-ayanb d̲e ‘beside’; Mehri ganb ‘side’, gátnəb ‘to take someone aside from others in a group’. D. Cohen 1970— :150—151; Zammit 2002:127. Egyptian d̲nḥ ‘wing’, (?) d̲nḥ ‘upper part of hind-leg, ham’. Hannig 1995:1008; Faulkner 1962:322; Erman—Grapow 1921:220 and 1926—1963.5:577—578, 5:578. Berber: Tuareg əǧən ‘to crouch down, to squat’, səǧən ‘to make crouch down (camel)’; Tamazight gən ‘to lie down, to sleep (by extension, to be confined to bed; to be flattened, bent, inclined); to be in labor’, sgən ‘to put to sleep’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha gən ‘to lie down’; Kabyle gən ‘to lie down, to sleep’, asg$^{w}$ən ‘bed’. Central Chadic: Zime gan ‘to bend’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:202, no. 891, *gan- ‘leg’, 202, no. 893, *ganaḥ- ‘to bend’, and 215—216, no. 954, *gonVḥ- ‘elbow, shoulder, wing’, 224, no. 994 *gün- ‘to bend’.

B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil kaṇ ‘place, site’; Malayalam kaṇi ‘a place’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:110, no. 1161. Assuming semantic development as in New High German *Ort* ‘place, spot, point, site’ < Old High German *ort* ‘point, edge, shore’ (cf. Kluge—Mitzka 1967:525; Kluge—Seebold 1989:520).

C. Proto-Kartvelian *gan- ‘side’: Georgian gan- ‘side; width, breadth’, ga(n)- preverb ‘outside, outwards’; Mingrelian [gon-] in go- preverb; Laz [gon-] in go- preverb. Klimov 1964:59 *ga- and 1998:26 *gan- ‘side’, *ga(n)- preverb of direction ‘outside, outwards’ — according to Kimov, this

preverb is derived from the noun **gan-* ‘side’; Fähnrich—Sardschweladse 1995:76—77 **gan-* prefix and preverb; Fähnrich 2007:95—96 **gan-*; Schmidt 1962:99.

D. (?) Proto-Indo-European (**g$^h$en-*/)**g$^h$n-* ‘to bend or stoop forward; to bend’ (Germanic only): Old Icelandic *gnapa* ‘to stoop or bend forward; to bend the head’, *gneppr* (poet.) ‘bent forward’, *gneypr* ‘’bent forward, drooping’, *gnúfa* ‘to droop, to stoop’. De Vries 1977:178, 179, and 180.

E. Proto-Altaic **gaŋa-* ‘to bend (back); to be bent (back)’: Proto-Mongolian **gana-* ‘to bend (back); to be bent (back)’ > Written Mongolian *γandayi-* ‘to be(come) bent, curved, or depressed in the middle with upturned ends; to hold one’s chest out’, *γandari-* ‘to bend, to curve, to arch, to twist’, *γandaγar* (adj.) ‘sunken; curved backward, arched, crooked; holding one’s chest out’; Khalkha *ganday-* ‘to be backward’, *gandgar* ‘bent backward; with the chest protruding’; Buriat *ganay-*, *ganaylza-* ‘to sit back’; Kalmyk *γandā-* ‘to be bent, curved’; Ordos *ɢanā̄-* ‘to be inclined backwards’. Proto-Turkic **KAŋïr-* ‘to bend’ > Turkish *kanır-* ‘to force back; to bend; to attempt to force open’, *kanırık*, *kanrık* ‘perverse, very obstinate’; Azerbaijani *ɢanïr-* ‘to bend’; Turkmenian *ɢaŋïr-* ‘to bend’; Uzbek (dial.) *qɛnir-* ‘to bend’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:540 **gēnŋa* ‘to bend’. Note: The Tungus forms cited by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak are problematic from both a semantic and a phonological point of view. Consequently, they are not included here.

F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kæŋ(æt)-* ‘to bend’ > Chukchi *keŋet-* ‘to bend, to bow’, *rəkeŋew-* ‘to bend (tr.)’, *kaŋat-ɣərɣən* ‘a bend in a river’, *keŋu-neŋ* ‘staff, stick’; Kerek *kaŋa(a)t-* ‘to twist, to wind, to bend, to lean forward’; Koryak *kaŋat-* ‘to bend’, *jə-kaŋ-av-* ‘to bend (tr.)’, *kaŋu-naŋ* ‘hook’, *kaŋat-ɣəjŋən* ‘bend, elbow’; Alyutor *kaŋat-* (Palana *keŋet-*) ‘to bend’. Fortescue 2005:132. Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **k’aŋ-* (~ **k’əŋ-*) ‘(vb.) to bend, twist, turn, or tie together; (n.) wreath, rope, cord, fiber, tie, band, string’.

G. Proto-Eskimo **kaŋiʁaʁ* ‘corner’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kaŋiʁaq* ‘bay’, (Alaska Peninsula) ‘corner post’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kaŋiʁaq* ‘corner’; Central Siberian Yupik *kaŋiʁaq* ‘corner, cove’; Sirenik *kaŋiʁaX* ‘bay’; Seward Peninsula Inuit (Qawiaraq) *kaŋiʁaq* ‘corral’, *kaŋiʁaluk* ‘corner’; North Alaskan Inuit *kaŋiʁaq* ‘corral, blind for hunting caribou’, *kaŋiʁalluk* ‘corner’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:157. Proto-Eskimo **kaŋiʁ-ɬuɣ* ‘bay’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Chugach) *kaŋiquluk* ‘bay, cove’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kaŋiXɬuk* ‘bay’; North Alaskan Inuit *kaŋiqɬʲuk* ‘bay’; Western Canadian Inuit *kaŋiqɬuk* ‘bay, fjord’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kaŋiʁsuk* ‘bay’; Greenlandic Inuit *kaŋiʁɬuk* ‘bay’, (East Greenlandic) *kaŋiʁsik* ‘fjord’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:158.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 12.11 place (sb.); 12.353 edge; 12.36 side; 12.76 corner. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 641, **gänħV* ‘side (of something), width’ and no. 642, **gVn̄[V]bV* or **gVn̄[V]bʔV* ‘side, edge’.

369. Proto-Nostratic root **gar-* (~ **gər-*):
(vb.) **gar-* ‘to seize, to grasp, to take hold of’;
(n.) **gar-a* ‘hand’

A. Afrasian: Highland East Cushitic: Burji *gaar-* (Sasse) ‘to catch (thrown objects or animal)’; (Hudson) ‘to hold, to seize’, (reduplicated) *gagaar-*, *gagar-* ‘to catch hold’, *gadd-* (< **gaar-d-* < **gaar-* ‘to take’) ‘to take, to receive, to accept’. Sasse 1982:73; Hudson 1989:148, 192, and 193.

B. Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$er-*/**g$^{h}$or-*/**g$^{h}$r̥-* ‘to seize, to grasp, to take hold of’, **g$^{h}$er(s)-* ‘hand’: Sanskrit *hárati* ‘to take, to take away, to carry off, to seize, to remove’; Greek χείρ ‘hand’ (according to Boisacq, < **χερσ-*); Armenian *jeṙn* ‘hand’ (according to Boisacq, < **ĝher-m̥*); Albanian *dorë* (according to Boisacq, < **ĝhērā*) ‘hand’; Tocharian A *tsar*, B *ṣar* ‘hand’. Rix 1998a:157 **ĝ$^{h}$er-* ‘to take hold of, to seize’; Pokorny 1959:442—443 **ĝher-* ‘to grip, to seize’; Walde 1927—1932.I:603—604 **ĝher-*; Mann 1984—1987:415 **ĝherō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to take, to hold’, 415 **ĝher-*, **ĝhēr-* ‘to take, to get, to receive; gift’, 415—416 **ĝhers-* (**ĝhēr-*, **ĝher-*) ‘hand’, 423 **ĝhr̥-*, **ĝhr-* radical element of **ĝhĕr-* ‘hand’, 424 **ĝhr̥t-* (**ĝhr̥tis*, *-os*) ‘gripped, collected; grip, seizure, handful’; Watkins 1985:22 **gher-* and 2000:30 **gher-* ‘to grasp, to enclose’; Mallory—Adams 1997:564 **gher-* ‘to grasp’; Boisacq 1950:1054 **ĝher-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1082—1083 **ĝhesr-*; Hofmann 1966:414 **ĝher-*; Beekes 2010.II:1620—1621 **ǵ$^{h}$es-r-*; Huld 1983:54; Orël 1998:70 **ĝ$^{h}$esr-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:521 Tocharian A *tsar*, B *ṣar* ‘hand’ < Proto-Indo-European **dher-*; Adams 1999:649—650 **ĝ$^{h}$esr-*. An alternative theory derives the words for ‘hand’ from Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$es-r-* (cf. Mallory—Adams 1997:254).

C. Proto-Altaic **gara* (~ *-e-*) ‘hand, arm’: Proto-Mongolian **gar* ‘hand, arm’ > Written Mongolian *γar* ‘hand, arm’; Khalkha *gar* ‘hand, arm’; Buriat *gar* ‘hand, arm’; Kalmyk *γar* ‘hand, arm’; Ordos *ɢar* ‘hand’; Moghol *γar* ‘hand, arm’; Dagur *gari*, *gaŕ* ‘hand, arm’; Shira-Yughur *ɢar* ‘hand, arm’; Monguor *ɢar* ‘hand, arm’. Poppe 1955:26. Proto-Turkic **Kar* ‘arm, forearm; cubit’ > Old Turkic *qar* ‘arm’, *qarï* ‘forearm’; Karakhanide Turkic *qarï* ‘arm’; Turkish [*karu-ǯa*] ‘arm’; Azerbaijani (dial.) *gari* ‘shin-bone of animal’; Turkmenian *ɢarï* ‘shin-bone of animal, cubit’; Uzbek *qari* ‘arm, cubit’, (dial.) *qara* ‘shin-bone of animal’; Uighur *qeri* ‘cubit’, (dial.) *qaya* ‘shin-bone of animal’; Tatar *qarï* ‘arm’, (dial.) *qara* ‘cubit’; Bashkir *qar* ‘shin-bone of animal’; Kirghiz *qar*, *qarï* ‘arm’; Kazakh *qar* ‘forearm’, *qarï* ‘forearm, shin-bone of animal’; Noghay *qarï* ‘cubit’; Tuva *qïrï* ‘forearm’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qarï* ‘arm’; Chuvash *χor* ‘forearm, cubit’; Yakut *χarï*, *χara* ‘forearm, shin-bone of animal’. Starostin—

Dybo—Mudrak 2003:530—531 **gara* (~ *-e-*) ‘arm’; Poppe 1960:24, 97, and 154; Street 1974:13 Proto-Altaic **gār(a)* ‘hand, arm’.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:385—386, no. 222; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 655, **gArV* ‘hand’.

370. Proto-Nostratic root **gar-* (~ **gər-*):
(vb.) **gar-* ‘to cut, to split’;
(n.) **gar-a* ‘cut, injury; that which cuts: (pick)axe’; (adj.) ‘cut, separated, shortened’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gar-* ‘to cut, to split’: Proto-Semitic **gar-aʒ-* ‘to cut, to split’ > Hebrew *gāraz* [גָּרַז] ‘to cut, to cut off’, *garzen* [גַּרְזֶן] ‘pick, pickaxe’; Arabic *ǧaraza* ‘to cut off, to lop; to annihilate, to kill; to kick; to sting, to injure’; Geez / Ethiopic *garaza* [ገረዘ] ‘to cut’; Tigre *gärza* ‘to divide’; Tigrinya *gäräzä* ‘to partition’, *gärzäwä*, *gärzäyä* ‘to divide the meat of a slaughtered cow’; Amharic *gärräzä* ‘to circumcise’, *gäräzzäzä* ‘to cut down a tree’; Gafat *gärräzä* ‘to cut’; Harari *gēräza* ‘to plait hair’ (from the basic meaning ‘to separate’). D. Cohen 1970— :184—185; Murtonen 1989:140—141; Klein 1987:108; Leslau 1963:75 and 1987:204; Zammit 2002:121. Proto-Semitic **gar-aʕ-* ‘to cut, to shave’ > Hebrew *gāraʿ* [גָּרַע] ‘to shave, to trim (beard)’; Aramaic *gəraʿ* ‘to shave (the head)’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *géraʿ* ‘to cut, to shave off (all the head hair)’; Mehri *gōra* ‘to shave (the head)’; Soqoṭri *gáraʿ* ‘to shave’. Murtonen 1989:142; D. Cohen 1970— :190; Klein 1987:110. Egyptian *grp* ‘to cut, to carve’, *grb* ‘to form, to fashion’. Hannig 1995:903. Berber: Tuareg *ağər* ‘eunuch, castrated animal’; Tamazight *iggər* ‘infertile, sterile’; Zenaga *aggur* ‘to be sterile, to be castrated’; Kabyle *əngər* ‘to die childless, especially without male progeny; to be massacred (family, people)’, *ssəngər* ‘to destroy, to make die’, *amәngur* ‘a childless man’. Cushitic: Saho *garaʿ-* ‘to castrate’; Afar *garaʿ-* ‘to cut off’; Galla / Oromo *garaʿ-* ‘to cut’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:203—204, no. 900, **garaʕ-* ‘to cut’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **gʰer-*/**gʰor-*/**gʰr̥-* ‘to cut off, to shorten’: Sanskrit *hrásati* ‘to become short or small, to be diminished or lessened’, *hrasvá-ḥ* ‘short, small’; Middle Irish *gerr* ‘short’, *gerraim* ‘to cut off, to shorten’. Pokorny 1959:443 **ĝher-* (**ĝherə-*, **ĝhrē-*) ‘short, small’; Walde 1927—1932.I:604—605 **ĝher-* (**ĝherē-* ?); Mallory—Adams 1997:515 (?) **ĝher-* ‘less, short’.

C. Altaic: Manchu *garǯa-* ‘to split, to break’, *garǯasχūn* ‘broken, split’, *garla-* ‘to break, to ruin, to destroy, to take apart’, *garlan* ‘ruin, destruction’, *garmi-* ‘to cut into small pieces, to tear into pieces, to break up’.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut; 9.26 break (vb. tr.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 12.59 short.

371. Proto-Nostratic root *gar- (~ *gər-):
(vb.) *gar- ‘to scratch, to scrape’;
(n.) *gar-a ‘that which scratches, scrapes: spade, rake’
Derivative:
(n.) *gar-b-a ‘itch, scab, sore’

A. Proto-Afrasian *gar- ‘to scratch, to scrape’: Proto-Semitic *gar-ad- ‘to scratch, to scrape, to peel’ > Hebrew gāraḏ [גָּרַד] ‘to scratch, to scrape’; Aramaic gəraḏ ‘to scrape off’; Phoenician m-grd ‘scraper’; Arabic ǧarada ‘to peel, to pare’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli gɔ́rɔ́d ‘to disarm, to strip someone of his uniform, to strip (tree of branches)’; Mehri gərōd ‘to undress (tr.), to disarm (tr.), to strip someone of everything, to cut (a branch off a tree) for no apparent purpose’; Geez / Ethiopic garada [ገረደ] ‘to remove chaff’; Tigrinya gurdi ‘chaff’, $g^{w}$ärädä ‘to become chaff’; Tigre gərd ‘chaff’; Amharic $g^{w}$ärrädä ‘to separate chaff from grain’, gərd, $g^{w}$ərdo ‘chaff’. D. Cohen 1970— :182; Klein 1987:107; Leslau 1987:201; Zammit 2002:120.
B. Dravidian: Gondi kār-, kāṛ- ‘to dig’; Koṇḍa kār- ‘to dig, to make a pit, to dig out’; Pengo kār- ‘to dig’; Maṇḍa kār- ‘to dig’; Kui kārpa (kārt-) ‘(vb.) to dig up; (n.) the act of digging up’; Kuwi kār- ‘to dig’, kārh’nai ‘to sculpt, to spade’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:137, no. 1467.
C. Proto-Indo-European *$g^{h}$er-/*$g^{h}$r̥- ‘to scratch, to scrape’: Greek χαράσσω ‘to cut, to engrave, to scratch’, χάραξ ‘a pointed stake, especially a vine prop or pole’, χαρακτός ‘notched, toothed (like a saw or file)’; Lithuanian žeriù, žerti ‘to rake’. Pokorny 1959:441 *ĝher- ‘to scratch, to scrape, to cut, to etch’; Walde 1927—1932.I:602 *ĝher-; Watkins 1985:22 *gher- and 2000:30 *gher- ‘to scratch, to scrape’; Boisacq 1950:1051 *ĝher-; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1073—1075; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1246—1247 *gher-; Hofmann 1966:412—413; Beekes 2010.II:1614—1615. Proto-Indo-European *$g^{h}$reb$^{h}$-/*$g^{h}$rob$^{h}$-/*$g^{h}$r̥b$^{h}$- ‘to scratch, to scrape’: Gothic graban ‘to dig’, *grōba ‘hole’; Old Icelandic grafa ‘to dig, to bury; to carve, to engrave’, gröf ‘pit, ditch, grave’, grœfr ‘fit to be buried’; Swedish gräva ‘to dig’; Danish grave ‘to dig’; Norwegian grava ‘to dig’; Old English grafan ‘to dig, to penetrate; to engrave, to carve’, græft ‘sculpture, carved object’, grafere ‘carver, sculptor’, græf ‘cave, grave’, grafett ‘trench’; Old Frisian gref ‘grave’, grēva ‘to dig’; Old Saxon graf ‘grave’, bi-graƀan ‘to dig, to bury’; Dutch graven ‘to dig’; Old High German graba ‘spade’, grap ‘grave’ (New High German Grab), graban ‘to dig, to bury’ (New High German graben); Lithuanian grėbiu, grėbti ‘to rake’, grėblẽlis ‘rake’; Serbo-Croatian grèbtsi ‘to scratch’; Russian grábli [грабли] ‘rake’. Rix 1998a:179—180 *$g^{h}$reb$^{h}$- ‘to dig’; Pokorny 1959:455—456 *ghrebh- ‘to scratch, to dig’; Walde 1927—1932.I:653—654 *ghrebh-; Mann 1984—1987:334 *ghrābhō, -i̯ō ‘to rake’, 334 *ghrăbhō, -i̯ō ‘to dig’, 334 *ghrăbhos, -ā ‘ditch, hole’, 335—336 *ghrebh-; *ghrebhlo-, -i̯ō-, -i̯ə ‘scraper, rake, oar’, 336 *ghrebhō ‘to dig’; Watkins 1985:23 *ghrebh- and

2000:31 **ghrebh-* ‘to dig, to bury, to scratch’; Mallory—Adams 1997:159 **ghrebh-* ‘to dig’; Smoczyński 2007.1:196—197; Orël 2003:139 Proto-Germanic **ɣraƀanan*, 139 **ɣraƀilaz*, 139 **ɣraƀjaz* ~ **ɣraƀjan*, 139 **ɣraƀō* ~ **ɣraƀan*; Kroonen 2013:185 Proto-Germanic **graba-* ‘grave’ and 185—186 **graban-* ‘to dig’; Feist 1939:218—219 **ghrebh-*; Lehmann 1986:158—159 **ghrabh-*; De Vries 1977:184 **ghrebh-*, 192, and 193; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:245—246; Klein 1971:321 **ghrebh-*, **ghrobh-*; Onions 1966:411; Walshe 1951:85—86 **ghrebh-*/*ghrobh-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:266 **ghrebh-*, **ghrobh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:273 **ghrebh-*. Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$rew-*/**g$^{h}$row-*/**g$^{h}$ru-* ‘to scrape, to graze’: Greek χραύω ‘to scrape, to graze, to wound slightly’, χρώς ‘the surface of the body, the skin’, χροιᾰ́ (Ionic χροιή) ‘the surface of the body, the skin; the body itself’ (derivative of χρώς), χρῶμα ‘the surface of the skin’. Pokorny 1959:460—462 **ghrēu-* : **ghrəu-* : **ghrū-* ‘to rub away, to grate’; Walde 1927—1932.I:648—650 **ghrēu-* : **ghrəu-* (< **gher-*); Mann 1984—1987:335 **ghrau̯ō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to scrape, to rasp’, 339 **ghrōi̯ō* (**ghrōiu̯ō*) ‘to graze, to scrape, to skim’, 342 **ghrōt-* ‘to scrape, to graze, to skim’; Hofmann 1966:422 **ghrēu-*, **ghrəu-* and 424 **ghrō(u)-* (in ablaut with **ghrəu-*); Beekes 2010.II:1646—1647 **ǵ$^{h}$reh$_{2}$u-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1115—1116 and II:1120—1121 **ghrēu-*, **ghrēi-*; Boisacq 1950:1068—1069 **g̱hrəu-*, **g̱hreu-*, **g̱hrōu-* and 1071 **g̱h(e)rēu-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1272 and II:1279. Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$rem-*/**g$^{h}$rom-* ‘to scrape’: Lithuanian *grémžiu*, *grémžti* ‘to scrape’. Pokorny 1959:458 **ghrem-* ‘to scrape’; Walde 1927—1932.I:655 **ghrem-*.

Buck 1949:8.22 dig. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:386—387, no. 223.

372. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gar-b-a* ‘itch, scab, sore’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **gar-* ‘to scratch, to scrape’;
(n.) **gar-a* ‘that which scratches, scrapes: spade, rake’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gar-ab-* ‘itch, scab, sore’: Proto-Semitic **gar-ab-* ‘itch, scab’ > Akkadian *garābu* ‘itch, scab, leprosy’; Hebrew *gārāḇ* [גָּרָב] ‘itch, scab’; Arabic *ǧarab* ‘itch, scabies’; Ḥarsūsi *garb* ‘mange’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *gérəb* ‘to have the mange’; Mehri *gērəb* ‘to have the mange’, *garb* ‘mange’; Soqoṭri *gɛrb* ‘scabies’; Tigre *gərbeb* ‘scab’. Murtonen 1989:140; Klein 1987:107; D. Cohen 1970— :178. East Chadic: Somray *gaberi* ‘syphilis’ (< **gabyar-* < **gabari-* [metathesis from **garabi-*]). Orël—Stolbova 1995:203, no. 889, **garab-* ‘disease’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *karappaṉ* ‘eruption in children’, *karappāṉ* ‘eruption, any cutaneous disease, rash, eczema, erysipelas, etc.’; Malayalam *karappan* ‘eruptions, scurf (especially on children’s heads)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:118, no. 1272. Kannaḍa *kaṟame* ‘an ulcer’; Tuḷu *karampè* ‘wound’,

*karampelų* ‘scar of a wound’; Gondi *karem*, *karam*, *kaṛam*, *kaṛēm* ‘boil, wound, sore’; Kui *krēmbu* ‘sore, wound’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:118, no. 1273. (?) Malayalam *kāra* ‘a sharp eruption on the skin’; Kannaḍa *gāru* ‘a sharp eruption on the body from internal heat’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:137, no. 1469.

Buck 1949:4.85 wound (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:386—387, no. 223.

373. Proto-Nostratic root *$gar^{y}$- (~ *$gər^{y}$-):
(vb.) *$gar^{y}$- ‘to swell, to increase, to grow’;
(n.) *$gar^{y}$-*a* ‘swelling, increase, growth; great quantity, abundance, excess’
Identical to:
(vb.) *$gar^{y}$- ‘to stick out, to stand out, to jut out, to project, to protrude; to be or become erect, rigid, stiff’;
(n.) *$gar^{y}$- ‘tip, point, peak’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gar*- ‘(vb.) to swell, to increase, to grow; (n.) swelling, increase, growth; great quantity, abundance, excess’: Berber: Tuareg *aǧər* ‘to be bigger than, superior to’; Tamazight *agər* ‘to be older, bigger, superior’, *ssəgru* ‘to multiply, to augment, to increase’, *agar* ‘advantage, superiority’, *ugar* ‘more, more than’, *amyagar* ‘inequality, bad disposition, disequilibrium, difference (height, age, etc.)’; Kabyle *ag$^{w}$ar* ‘to surpass, to exceed’, *ugar* ‘more’. Central Cushitic: Bilin (pl.) *gäri-w* ‘strong; much; numerous’, *gär*- ‘to be strong, powerful, capable’, *gärä-s*- ‘to be able’; Quara *gärš*- ‘to be able’. Appleyard 2006:21 and 97; Reinisch 1887:157.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *kaṛale*, *kaṛile* ‘bamboo shoot’; Naiki (of Chanda) *karrka* ‘bamboo’; Parji *karri* ‘bamboo shoot’; Gondi *karka* ‘bamboo sapling’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:125—126, no. 1353. Tamil *kaṛi* ‘much, great, excessive’, *kaṛi* ‘to be great in quantity or quality, to be abundant, to be excessive’, *kaṛivu* ‘excess, abundance, surplus’; Malayalam *kaṛi* ‘to be excessive’, *kaṛiha* ‘exceeding’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:126, no. 1358. Tamil *kaṛumu* (*kaṛumi*-) ‘(vb.) to be full, complete, abundant, copious; to overflow; (n.) denseness (as a tuft of hair)’; Telugu *krammu* ‘to spread, to extend, to overspread, to overflow’, *kraccu* ‘to surround, to overspread’; Kui *garja* (*garji*-) ‘to spread out, to increase, to multiply, to grow thick and outspreading’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:127, no. 1368.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$g^{h}reE$-/*$g^{h}roE$- (> *$g^{h}rē$-/*$g^{h}rō$-) ‘to grow’: Gothic *gras* ‘grass’; Old Icelandic *gróa* ‘to grow (of vegetation)’, *gróði* ‘growth, increase’, *gróðr* ‘growth, crop’, *gróna* ‘to become green’, *gras* ‘grass, herbage, herb’, *grœnn* ‘green’; Faroese *gróa* ‘to grow’; Swedish *gro* ‘to grow’, *gräs* ‘grass’; *grön* ‘green’; Norwegian *gro* ‘to grow’, *grœnn* ‘green’; Danish *gro* ‘to grow’, *græs* ‘grass’, *grøn* ‘green’; Old English *grōwan* ‘to grow, to increase, to flourish’, *grōwnes* ‘growth, prosperity’, *græs*, *gærs* ‘grass’, *grǣd* ‘grass’, *grēne* ‘green’; Old Frisian *grōwa*, *grōia*

'to grow', *grēne* 'green', *gres*, *gers* 'grass'; Middle Low German *grōien* 'to grow'; Old Saxon *grōni* 'green'; Dutch *groeien* 'to grow', *groen* 'green'; Old High German *gruoan* 'to grow, to become green', *graz* 'shoot, sprig, sprout', *gras* 'grass' (New High German *Gras*), *gruoni* 'green' (New High German *grün*); (?) Latin *grāmen* (< **ghra-s-men*) 'grass, stalk'. Pokorny 1959:454 (**ghrē-*), **ghrō-*, **ghrə-* 'to grow, to become green'; Walde 1927—1932.I:645—646 (**ghrē-*), **ghrō-*, **ghrə-*; Watkins 1985:23 **ghrē-* and 2000:31 **ghrē-* 'to grow, to become green' (contracted from **ghre$_{2_1}$-*); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:616—617 **ghrōs-*, **ghrəs-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:280; De Vaan 2008:269—270; Orël 2003:143 Proto-Germanic **ɣrōanan*, 143 **ɣrōđiz* ~ **ɣrōđuz*, 143 **ɣrōniz*, 143—144 **ɣrōnjanan*; Kroonen 2013:187 Proto-Germanic **grasa-* 'grass' and 191 **grōan-* 'to grow'; Feist 1939:220; Lehmann 1986:159—160 **ghrō-*, **ghrə-*; De Vries 1977:185, 190, and 192; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:250, I:254, and I:255—256; Onions 1966:410—411, 413, and 417; Klein 1971:321 **ghrōs-*, 322 **ghrō-*, and 325 **ghrō-* 'to grow'; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:138 and 144; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:268 **ghrō-* and 275; Kluge—Seebold 1989:275 and 280. Perhaps also: West Germanic **γrautaz* 'great, large' > Old English *grēat* 'thick, stout, bulky, big'; Old Frisian *grāt* 'great, big, high'; Old Saxon *grōt* 'big, great'; Dutch *groot* 'big, great; tall, grown-up'; Old High German *grōz* 'large, big, great; tall, high' (New High German *groß*). Kroonen 2013:197 Proto-Germanic **grauta-* 'coarse'; Onions 1966:412; Klein 1987:322; Kluge—Lutz 1898:93; Barnhart 1995:329; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:143; Regnaud 1901:155; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:272—273; Kluge—Seebold 1989:279. Thus, not related to Old Icelandic *grautr* 'porridge' (Orël 2003:141 Proto-Germanic **ɣrautaz*).

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 9.95 can, may (3rd sg.); 12.53 grow; 12.55 large, big (great). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:388, no. 225.

374. Proto-Nostratic root **gar$^{y}$-* (~ **gər$^{y}$-*):
(vb.) **gar$^{y}$-* 'to stick out, to stand out, to jut out, to project, to protrude; to be or become erect, rigid, stiff';
(n.) **gar$^{y}$-* 'tip, point, peak'
Identical to:
(vb.) **gar$^{y}$-* 'to swell, to increase, to grow';
(n.) **gar$^{y}$-a* 'swelling, increase, growth; great quantity, abundance, excess'

A. Proto-Afrasian **gar-* 'to stick out, to stand out, to jut out, to project, to protrude; to be or become erect, rigid, stiff': Semitic: (?) Akkadian *garānu* (also *karānu*) 'to store, to pile up in heaps', *gurunnu* 'heap, mound'; (?) Geez / Ethiopic *g$^{w}$ar$^{ʕ}$a* [**ገርዐ**] 'to pile, to heap up stores' (according to Leslau 1987:200, this is probably reconstructed from Amharic *g$^{w}$ärra*). Cushitic loans (cf. Leslau 1979:288) in: Gurage (Soddo) *gara* 'mountain',

*gägära* ‘ascent, hill, uphill, upward slope’; Amharic *gara* ‘mountain’. East Cushitic: Burji *gáar-i* ‘eyebrow’ (perhaps a loan from Oromo); Galla / Oromo *gaara* ‘eyebrow’; Gedeo / Darasa *gaara* ‘eyelash, eyebrow’; Boni *gaar-i* ‘eyebrow’ (loan from Oromo); Konso *káar-a* ‘edge’; Sidamo *gaara* ‘forehead, eyelash; brow, hill’. Sasse 1982:73; Hudson 1989:60.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṟal* (*kaṟalv-*, *kaṟaṉṟ-*) ‘to produce, to bulge out, to pass through (as an arrow)’, *kaṟalai* ‘wen, tubercle, tumor’; Malayalam *kaṟaṟṟuka* ‘to protrude’, *kaṟala* ‘a swelling (chiefly in the groin)’; Kota *kaṛv-* (*kaṛd-*) ‘to be stretched, to protrude through a hole (for example, piles)’, *kaṛt-* (*kaṛty-*) ‘to make to protrude through a hole’; Tuḷu *karalè* ‘a swelling’; (?) Telugu *koḍalu-konu* ‘to swell, to rise, to increase’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:125, no. 1350.

C. (?) Proto-Kartvelian **gora-* ‘mountain, hill’: Georgian *gora-* ‘mountain, hill’; Mingrelian *gola-*, *gvala-* ‘mountain, hill’; Laz *gola-* ‘summer roaming place’, *golur-* (< **gor-ur-*) ‘mountainous, mountaineer’. Klimov 1964:64 **gora-* and 1998:31—32 **gora-* ‘mount, hill’; Fähnrich 2007:111 **gor-*. Perhaps influenced by **gor-*/**gr-* ‘to roll, to wallow’.

D. Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$er-*/**g$^{h}$or-*/**g$^{h}$ṛ-* (extended form **g$^{h}$r-eE-*/**g$^{h}$r-oE-* > **g$^{h}$rē-*/**g$^{h}$rō-*) ‘(vb.) to stick out, to stand out, to jut out, to project, to protrude; to be or become erect, rigid, stiff; (n.) tip, point, peak’: Greek χάρμη ‘tip, point of a lance, spear-head’, χοιράς (< **χορ-ι̯αδ-*) ‘of a hog’, (as a noun) ‘a sunken rock; (pl.) scrofulous swellings in the glands of the neck’, χοιράς πέτραι ‘rocks (rising just above the sea) like a hog’s back’, χοιραδ-ώδης ‘rocky’, χοῖρος (< **χορ-ι̯ο-*) ‘a young pig, a porker’; Middle Irish *grenn* ‘beard’; Welsh *garth* ‘hill, promontory’, *grann* ‘eyelid’; Breton *grann* ‘eyebrow’; Gothic **grana* (acc. pl. *granos*) ‘pigtail’; Old Icelandic *grön* ‘moustache’; Swedish (dial.) *grån* ‘fir(tree)’; Old English *granu* ‘moustache’; Middle High German *grane* ‘hair (of head), moustache’ (New High German *Granne*), *grans* ‘beak, snout; peak’ (New High German *Grans* ‘bow [of a ship]’), *grāt* ‘(sharp) edge, ridge, crest (of a mountain)’ (New High German *Grat*); Russian *gran′* [грань] ‘border, brink, verge’, *granica* [граница] ‘border’; Polish *grot* ‘arrow-point’. Pokorny 1959:440 **gher-*, **ghrē-* : **ghrō-* : **ghrə-* ‘to jut out’; Walde 1927—1932.I:606 **gher-*; Mann 1984—1987:335 **ghrăn̆is*, *-os* ‘tip, point, spike, edge’, 341—342 **ghronos* ‘point, tip; mark; period; moment’; Boisacq 1950:1051 **g̱her-*, **g̱h(e)rē-*; **g̱horι̯o-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1075 **gher-* and II:1107—1108; Hofmann 1966:413 **gher-* and 421 **ĝher-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1247, II:1266, and II:1266—1267 **ghor-yo-*; Beekes 2010.II:1615 (?) **ǵ$^{h}$er-* and II:1640—1641; Kroonen 2013:190—191 Proto-Germanic **granō-* ‘hair of the beard’; Orël 2003:140 Proto-Germanic **ɣranō*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:267 **gher-*, 267—268, and 268 **ghrē-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:275 **gher-* and 276 **gher-*. Note: there is some disagreement about whether Greek χοιράς, χοῖρος, and their derivatives belong here. Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$ers-*/**g$^{h}$ors-*/**g$^{h}$ṛs-* ‘to

bristle': Sanskrit *hárṣati*, *hárṣate* 'to bristle, to become erect or stiff or rigid; to become sexually excited; to be excited or impatient, to rejoice in the prospect of, to be anxious or impatient for', *hṛṣṭá-ḥ* 'bristling, erect, standing on end (said of hairs on the body); rigid, stiff; thrilling with rapture, rejoiced, pleased, glad, merry; surprised, astonished', *harṣa-ḥ* 'bristling, erection (especially of the hair in a thrill of rapture or delight)'; Greek (noun and adj.) χέρσος 'dry land; dry, firm (of land), hard, barren'; Latin *horreō* 'to bristle', *horridus* 'rough, shaggy, bristly'; Old English *gorst* 'furze bush'. Rix 1998a:158 **ĝʰers-* 'to stand on end, to bristle up; to be or become rigid, stiff'; Pokorny 1959:445—446 **ĝhers-* 'to stiffen'; Walde 1927—1932.I:610 **ghers-*; Mann 1984—1987:332 **ghors-* 'rough; to scrub', 332 **ghorstos* 'rough, rugged, coarse', 346 **ghr̥s-* 'bristle'; **ghr̥stos* (**ghr̥sitos*) 'bristly, shaggy; bristle, shag', 416 **ĝhersos*, *-i̯os* 'rough, waste, barren'; Watkins 1985:22 **ghers-* and 2000:30 **ghers-* 'to bristle'; Mallory—Adams 1997:547 **ĝhers-* 'to stiffen (of hair), to bristle'; Boisacq 1950:1056—1057 **ĝher-*, **ĝheres-*; **g̑herē-* (**g̑hrē-*, **g̑hrō-*, **g̑hrə-*); Beekes 2010.II:1626—1627 **ǵʰers-o-*; Hofmann 1966:416—416 **ĝhers-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1089—1090 **ĝhers-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1255 **gher(s)-*; De Vaan 2008:290; Ernout—Meillet 1979:299—300; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:659 **ĝhers-*; Orël 2003:147 Proto-Germanic **ɣurstaz*.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian (reduplicated) **kəʁu(kəʁu)* (or **kukəʁu*) 'wart' > Chukchi *kokʔolγən* (pl. *kukʔut*) 'wart, growth on tree'; Koryak *k(ə)ʁukuw* 'wart'; Alyutor *kʁukʁu* 'wart'. Fortescue 2005:152.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain; hill; 4.142 beard; 4.206 eyebrow; 12.352 point; 12.353 edge. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 667, **goRʕV* 'hill, (small ?) mountain'.

375. Proto-Nostratic root **gasʸ-* (~ **gəsʸ-*):
(vb.) **gasʸ-* 'to touch, to feel, to handle';
(n.) **gasʸ-a* 'hand'

A. Proto-Afrasian **g[a]sʸ-* 'to touch, to feel, to handle': Proto-Semitic **gaš-aš-* 'to touch, to feel, to handle' > Hebrew *gāšaš* [גָּשַׁשׁ] 'to feel with the hand'; Aramaic *gəšaš* 'to feel, to touch'; Arabic *ǧassa* 'to touch, to feel, to handle'; Geez / Ethiopic *gasasa* [**ገሰሰ**] 'to touch, to feel, to handle'; Tigre *(tə)gasäsa* 'to honor by touching, kissing, or prostrating oneself', *gəssat* 'touch, touching, handling'; Tigrinya *(tä)gasäsä* 'to go around a church praying (and touching the walls)'; Amharic *gəssase* 'feeling with the fingers' (Geez loan). D. Cohen 1970— :197—198; Murtonen 1989:142; Klein 1987:111; Leslau 1987:204; Zammit 2002:123. [Ehret 1995:187, no. 288, **guš-* 'to feel, to run fingers over'.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kacaṅku* (*kacaṅki-*) 'to be squeezed, crumpled; to be displeased, hurt (in mind)', *kacakku* (*kacakki-*) '(vb.) to rub, to bruise

between the fingers or hands, to squeeze, to crumple; to harass, to annoy; (n.) squeezing, bruising', *kayaṅku* (*kayaṅki*-) 'to be squeezed by the hand, to be bruised, to be mashed', *kayakku* (*kayakki*-) 'to squeeze in the hand, to bruise, to mash'; Malayalam *kasaṅṅuka* 'to be squeezed, to be broken', *kaśakka* 'to crumple, to squeeze in the hand', *kayakkuka* 'to squeeze'; (?) Kuṛux *khacnā* (*khaccas*) 'to squeeze soft matter (e.g., grains) into a compact mass by pressing, trampling upon, or working inside with a stick'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:102, no. 1087. Tamil *kai* 'hand, arm; elephant's trunk; handle', *kai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) 'to feed with the hand'; Malayalam *kai*, *kayyi* 'hand, arm; trunk of elephant; handle', *kayyu* 'the hand', *kayyāl* 'an assistant, helper'; Kota *kay* 'hand, arm'; Toda *koy* 'hand, arm'; Kannaḍa *kai*, *kayi*, *kayyi*, *key* 'hand, forearm; elephant's trunk; handle'; Koḍagu *kay* 'hand, arm'; Tuḷu *kai* 'hand; handle'; Telugu *cēyi*, *ceyi*, *ceyyi* 'hand, arm; elephant's trunk', *kēlu*, *kai* 'the hand'; Kolami *ki·*, *key*, *kīy*, *kiyu* 'hand, arm'; Naikṛi *kī* 'hand, arm'; Naiki (of Chanda) *kī* 'hand'; Parji *key* 'hand'; Gadba (Ollari) *ki*, (Salur) *kiyyū*, *kiy* 'hand'; Gondi *kay*, *kai* 'hand'; Konḍa *kiyu* 'hand'; Pengo *key* 'hand'; Manḍa *kiy* 'hand'; Kui *kaju*, *kagu* 'hand, arm; elephant's trunk', *kaju* 'hand'; Kuwi *kēyū*, *kēyu*, *keyyu*, *keyu*, *kayyu* 'hand, arm; handle'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:183, no. 2023; Krishnamurti 2003:119 **kay* 'hand'.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$g^hes$-/*$g^hos$- (*$g^hes$-$r̥$- and *$g^hes$-$t^ho$-) 'hand': Sanskrit *hásta-ḥ* 'hand'; Avestan *zasta-* 'hand'; Old Persian *dasta-* 'hand'; Latin *praestō* (< **prae-hestōd*) 'at hand'; Lithuanian *pa-žastìs* 'underarm'; Hittite *ki-eš-šar* 'hand'. Also, with loss of an earlier initial voiced velar before high front vowel: Cuneiform Luwian (nom. sg.) *(i-)iš-ša-ri-iš* 'hand'; Hieroglyphic Luwian (dat. sg.) *istri* 'hand'; Lycian *izri-* 'hand' (< Proto-Anatolian **gēsar* 'hand'). The Hieroglyphic Luwian form contains an epenthetic *t*. Pokorny 1959:447 **ĝhesor-*, **ĝhesr-* 'hand', 447 **ĝhesto-* 'hand, arm'; Walde 1927—1932.I:541 **ĝhasto-*; Mann 1984—1987:411 **ĝhastos*, *-ā*, *-is*, *-i̯ə* 'hand, arm, handle, grasp'; Watkins 1985:22 **ghesor-* and 2000:30 **ghes-* 'hand' (suffixed form **ghes-ōr*; suffixed form **ghes-to-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:807 *$*ĝ[^h]es$-$r̥$-/*$ĝ[^h]es$-$t[^h]o$- and 1995.I:687 *$*ĝ^hes$-$r̥$-/*$ĝ^hes$-$t^ho$- 'hand'; Mallory—Adams 1997:254 **ĝhés-r-* 'hand', **ĝhós-to-s* 'hand'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:532; De Vaan 2008:486 Latin *praestō* = ablative singular "of an adj. **praisto-* 'ready, available', the analysis of which is uncertain"; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:356; Puhvel 1984— .4:160—165 **ĝhésōr*; Kloekhorst 2008b:471—472; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1293; Smoczyński 2007.1:444—445 *$*ĝ^hés-to-$*; Derksen 2015:347 *$*ǵ^hes-to-$*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:170—172 *$*ĝ^hes-$*.

Sumerian *gašam* 'expert, specialist; craftsman, artisan, workman; artist', *gašam* 'work'.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 15.71 touch; 15.72 feel. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:384, no. 220.

376. Proto-Nostratic root **gat'-* (~ **gət'-*):
(vb.) **gat'-* 'to take (with the hand), to grasp';
(n.) **gat'-a* 'hand'

A. Proto-Afrasian **gat'-*, **get'-* 'to take': Highland East Cushitic: Burji *gaɗ-* 'to take'. According to Sasse, the original meaning was probably something like 'to possess'. Sasse compares Eastern Galla / Oromo *gaɗ dîis-* 'to set free, to let go'. Sasse 1982:75; Hudson 1989:148 and 192. Proto-Southern Cushitic **geḍ-* 'to take' > Alagwa *geger-* 'to carry'; Iraqw *gagar-* 'to carry'; K'wadza *gel-* 'to choose'; Ma'a *-géra* 'to bring'; Dahalo *get̲t̲okum-* 'to carry'. Ehret 1980:237.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *katuvu* (*katuvi-*) 'to seize, to grasp, to take more than a proper share'; Kannaḍa *kadubu* 'to seize or hold firmly', *kadi* 'to steal', *kadaka* 'a thievish, deceitful man' (f. *kadiki*); Tuḷu *kadipu*, *kadupu*, *kadpu* 'stealing, theft'; Telugu *kadumu* 'to seize'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:112, no. 1200. Proto-Dravidian **ketkā* > **kekkā* > **khekkhā* 'hand': Kuṛux *xekkhā* 'hand, arm'; Malto *qeqe* 'hand'. Burrow 1946:87.

C. Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$et'-*/**g$^{h}$ot'-*, (with nasal infix) **g$^{h}$e-n-t'-* 'to take (with the hand)': Greek χανδάνω 'to take in, to hold, to comprise, to contain'; Latin *prehendō* 'to seize'; Gothic *bigitan* 'to find'; Old Icelandic *geta* 'to get'; Old English *begietan* 'to get, to obtain, to attain'; Old Saxon *bigetan* 'to seize'; Old High German *pigezzan* 'to get, to obtain, to receive'; Albanian *gjindem* ~ *gjëndem* 'to be found'. Rix 1998a:173 **g$^{h}$ed-* 'to grasp, to seize, to take hold of'; Pokorny 1959:437—438 **ghend-*, **ghed-* 'to grasp, to seize'; Walde 1927—1932.I:589—590 **ghend-*; Mann 1984—1987:317 **ghed-* 'to acquire; acquisition', 319 **ghend-*, 326—327 **ghn̥d-* 'to seize, to hold, to get, to retain, to contain', 327 **ghn̥d-*; Watkins 1985:22 **ghend-* (also **ghed-*) and 2000:29—30 **ghend-* (also **ghed-*) 'to seize, to take'; Mallory—Adams 1997:564 **ghe(n)dh-* 'to seize, to take in (physically or mentally)'; Boisacq 1950:1050 **g̱hn̥d-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1245—1246 **ghe(n)d-*; Hofmann 1966:412 **ghn̥d-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1071—1072 **ghn̥d-*; Beekes 2010.II:1613 **g$^{h}$ed-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:531 **ghed-* and **ghend-*; De Vaan 2008:487; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:359 **ghe(n)d-*; Orël 2003:133 Proto-Germanic **ǯetanan*; Kroonen 2013:176 Proto-Germanic **getan-* 'to find (a way), to be able'; Feist 1939:90; Lehmann 1986:69 **ghed-*; De Vries 1977:165 **ghed-*; Falk—Torp 1910—1911.I:208 **ghed-*, **ghend-*; Onions 1966:85 and 396 **ghed-* (**ghod-*); Klein 1971:76 and 311 **ghe(n)d-*.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **käte* 'hand' > Finnish *käsi*/*käte-* 'hand'; Lapp / Saami *giettâ*/*gieðâ-* 'hand'; Mordvin *ked'*, *käd'* 'hand'; Cheremis / Mari *kit* 'hand'; Votyak / Udmurt *ki* 'hand'; Zyrian / Komi *ki* 'hand'; Vogul /

Mansi *käät* ‘hand’; Ostyak / Xanty *köt*, (Southern) *ket* ‘hand, fore paw’; Hungarian *kéz*/*keze*- ‘hand’. Collinder 1955:87, 1960:411 **käte*, 1965:138 Common Finno-Ugrian **käte*, and 1977:103; Rédei 1986—1988:140 **käte*; Sammallahti 1988:545 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **käti* ‘hand, arm’.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 11.16 get, obtain. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:227, no. 80, **gäṭi* ‘hand, arm’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 694, **gäṭâ* ‘to grasp, to take, to possess’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:388—389, no. 226.

377. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gen-a* ‘jaw, cheek’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **gen*- ‘jaw, cheek’: Proto-Semitic **ʔa-gan*-, **wa-gan*- ‘cheek’ > Arabic *ʔa-ğna-t*, *ʔi-ğna-t*, *ʔu-ğna-t* ‘fullest part of the cheek’, *wa-ğnāʔ* ‘having strong cheeks (strong she-camel)’, *wa-ğna-t*, *wi-ğna-t*, *wu-ğna-t*, *wa-ğana-t* ‘cheek’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ōgən* ‘to have prominent cheekbones’, *égənt* ‘cheekbone’; Mehri *wəgnēt* ‘cheekbone’; Ḥarsūsi *wegnēt* ‘cheek’. D. Cohen 1970— :7 and 493—494. Chadic: Sura *gə́n* ‘cheek’; Dera *gə́ŋgá* ‘cheek’; Pa’a *gàncə́ka* ‘cheek’; Zime-Dari *gin* ‘cheek’; Zime-Batna *gìn* ‘cheek’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II: 68—69.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *ce<u>nn</u>i*, *ce<u>nn</u>ai* ‘cheek’; Malayalam *cennam* ‘jaw, cheek’; Kota *keyṇ* ‘cheek just in front of the ear’; Kannaḍa *kenne* ‘the upper cheek’; Tuḷu *kenni*, *kennè* ‘cheek’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:181, no. 1989.

C. Proto-Indo-European **g*$^{h}$*enu*- ‘jaw, cheek’: Sanskrit (f.) *hánu-ḥ* (also *hánū*) ‘jaw, cheek’; Avestan *zānu*- ‘jaw’. Pokorny 1959:381—382 **ĝenu*- and (**ĝenədh*- :) **ĝonədh*- ‘jaw, cheek’; Walde 1927—1932.I:587 **ĝ(h)enu-s*; Mann 1984—1987:393—394 **ĝenus* (**ĝenu̯ə*, **ĝenəu̯ə*, **ĝenə*) ‘jaw, jowl, angle of the face, angle, wedge’; Watkins 1985:19 **genu*- and 2000:26 *genu*- ‘jawbone, chin’ (variant form **g(h)enu*-); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:183 **k̂’enu-s*, II:815 **k̂’enu*- and 1995.I:157 **k̂’enu-s*, I:715 **k̂’enu*- ‘jaw, chin’; Mallory—Adams 1997:322 **ĝénu*- ‘jaw’ and 2006:174 **ĝénu*- ‘jaw’, 176 **ĝénu*-. Note: It appears that there were two variants in Proto-Indo-European: (1) **g*$^{h}$*enu*- and (2) **k’enu*-. The first is found only in Indo-Iranian, while the second is found in the remaining daughter languages. It is only the first variant (provided it is not an Indo-Iranian innovation) that belongs here.

Buck 1949:4.207 jaw (Proto-Indo-European **ĝenu*- ‘jaw, cheek, chin’); 4.208 cheek; 4.209 chin. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 637, **genû* ‘jaw, cheek’.

378. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **g[e]n-d-a* ‘virility, strength; a male (human or animal)’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṇṭaṉ* ‘warrior, husband’, *kaṇṭi* ‘buffalo bull’, *kaṇavaṉ* ‘husband’, *keṇṭaṉ* ‘robust, stout man’, *kiṇṭaṉ* ‘fat man, strong person’; Malayalam *kaṇṭan* ‘the male, especially of cat’, *kaṇavan* ‘husband’, *kiṇṭan* ‘big; a stout, bulky fellow’; Kota *gaṇḍ* ‘male’; Kannaḍa *gaṇḍu* ‘strength, manliness, bravery; the male sex, a male, man’, *gaṇḍa* ‘a strong, manly male person, a husband; strength, greatness’, *gaṇḍiga* ‘a valiant man’, *gaṇḍasa*, *gaṇḍasu*, *gaṇḍusa*, *gaṇḍusu* ‘male person’, *gaṇḍike* ‘prowess’, *geṇḍã* ‘husband’, *geṇḍu* ‘male’; Koḍagu *kaṇḍë* ‘male (of dogs and other animals, mostly wild; not of cats)’; Tuḷu *gaṇḍu* ‘male, valiant, stout’, *gaṇḍusu* ‘husband’, *gaṇḍ̣ukāyi*, *gaṇḍ̣ustana*, *gaṇḍastana* ‘manliness’, *kaṇḍaṇi*, *kaṇḍaṇye* ‘husband’, *gaṇṭè*, *gaṇṭapuccè* ‘male cat’; Telugu *gaṇḍu* ‘bravery, strength, the male of the lower animals’, *gaṇḍũḍu*, *gaṇḍãḍu* ‘a brave, strong man’; Malto *geṇḍa* ‘male’. Krishnamurti 2003:11 **kaṇṭ-a-* ‘male’, 169 **kaṇ-ṭV-* ‘warrior’, and 525 **kaṇṭ-anṯu* ‘husband, warrior’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:111, no 1173. Dravidian loanword in Sanskrit *gaṇḍá-*, *gaṇḍīra-* ‘hero’ (cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:318). Perhaps also: Kota *geṇḍ kaṭ-* (*kac-*) ‘dog’s penis becomes stuck in copulation’; Kannaḍa *keṇḍa* ‘penis’; Gondi *geṭānā*, *gēṭ-* ‘to have sexual intercourse’, *gēṭ* ‘sexual intercourse’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:177, no. 1949.

B. Proto-Altaic **gendV* (~ **k-*) ‘male, self’: Proto-Mongolian **gendü* ‘male of animals’ > Written Mongolian *gendü(n)* ‘small male panther; male of animals in general; male tiger’; Khalkha *gendū* ‘a male tiger or leopard’; Buriat *gende* ‘male sable’; Kalmyk *gendṇ* ‘male of animals’. Proto-Turkic **[g]ęntü* (*-nd-*) ‘self’ > Old Turkish (Orkhon, Old Uighur) *kentü* ‘self’; Karakhanide Turkic *kendü* ‘self’; Turkish *kendi* ‘self’; Azerbaijani *gendi* ‘self’; Yakut *kini* ‘he’; Dolgon *gini* ‘he’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 541 **gentV* (~ **k-*) ‘male, self’; Poppe 1960:25; Street 1974:13 **gendŭ(n)* ‘male; self’.

Buck 1949:2.23 male; 3.12 male (of animals); 4.492 penis. Illič-Svityč 1965:362 **gändʌ* [‘самец’] and 1971—1984.I:226—227, no. 79, **gändu* ‘male’ (Proto-Dravidian **kaṇṭ-*; Proto-Altaic **gändü*); Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 643, **gænd̂u* ‘male’. Note: The Afrasian forms cited by Dolgopolsky are problematic from a semantic perspective. Consequently, they are not included here. Semantically, this is a very attractive etymology. However, the lack of agreement between Dravidian and Altaic in the stem vowels is problematic. Both Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky try to get around this problem by positing a stem vowel **æ* (Illič-Svityč writes **ä*) in the Proto-Nostratic form. Rather, I think it more likely that one or the other of the branches has innovated — most likely Dravidian. Particularly telling are forms in Dravidian such as Tamil *keṇṭaṉ* ‘robust, stout man’, *kiṇṭaṉ* ‘fat man, strong person’, etc. If the Dravidan words for ‘penis’ cited above are, indeed, related, they would provide further evidence that the original stem vowel was **e*.

379. Proto-Nostratic pronominal base of unclear deictic function *_gi-_ (~ *_ge-_):

A. Proto-Kartvelian *-_g-_ pronominal base of unclear deictic function in *_e-g-_, *_i-g-_: Georgian _e-g-e_ ‘this, he, she, it’, _i-g-i_ ‘he, she, it, that’; Svan [_e-ǯ-_] in the dialectal variants _e-ǯ-i_, _e-ǯ-e_, _e-ǯ-ä_ ‘he, she, it, that’. Klimov 1964:57 *-_g-_ and 1998:24 *-_g-_ pronominal base of unclear deictic function; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:73 *-_g-_; Fähnrich 2007:92 *_g-_.
B. Proto-Indo-European *-$g^h$- pronominal base of unclear deictic function in (nom. sg.) *$ʔe$-$g^h$- ‘I’, (dat. sg.) *$me$-$g^h$- ‘to me’: Sanskrit (nom. sg.) _ahám_ ‘I’, (dat. sg.) _máhya(m)_ ‘to me’; Avestan (nom. sg.) _azəm_ ‘I’; Old Persian (nom. sg.) _adam_ ‘I’; Latin (dat. sg.) _mihī_ ‘to me’; Umbrian (dat. sg.) _mehe_ ‘to me’; (?) Old Church Slavic (nom. sg.) _azъ_ ‘I’. Sihler 1994:369—382; Burrow 1973:263—269. Meier-Brügger (2003:226) assumes dissimilation of *$me$-$b^h e̯$ to *$me$-$ǵ^h e̯$ in the dative sg. Preserved as an independent pronominal stem in Latin _hĭc_, _haec_, _hōc_ ‘this, this one here’. Palmer 1954:255—256; Ernout—Meillet 1979:293; Lindsay 1894:430.
C. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Chukchi -_ɣ-_ in -_iɣəm_ ~ -_eɣəm_ ‘I’ (shorter forms: _ɣəm_ ~ _ɣəm_), (sg.) _ɣət_ ‘thou’. Greenberg 2000:78—79; Fortescue 2005: 142—143 and 146—147; Mudrak 1989b:109 *_xəm_, *_xəmn-_ ‘I’.

Greenberg 2000:77—81.

380. Proto-Nostratic root *_gib-_ (~ *_geb-_):
(vb.) *_gib-_ ‘to bestow upon, to give’;
(n.) *_gib-a_ ‘gift’

A. Proto-Afrasian *_g[i]b-_ ‘to bestow upon, to give’: Proto-Semitic (*_gib-_ > *$g^y$_ib-_ > *$d^y$_ib-_ > *_ʒəb-_ [~ secondary _a_-grade form: *_ʒab-_] >) *_ʒab-ad-_ ‘to bestow upon, to give’ > Hebrew _zāβað_ [זָבַד] ‘to bestow upon, to endow with’, _zeβeð_ [זֶבֶד] ‘endowment, gift’; Aramaic _zəβað_ ‘to bestow upon’; Arabic _zabada_ ‘to bestow upon, to give little’; Sabaean _zbd_ ‘gift’. Murtonen 1989:160; Klein 1987:193. Egyptian (*_gib-_ > *$g^y$_ib-_ > *$d^y$_ib-_ >) _ḏb_, _ḏbꜣ_ ‘to supply, to furnish with, to equip, to provide’; Coptic _tōōbe_ [ⲧⲱⲱⲃⲉ] ‘(vb.) to repay, to requite; (n.) requital, repayment’. Hannig 1995:1002; Faulkner 1962:321; Erman—Grapow 1921:219 and 1926—1963.5:555—556; Vycichl 1983:211; Černý 1976:181.
B. Proto-Indo-European *$g^h eb^h$- ‘to give’: Proto-Germanic *_γeβan_ ‘to give’ > Gothic _giban_ ‘to give’, *_fra-gifts_ ‘presentation, betrothal’; Runic (1st sg. pres.) _gibu_ ‘I give’; Old Icelandic _gefa_ ‘to give’, _gjöf_ ‘gift’; Old Swedish _giva_ ‘to give’; Old Danish _give_ ‘to give’; Old English _giefan_ ‘to give’, _giefu_ ‘gift’; Old Frisian _geva_ ‘to give’, _geve_ ‘gift’; Old Saxon _geƀan_ ‘to give’, _geƀa_ ‘gift’; Dutch _geven_ ‘to give’; Old High German _geban_ ‘to give’ (New High German _geben_), _geba_ ‘gift’, _gift_ ‘gift; poison’ (New High German _Gift_). Rix 1998a:172 *$g^h eb^h$- ‘to take, to seize, to give’; Pokorny

1959:407—409 **ghabh-* ‘to take, to seize’; Walde 1927—1932.I:344 **ghabh-*; Watkins 1985:20 **ghabh-* (also **ghebh-*) and 2000:28 **ghabh-* (also **ghebh-*) ‘to give or receive’; Orël 2003:130 Proto-Germanic **ɣeƀanan*, 130 **ɣeƀō*, 130 **ɣeƀōn*, 130 **ɣeftiz*, 130 **ɣeftjanan*; Kroonen 2013:172—173 Proto-Germanic **geban-* ‘to give’ and 173 **gebō-* ‘gift, present’; Feist 1939:214; Lehmann 1986:155 probably from **ghabh-* ‘to take, to grasp’; De Vries 1977:160 and 171; Onions 1966:397 Common Germanic **ɣiftiz* and 399 Common Germanic **ɣeƀan*; Klein 1971:311 and 313 **ghab(h)-* ‘to take, to hold, to have; to give’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:227 (New High German *Gabe* ‘gift’), 237 **ghabh-*, and 258; Kluge—Seebold 1989:240 (New High German *Gabe* ‘gift’), 249, and 267; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:204—205; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:225. Two separate stems must be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European: (1) **g$^{h}$ab$^{h}$-* ‘to grab, to seize’ and (2) **g$^{h}$eb$^{h}$-* ‘to give’, which is preserved only in Germanic.

Buck 1949:11.21 give. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:459, no. 304.

381. Proto-Nostratic root **gid-* (~ **ged-*) or **ɢid-* (~ **ɢed-*):
(vb.) **gid-* or **ɢid-* ‘to force, drive, or press together; to join; to unite; to gather (together); to collect’;
(n.) **gid-a* or **ɢid-a* ‘force, compulsion; collection, heap; union’; (adj.) ‘pressed close together, near, united’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gid-* ‘to force, drive, or press together; to join; to unite; to gather (together); to collect’: Proto-Semitic **gad-ad-* ‘to force, drive, or press together; to join; to unite; to gather (together); to collect’ > Hebrew *gāðað* [גָּדַד] ‘to gather in bands or troops’, *gəðūð* [גְּדוּד] ‘band, troop’; Phoenician (pl.) *ʔgddm* ‘troops’; Akkadian **gudūdu* ‘military detachment’ (Hebrew loan); Geez / Ethiopic *gadada* [ገደደ] ‘to force, to compel, to be cruel, to be deformed’, *gədud* [ግዱድ] ‘serious, severe, impure, dirty’, *bagədud* [በግዱድ] ‘by force’; Tigre *gədd* ‘compulsion, force’; Tigrinya *gädädä* ‘to force, to compel’, *(bä)gəddi* ‘compulsory’; Amharic *gäddädä* ‘to force, to oblige’; Harari *gädād* ‘stubborn’; Gurage (Soddo) *(ag)giddädä* ‘to force someone to do something’. D. Cohen 1970— :99—100; Murtonen 1989:127; Klein 1987:91 (different from *gāðað* ‘to cut’); Leslau 1979:262 and 1987:181 (not derived from Semitic **gdd* ‘to cut’). Egyptian (**gid-* > **g$^{y}$id-* > **d$^{y}$id-* >) *ḏdb* ‘to gather; to assemble, to come together (people); *to heap or pile up’, *ḏdmt* /ḏidma-t/ ‘heap, pile’; Coptic (Sahidic) *ǧatme* [ϫⲁⲧⲙⲉ], (Akhmimic) *ǧetme* [ϫⲉⲧⲙⲉ] ‘heap (of grain)’. Hannig 1995:1019; Erman—Grapow 1921:223 and 1926—1963.5:632 and 5:634; Černý 1976:321; Vycichl 1983:332. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *gidd-is-* ‘to compel, to force; to persuade’; Kambata *gidd-is-* ‘to order’. Hudson 1989:279 and 318.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kiṭṭu* (*kiṭṭi-*) ‘to draw near (in time or place); to be on friendly terms with; to be attained, accomplished; to be clenched (as the teeth in lockjaw); to approach, to attack, to meet, to tie, to bind’, *kiṭṭa* ‘near, close by’, *kiṭṭam* ‘nearness, vicinity’, *kiṭṭi* ‘clamps (used in torture, etc.)’, *kiṭṭi̲nar* ‘relations, friends, associates’, *kiṭai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘(vb.) to be obtained, found; to come into one’s possession; to join, to come together; to approach, to encounter; to oppose; (n.) comparison, likeness, equality’; Malayalam *kiṭa* ‘approach, match, equality’, *kiṭayuka* ‘to knock against, to quarrel, to be found or obtained’, *kiṭaccal* ‘meeting, quarrelling’, *kiṭekka* ‘to be obtained, to engage in’, *kiṭṭuka* ‘to come to hand, to be obtained, to reach’, *kiṭṭam* ‘vicinity, nearness’, *kiṭṭi* ‘torture by pressing the hands between two sticks’; Toda *kiṭ-* (*kiṭy-*) ‘to be caught (in crowd, by buffalo’s horns, by promise that one must keep, etc.)’, *kïḍ-* ‘vicinity’; Kannaḍa *kiṭṭu* ‘to touch, to reach, to come to hand, to be obtained’, *giṭṭisu* ‘to cause oneself to be reached’, *kiṭṭi* ‘torture in which hands, ears, or noses are pressed between two sticks’, *kiḍu* ‘touching, approach’; Koḍagu *kïṭṭ-* (*kïṭṭi-*) ‘to be gotten, to come into possession of’; Tuḷu *kiṭṭa* ‘proximity; near’, *giṭṭu* ‘proximate, near’; Koraga *kiṭṭi* ‘to touch’; Telugu *kiṭṭu* ‘to approach, to draw near, to agree, to suit’; Malto *kiṭe* ‘near, nigh’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:141—142, no. 1538.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$g^hed^h$- (secondary *o*-grade form: *$g^hod^h$-) ‘to force, drive, or press together; to join; to unite; to gather (together); to collect’: Sanskrit *gadh-* ‘to cling to, to hang on to’, *gádhya-ḥ* ‘seized or gained as booty’; Gothic *gadiliggs* ‘cousin’; Old Frisian *gadia* ‘to unite’, *gadur* ‘together’; Old English *gadrian*, *gaderian* ‘to gather together, to collect, to store up’, *gaderung* ‘assembly’, *gadere* ‘together’, *gada*, *gegada* ‘companion, associate’, *gaderwist* ‘association, intercourse’, *gadrigendlic* ‘collective’, *gæd* ‘fellowship’, *gædeling* ‘companion, kinsman’, *geador*, *tō-gædere* ‘together’; Middle Dutch *gaderen* ‘to come together, to unite’; Old High German *be-gatōn* ‘to come together, to unite’, *gatiling* ‘relative’; New High German *begatten* ‘to pair, to mate, to copulate’, *Gatte* ‘husband’, *Gattin* ‘wife’, *gatten* ‘to match, to pair, to couple, to unite, to copulate’; Old Church Slavic *godъ* ‘time’. Pokorny 1959:423—424 **ghedh-*, **ghodh-* ‘to unite’; Walde 1927—1932.I:531—533 **ghadh-*; Mann 1984—1987:327—328 **ghodh-* ‘to fit, to meet, to join; apt, fitting’; Watkins 1985:21 **ghedh-* and 2000:28 **ghedh-* ‘to unite, to join, to fit’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:146, fn. 2, I:154 **g[ʰ]ed[ʰ]-/*g[ʰ]od[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:126, fn. 69, and I:133 **$g^hed^h$-/*$g^hod^h$-* ‘to unite’; Mallory—Adams 1997:64 **ghedh-* ‘to join, to fit together’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:320—321; Orël 2003:121—122 Proto-Germanic **ƶađilinƶaz* (also **ƶađōjanan*); Kroonen 2013:163 Proto-Germanic **gadurōjan-* ‘to gather’; Lehmann 1986:136 **ghadh-* ‘to unite, to fit together’; Feist 1939:178—179 **ghodh-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:235; Kluge—Seebold 1989:246—247; Derksen 2008:172—173.

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *kitńe-* ‘to choke, to suffocate’. Nikolaeva 2006:214.
E. Altaic: Manchu *gida-* ‘to press, to crush, to roll flat; to stamp (a seal); to force, press, or compel someone to do something; to quell, to crush, to defeat; to raid, to plunder; to suppress, to hold back (laughter)’, *gidabun* ‘suppression, defeat’.

Buck 1949:11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 12.21 collect, gather; 19.48 compel. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:384—385, no. 221.

382. Proto-Nostratic root **gil-* (~ **gel-*):
(vb.) **gil-* ‘to glide, to slip, to slide’;
(n.) **gil-a* ‘gliding, sliding’; (adj.) ‘smooth, slippery’

A. Kartvelian: Georgian *gl-u-* ‘slippery’.
B. Proto-Indo-European **gʰl-ey-/*gʰl-oy-/*gʰl-i-* ‘to glide, to slip, to slide’: Swedish *glinta* ‘to glide, to slip’; Old English *glīdan* ‘to glide, to slip’, *glidder* ‘slippery’; Old Frisian *glīda* ‘to glide’; Old Saxon *glīdan* ‘to glide’; Dutch *glijden* ‘to glide’; Old High German *glītan* ‘to glide, to slip’ (New High German *gleiten*). Pokorny 1959:433 **ĝhleidh-* ‘to glide, to slip’; Walde 1927—1932.I:627 **ghleidh-*; Watkins 1985:21 **ghel-* ‘to shine’ and 2000:29 **ghel-* ‘to shine’: “19. Possibly distantly related to this root is Germanic **glīdan* ‘to glide’”; Orël 2003:136 Proto-Germanic **ǥlīđanan*; Kroonen 2013:181 Proto-Germanic **glīdan-* ‘to glide’; Onions 1966:401 West Germanic **ǥlīđan*; Klein 1971:314; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:261; Kluge—Seebold 1989:269.
C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kilɜ* (**külɜ*) ‘smooth, slippery’ > Zyrian / Komi (Sysola) *gylyd* ‘smooth, slippery’; Votyak / Udmurt (Sarapul) *gylyt* ‘slippery’, (Malmyž) *gylyd* ‘smooth, slippery’; Ostyak / Xanty (Obdorsk) *kuli* ‘smooth’. Rédei 1986—1988:156 **kilɜ* (**külɜ*). Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *(ńa:čədə-)killəbə-* ‘to fall down and roll; to skim the water (of a stone)’. Nikolaeva 2006:210.

Buck 1949:10.42 slide, slip (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:455, no. 300; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 625, **gUḷ[E]ħU* ‘to be smooth’.

383. Proto-Nostratic root **gil-* (~ **gel-*):
(vb.) **gil-* ‘to freeze’;
(n.) **gil-a* ‘ice’

A. Afrasian: Semitic **gal-ad-* ‘to freeze’ > Arabic *ğalida* ‘to freeze, to be frozen’, *ğalīd* ‘ice’, *ğalīdī* ‘icy, ice-covered, glacial, ice; snow-covered’, *muğallad* ‘icy, frozen, ice-covered’; Modern Hebrew *gālaḏ* [גָּלַד] ‘to freeze, to congeal, to jell’, *gəlīḏ* [גְּלִיד] ‘ice’; Jewish Palestinian Aramaic

*gəlīðā* ‘ice’; Syriac *ʔaglīðā* ‘cold, frozen’. D. Cohen 1970— :119; Murtonen 1989:134; Klein 1987:99.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$g^{h}elHt'$-/*$g^{h}l̥Ht'$- ‘ice, hail’: Greek χάλαζα ‘hail’; Old Church Slavic *žlědica* ‘freezing rain’; Ukrainian *óželed'* ‘rain mixed with snow; ice-covered branches’; Polish (obsolete) *żłódź* ‘frozen rain; ice-covered ground’; Polabian *zlod* ‘hail’; Slovenian *žlêd* ‘ice-covered ground’; Latvian *dzeldêt* ‘to harden (of snow)’; Farsi *žāla* (< *$žarda$- < *$g^{h}elH_{2}d$-) ‘hail, hoarfrost’. Pokorny 1959:435 *$gheləd$- ‘ice’; Walde 1927—1932.I:629—630 *$gheləd$-; Mallory—Adams 1997:287 *$ghel(h_{2})d$- ~ *$ghl̥(h_{2})ed$- ?) ‘hail’; Watkins 1985:22 *$gheləd$- and 2000:29 *$gheləd$- ‘hail’; Beekes 2010.II:1608 *$ǵ^{h}lh_{2}d$-; Boisacq 1950:1047; Hofmann 1966:410 *$gheləd$-; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1241—1242; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1065—1066 *$ǧheləd$-; Derksen 2008:555 *$g^{h}elh_{2}d$-.

C. Altaic: Proto-Tungus *$gil$- ‘cold’ > Evenki *gildi* ‘cold’; Lamut / Even *gilrə* ‘cold’; Negidal *giligdi* ‘cold’; Ulch *gitulį*, *gitisį* ‘cold’; Orok *gičulį* ‘cold’; Nanay / Gold *gičįsį* ‘cold’; Oroch *gičį-si* ‘cold’; Udihe *gilihi* ‘cold’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:545 *$gĭĺo$ ‘cold’. Note: The putative Turkic cognates meaning ‘winter’ cited by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak have not been included here due to problems with the phonetics.

D. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan *$kil(kil)$ ‘ice’: Chukchi *ɣilɣil* ‘sea ice, ice floe’; Kerek *hilɣil* ‘(sea) ice, ice covered with snow, ice floe’; Koryak *ɣilɣil* ‘ice’; Alyutor *ɣilɣil*, *kitɣəlʸ* ‘ice’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *ketvol* ‘ice’. Fortescue 2005:137.

Buck 1949:1.77 ice; 15.86 cold. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 628, *$giĺ[V\#]ʔV[d]V$ ‘ice, frost; to freeze’ (and *$giĺV$ ‘ice, frost’).

384. Proto-Nostratic root *$gin$- (~ *$gen$-) or *$ɢin$- (~ *$ɢen$-):
(vb.) *$gin$- or *$ɢin$- ‘to be young, small, weak’;
(n.) *$gin$-*a* or *$ɢin$-*a* ‘youth, young one’; (adj.) ‘young, small, weak’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *gnn* ‘to be weak, soft’, *gnnwt* ‘weakness’ (?); Coptic *čnon* [ϭⲛⲟⲛ] ‘to become soft, smooth, weak’. Hannig 1995:901; Faulkner 1962:290; Gardiner 1957:598; Erman—Grapow 1921:198 and 1926—1963.5:174—175; Černý 1976:332; Vycichl 1983:342.

B. Dravidian: Toda *kin* ‘small’; Kannaḍa *kiṇkini beraḷu* ‘little finger’; Koḍagu *kïṇṇë* ‘boy’; Tuḷu *kinni* ‘small, young; the young of an animal, smallness’, *kinyavu* ‘the young of an animal, a little thing’, *kinyappè* ‘mother’s younger sister’, *kinyamme* ‘father’s younger brother’, *kinkana*, *kiṇkaṇa* ‘a little’, *kinu̯ru̯*, *kinaru̯*, *kinalu̯* ‘a little bit’; Koraga *kinnige* ‘younger one’, *kinyo* ‘small’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:147, no. 1603.

Sumerian *gen* ‘small’, *genna* ‘child’, *genna* ‘young, small’, *gina* ‘heir, child, son’, *gina* ‘small, weak’, *ginna* ‘child’. (Sumerian loanword in Akkadian *ginū* ‘infant, child’.)

Buck 1949:4.82 weak; 12.56 small, little; 14.14 young. Bomhard 1996a:221—222, no. 630.

385. Proto-Nostratic root **gin-* (~ **gen-*):
(vb.) **gin-* ‘to grind, to pound, to break or crush into pieces’;
(n.) **gin-a* ‘the act of grinding, pounding, crushing’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gin-* ‘to grind, to pound’: Egyptian (**gin-* > **gʸin-* > **dʸin-* >) *dn* ‘to grind’. Hannig 1995:1007; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:575. East Chadic **gin-* ‘to pound’ > Somray *gine* ‘to pound’; Ndam *gəna* ‘to pound’; Tumak *gən* ‘to pound’; Dangla *igina* ‘to pound’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:209, no. 927, **gin-* ‘to grind, to pound’.

B. Dravidian: Koḍagu *kinn-* (*kinni-*) ‘to tear into strips (rags, plantain, or screwpine leaves)’; Kolami *kini-* (*kinit-*) ‘to break into pieces (intr.)’, *kink-* (*kinikt-*) ‘to break into pieces (tr.)’; (?) Naiki (of Chanda) *kinup-* ‘to break, to crack knuckles’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:147, no. 147.

C. Proto-Indo-European (**gʰen-*/)**gʰn-* ‘to gnaw, to rub or scrape away, to pulverize, to grate’: Greek χναύω ‘to nibble’, χναῦμα ‘slice, tidbit’, (Hesychius) χνίει· ‘to break or crush into small pieces’; Avestan *aiwi-γnixta-* ‘gnawed, nibbled, eaten’; Old Icelandic *gnaga* ‘to gnaw’, *gniða* ‘to rub, to scrape’, *gnísta* ‘to gnash the teeth, to snarl’, *gnastan* ‘a gnashing’, *gníst* ‘a gnashing’, *gnístan* ‘gnashing of the teeth’, *gnúa* ‘to rub’; Swedish *gnaga* ‘to gnaw’, *gnissla* (dial. *gnist*) ‘to grate’, *gnō* ‘to rub’; Old Danish *gnistre* ‘to grate’; Old English *gnagan* ‘to gnaw’, *gnīdan* ‘to rub, to pulverize’, *gnidel* ‘pestle’; Middle English *gnāsten* ‘to gnash the teeth together’, *gnāstinge* ‘gnashing’, *gnacchen* ‘to gnash’; East Frisian *gnīsen*, *knīsen* ‘to gnash the teeth’; Old Saxon *gnagan* ‘to gnaw’; Dutch *knagen* ‘to gnaw’; Old High German *gnagan*, *nagan* ‘to gnaw’ (New High German *nagen*). Pokorny 1959:436—437 **ghen-* ‘to gnaw, to rub or scrape away, to pulverize, to grate’; Walde 1927—1932.I:584—585 **ghen-*; Mann 1984—1987:326 **ghnaghō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to gnash, to gnaw’, 326 **ghnauu̯ō* (**ghnau̯ō*, **ghnŭ̯ō*), *-i̯ō* ‘to rub, to scrape’; Watkins 1985:22 **ghen-* and 2000:29 **gh(e)n-* ‘to gnaw’; Boisacq 1950:1064 **ghnəu-* (stem **ghnēu-*), along with **ghn-eu-*, **ghn-ou-* and 1064—1065 **ghnēi-*, **ghnĭ̆-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1106 and II:1106—1107; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1265; Hofmann 1966:420 **ghnĕu-*, **ghnēi-*; Beekes 2010.II:1639; Kroonen 2013:183 Proto-Germanic **gnagan-* ‘to gnaw’ and 183 **gnīdan-* ‘to rub’; Orël 2003:137—138 Proto-Germanic **ɣnaɣanan*, 138 **ɣnīđanan*; De Vries 1977:177—178 **ghen-*, 179 **ghen-*, and 180 **ghneu-*; Falk—Torp

1903—1906.I:240; Onions 1966:403; Klein 1971:316; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:501; Kluge—Seebold 1989:498.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 5.56 grind; 9.26 break (vb. tr.).

386. Proto-Nostratic root **gir-* (~ **ger-*):
(vb.) **gir-* ‘to gird, to enclose’;
(n.) **gir-a* ‘enclosure, fence, wall’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gir-* ‘to gird, to enclose’: Proto-Semitic (**gir-* > **gʸir-* > **dʸir-* > **ʒər-* [~ secondary *a*-grade form: **ʒar-*] >) **ʒar-* (**ʔa-ʒar-*, **ʒar-ar-*) ‘to gird’ > Arabic *zarra* ‘to button up’, *ʔazara* ‘to surround’; Hebrew *zēr* [זֵר] ‘circlet, border’, *zarzīr* [זַרְזִיר] ‘girded, girt’, *ʔāzar* [אָזַר] ‘to gird, to encompass, to equip’, *ʔezōr* [אֵזוֹר] ‘waistcloth’; Ugaritic *mʾizrt* ‘wrap, shawl’; Ḥarsūsi *wezār* ‘waistcloth’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *zerr* ‘to tie tightly, to pull (a rope) tight’; Mehri *zər* ‘to fix, to secure’. Murtonen 1989:86 and 169; Klein 1987:16 and 203; D. Cohen 1970— :14. Egyptian (**gir-* > **gʸir-* > **dʸir-* >) *ḏrỉ* ‘to constrain, to enclose, to fortify’, *ḏr* (later variant *ḏrỉt*) ‘wall, enclosure’. Hannig 1995:1012—1013; Faulkner 1962:323; Gardiner 1957:604; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:598. Proto-Berber (**gir-* > **gʸir-* > **dʸir-* >) **dər-* > Tawlemmet *adər* ‘to keep, to support, to maintain’, *asədər* ‘a rope used to hold another’; Nefusa *ədri* ‘to close’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *idri* ‘rack’; Kabyle *adar* ‘row, line’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *ceṟi* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to join together, to tighten, to shut, to close, to block up, to secure, to store up, to pack closely’, *ciṟai* ‘to restrain, to imprison, to dam up’; Malayalam *ceṟukkuka* ‘to dam up, to enclose, to oppose, to prevent’, *ciṟa* ‘dam, enclosure, limit, tank, reservoir’; Kannaḍa *kiṟ-* (*kett-*) ‘to confine, to close, to shut, to block up, to make a fence, to cover’; Telugu *ceṟa* ‘prison, imprisonment’, *kiriyu* ‘to be tight’; Koḍagu *kere* ‘tank’; Konḍa *keʀ-* ‘to close, to shut (as a door, box, etc.), to build a wall (as enclosure)’; Kui *ker-* ‘to fence’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:180, no. 1980.

C. Proto-Indo-European **gʰer-*/**gʰr̥-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **gʰor-*) ‘to gird, to enclose’: Sanskrit *gṛhá-ḥ* ‘house’; Greek χόρτος ‘enclosed place’; Albanian *gardh* ‘fence’; Latin *hortus* ‘garden’, *cohors* ‘enclosure, yard’; Oscan *húrz* ‘enclosed place’; Gothic *bi-gairdan* ‘to gird’, *uf-gairdan* ‘to gird up’, *gairda* ‘girdle’, *gards* ‘house, family’; Old Icelandic *garðr* ‘fence, wall’, *gyrða* ‘to gird (with a belt)’, *gyrðill* ‘girdle’, *gerð* ‘gear, harness’, *gerða* ‘to fence in’; Swedish *gjorda* ‘to gird’; Old English *geard* ‘fence, enclosure’, *gyrdan* ‘to gird’, *gyrdel* ‘girdle, belt’; Old Frisian *gerda* ‘to gird’; *gertel* ‘girdle, belt’, *garda* ‘garden’; Old Saxon *gurdian* ‘to gird’, *gard* ‘enclosure’, *gardo* ‘garden’; Dutch *gorden* ‘to gird’, *gordel* ‘girdle’, *gaard* ‘garden’; Old High German *gurtan*, *gurten* ‘to gird’ (New High German *gürten*), *gurtil* ‘girdle, belt’ (New High German *Gürtel*), *gart*

'circle', *garto* 'garden' (New High German *Garten*); Lithuanian *gařdas* 'enclosure'; Old Church Slavic *gradъ* 'city'. Rix 1998a:176 **g$^{h}$erd$^{h}$-* 'to enclose, to gird'; Pokorny 1959:442—443 **ĝher-* 'to grasp, to seize, to enclose', 444 **ĝherdh-* (and **gherdh-*) 'to embrace, to enclose, to encompass'; Walde 1927—1932.I:603—604 **ĝher-*; Mann 1984—1987:331 **ghordhos* 'fortified place, walled enclosure', 331 **ghoros* 'enclosure, envelope', 332 **ghortos*, *-is*, *-us* 'enclosure', 415 **ĝherdhō* 'to clasp, to embrace'; Mallory—Adams 1997:199 **ghórdhos* (**ghórtos* ~ **ghórdhos*) 'fence, hedge; enclosure, pen, fold'; Watkins 1985:22 **gher-* and 2000:30 **gher-* 'to grasp, to enclose'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:744 **g[$^{h}$]erd[$^{h}$]-* and 1995.I:647 **g$^{h}$erd$^{h}$-* 'fence', **g$^{h}$er-*/**ĝ$^{h}$er-* 'to fence in, to surround'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:344; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1113—1114 **ghorto-*; Boisacq 1950:1067—1068 **ĝher-*; Beekes 2010.II:1644—1645 **g$^{h}$or-t-*; Hofmann 1966:422 **ghortos*, **gher-dh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.II:1270—1271 **gher-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:131 and 300 **ghert-*, **ghortó-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:242—243 **ĝher-*, **ghor-tos* and I:660 **ĝhor-to-*, **ĝhor-dho-*; De Vaan 2008:290—291; Kroonen 2013:169 Proto-Germanic **garda-* 'courtyard'; Orël 1998:110 and 2003:126—127 Proto-Germanic **ɣarđaz*, 127 **ɣarđjan*, 127 **ɣarđōn*, 146—147 **ɣurđaz*, 147 **ɣurđilaz*, 147 **ɣurđjanan*; Feist 1939:99 **ĝherdh-*, 185—186 **ghert-*, **gherdh-* (**ĝherdh-*), and 197—198 **gherdh-*; Lehmann 1986:68 **ĝherdh-*, 140 **gherdh-*, and 147—148 **gherdh-*; De Vries 1977:156, 164, and 197; Onions 1966:389, 399, and 1018; Klein 1971:304, 312, and 836 **ĝhor-to-*, **ĝhor-dho-*, **ĝher-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:233—234 **ghordho-* and 277 **gherdh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:245—246 **ghortó-* and 282 **gherdh-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:136—137; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:135—136; Derksen 2008:178 **g$^{h}$ord$^{h}$-o-* and 2015:164—165 **g$^{h}$ord$^{h}$-o-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:157—158.

Sumerian *gir$_{11}$* 'to tie on, to tie together, to join together; to harness'.

Buck 1949:6.57 belt, girdle; 7.15 yard, court. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:458, no. 303.

387. Proto-Nostratic root **gir$^{y}$-* (~ **ger$^{y}$-*):
(vb.) **gir$^{y}$-* 'to be or become old';
(n.) **gir$^{y}$-a* 'old age, old person'; (adj.) 'old'

A. Proto-Afrasian **ger-* 'to be or become old': Proto-East Cushitic **gerʕ-* 'to become old' > Galla / Oromo *jaar-sa* 'to become old'; Gidole *kerʔ-* 'to become old'; Sidamo *geeɗ-*, *geeɗɗ-* (< **geer-ɗ-*) 'to grow old (of people)', (pl.) *geerra* 'old men, elders', *geer-co* 'old man, old woman'; Gedeo / Darasa *geer-co* 'old man, old woman', (pl.) *geeʔre* 'old men'. Hudson 1989:107; Sasse 1979:37. Proto-Chadic **garə* 'to grow old' > Kirfi *gaaro*

'old'; Ngizim *gàrú* 'to grow old'; Tera *gorə* 'to grow old'. Newman 1977:27. Takács 2011a:197 **g-r* 'old'; Ehret 1995:186, no. 284, **gerʕ-* 'to become old'.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kiṛam*, *kiṛaṭu* 'old age; aged person, animal, or thing (contemptuous)', *kiṛamai*, *kiṛavu* 'old', *kiṛavan̲*, *kiṛavōn̲* 'old man', (f.) *kiṛavi* 'old woman', *kiṛatan̲* 'old fellow' (used in contempt), (f.) *kiṛaṭi* 'old lady' (used in contempt); Malayalam *kiṛavan* 'old man', (f.) *kiṛavi*, *kiṛatti* 'old woman'; Kannaḍa *keṛava*, *keṛiva* 'old man'; Tuḷu *kīrṵ* 'ancient, old'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:145, no. 1579.

C. (?) Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$r-eH-* (> **g$^{h}$r-ē-*) 'gray-haired, old': Proto-Germanic **γrǣwaz* 'gray, gray-haired' > Old Icelandic *grár* 'gray, gray-haired'; Faroese *gráur* 'gray'; Norwegian *graa* 'gray'; Danish *graa* 'gray'; Old Swedish *grā* 'gray' (Modern Swedish *grå* 'gray'); Old English *grǣg* 'gray'; Old Frisian *grē* 'gray'; Dutch *grauw* 'gray'; Old High German *grāo* 'gray' (New High German *grau* 'gray'). Watkins 2000:30 **gh(e)r-* 'to shine, to glow; gray'; Orël 2003:142 Proto-Germanic **ɣrēwaz*; Kroonen 2013:189 Proto-Germanic **grēwa-* 'grey'; De Vries 1977:185 **ghrēi̯-*, **ghrēu̯-*; Onions 1966:413 **ghrēghwos*; Klein 1971:322; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:242—243 Germanic stem **grâwa-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967: 268; Kluge—Seebold 1989:276. Old Frisian *grīs* 'gray'; Old Saxon *grīs* 'gray'; Dutch *grijs* 'gray'; Old High German *grīs* 'gray'; Middle High German *grīse* 'old man' (New High German *Greis*). Kluge—Mitzka 1967:269; Kluge—Seebold 1989:277; Orël 2003:143 Proto-Germanic **ɣrīsaz*; Kroonen 2013:191 Proto-Germanic **grīsa-* 'grey'.

Buck 1949:14.15 old.

388. Proto-Nostratic root **gir$^{y}$-* (~ **ger$^{y}$-*) or **ɢir$^{y}$-* (~ **ɢer$^{y}$-*):
(vb.) **gir$^{y}$-* or **ɢir$^{y}$-* 'to move, to move swiftly, to hasten, to hurry; to run, to flow; to go, to walk';
(n.) **gir$^{y}$-a* or **ɢir$^{y}$-a* 'movement, flow, flux, step, course'

A. Proto-Afrasian **gir-* 'to move, to move swiftly, to hasten, to hurry; to run, to flow': Proto-Semitic **gar-ay-* 'to move, to move swiftly, to hasten, to hurry; to run, to flow' > Arabic *ǧarā* 'to flow, to stream (water); to run; to hurry, to rush, to hasten; to blow (wind); to take place, to come to pass, to happen, to occur; to be under way, to be in progress, to be going on (work); to befall, to happen; to be in circulation, to circulate, to be current; to wend one's way, to head (for); to proceed; to follow, to yield, to give way; to entail; to run or be after something, to seek to get something', *ǧary* 'course', *ǧarrāʔ* 'runner, racer', *ǧarayān* 'flow, flux; course; stream', *ǧārin* 'flowing, streaming, running; circulating', *maǧran* 'course, stream, rivulet, gully; torrent or flood of water'; Syriac *gərā* 'to run, to flow'. D. Cohen 1970— :187; Zammit 2002:121—122. Berber: Riff *uġur* 'to go, to walk';

Iznasen *uyur* ‘to go, to walk’. West Chadic **guraʔ-* ‘to come; to go around’ > Dera *gur-* ‘to come’; Bokkos *garaʔ-* ‘to go around’. Central Chadic **gwar-* (< **gura-*) ‘to go into; to return; to follow’ > Tera *gəri-* ‘to return’; Hildi *gwər-* ‘to go into’; Logone *gər-* ‘to go into’; Banana *gwərə-* ‘to follow’. East Chadic **gVr-* ‘to come’ > Sibine *gər-* ‘to come’. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *ʔagir-*, *ʔagar-* ‘to return’. Highland East Cushitic: Hadiyya *geer-* ‘to run’. Hudson 1989:279. Orël—Stolbova 1995:211, no. 934, **gir-*/**gur-* ‘to go, to run’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **$g^hr$-$ed^h$-*/**$g^hr$-$od^h$-*/**$g^hr̥$-$d^h$-*, **$g^hr$-ey-$d^h$-*/**$g^hr$-oy-$d^h$-*/**$g^hr$-i-$d^h$-* ‘to walk, to step’: Latin *gradior* ‘to step, to walk’, *gradus* ‘a step’; Old Irish *in-grenn-* ‘to pursue’; Gothic *griþs* ‘standing’; Middle High German *grit* ‘step, stride’, *griten* ‘to straddle’; Lithuanian *grìdiju*, *grìdyti* ‘to wander about’; Old Church Slavic *grędǫ*, *gręsti* ‘to come, to journey’; Russian (obsolete) *grjadú* [гряду], *grjastí* [грясти] ‘to approach’. Rix 1998a:181 (?) **$g^hreid^h$-* ‘to walk, to step’; Pokorny 1959:456—457 **ghredh-* ‘to walk, to step’; Walde 1927—1932.I:651—652 **ghredh-*; Watkins 1985:23 **ghredh-* and 2000:32 **ghredh-* ‘to walk, to go’; Mallory—Adams 1997:546 **ghredh-* ‘to step, to go’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:279—280; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:615—616 **ghr$_e$dh-*; De Vaan 2008:268—269; Orël 2003:142 Proto-Germanic **ɣriđiz*; Kroonen 2013:189 Proto-Germanic **gridi-* ‘step’; Feist 1939:222 **ghredh-* (?); Lehmann 1986:161 etymology disputed — **ghredh-* has been proposed; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:171; Preobrazhensky 1951:166 Russian *grjastí* [грясти́] < Proto-Indo-European **ghredh-*; Derksen 2008:188 **$g^hri$-n-$d^h$-*.

C. Proto-Altaic **gi̯ă$r^y$a-* ‘to walk, to step’: Proto-Tungus **giari-*, **gira-* ‘to walk, to step’ > Manchu *ɢarda-* ‘to rush, to walk fast’, *ɢardaša-* ‘to walk vigorously, to walk swiftly, to walk in a race’, *ǵari-* ‘to walk around, to walk away’; Evenki *gira-kta-* ‘to step’; Lamut / Even *gi̯raŋ-*, *gi̯rqə̣-* ‘to step’; Negidal *gi̯yān-* ‘to step’; Ulch *ɢi̯ran-* ‘to step’; Orok *ɢi̯ran-* ‘to step’; Nanay / Gold *ɢi̯ari-* ‘to walk’, *ɢi̯ran-* ‘to step’; Oroch *gā̄ri-* ‘to walk’, *gia-* ‘to step’; Udihe *geä-li-* ‘to walk’, *geäna-* ‘to step’. Proto-Mongolian **gar-* ‘to go out’ > Written Mongolian *γar-* ‘to go or come out, to emerge, to leave’; Khalkha *gar-* ‘to go out’; Buriat *gara-* ‘to go out’; Kalmyk *γar-* ‘to go out’; Ordos *ɢar-* ‘to go out’; Moghol *γaru-* ‘to go out’; Dagur *gar-* ‘to go out’; Monguor *ɢari-* ‘to go out’. Proto-Turkic **gEr$^y$-* ‘to walk, to walk through’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *kez-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Karakhanide Turkic *kez-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Turkish *gez-* ‘to go about, to travel, to walk about (especially with a view to seeing things or for enjoyment)’, *gezici* ‘traveling, touring, itinerant’, *gezme* ‘patrol; watchman’, *gezi* ‘promenade, excursion’; Gagauz *gez-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Azerbaijani *gäz-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Turkmenian *gez-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Uzbek *kez-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Tatar *giz-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Bashkir *giđ-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Uighur *gäz-*/*käz-* ‘to walk, to walk through’; Karaim *gez-* ‘to walk, to walk

through'; Kirghiz *kez-* 'to walk, to walk through'; Noghay *kez-* 'to walk, to walk through'. Cf. also Yakut *keriy-* (with *-r-*) 'to walk around'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:550—551 **gi̯ăŕa* 'to walk, to step'.

Sumerian *gir*$_7$ 'to trot'.

Buck 1949:10.11 move (vb.); 10.32 flow (vb.); 10.45 walk (vb.); 10.46 run (vb.).

389. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gol-a* 'edge, corner, valley':

A. Proto-Afrasian **gol-* 'edge, corner, valley': Proto-East Cushitic **gol-* 'edge, slope, valley' > Burji *gól-oo* 'slope'; Afar *gol-o* 'valley'; Somali *gol* 'foot of hill'; Galla / Oromo *gol-a* 'corner, edge, gorge'; East Oromo *gol-uu* 'valley'; Tsamay *gole* 'river'; Gawwada *kol-l-e* 'river'; Gollango *kol-l-e* 'river'; Sidamo *gola*, *gollo* 'corner'. Hudson 1989:194 and 366; Sasse 1982:83.
B. Dravidian: Malayalam *kolli* 'valley, corner'; Kannaḍa *kolli*, *kolle* 'a bend, corner, gulf, bay'; Koḍagu *kolli* 'small stream with rocky bed'; Tuḷu *kolli* 'a bay'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:192, no. 2137.
C. Proto-Indo-European **g$^h$l-ent'o-s* 'bank (of river), side, shore, valley': Old Irish *glenn* 'valley'; Welsh *glyn* 'valley', *glan* 'side, shore, bank'; Breton *glann* 'bank'.
D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kolɜ* 'hollow, hole; crack, fissure, crevice, rift' > Finnish *kolo* 'cavity, hollow, hole; crack, fissure, crevice'; (?) Lapp / Saami (Lule) *gollo*/*golo-* 'fissure'; Zyrian / Komi *kolas* 'crack, distance, interval (in space and time)'; Vogul / Mansi *kal*, *hal* 'rift, crack, interspace'; Ostyak / Xanty *kŏl* 'rift, crack'. Collinder 1955:90 and 1977:106; Rédei 1986—1988:174—175 **kolɜ*.

Buck 1949:1.24 valley; 1.36 river, stream, brook; 12.72 hollow; 12.76 corner; 12.85 hole. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:501—502, no. 349; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 620, **gowlu* (or **gowlü* ?) 'deep; valley'.

390. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gub-a* 'highest point, summit, top':
Note also:
(n.) **gab-a* 'peak, tip, top'

A. Proto-Afrasian **gub-* 'highest point, pinnacle': Proto-Semitic **gab-* 'highest point, summit, top, mountain, hill' > Hebrew *gāβah* [גָּבַהּ] 'to be high, exalted', *gəβāl* [גְּבָל] 'mountainous region', *giβʿāh* [גִּבְעָה] 'hill, height, elevation'; Ugaritic *gbʿ* 'hill', *gbl* 'mountain'; Akkadian *gabʔu* 'summit, top, height'; Arabic *ǧabal* 'mountain', *ǧabalī* 'mountainous, hilly'; Sabaean *gblt* 'hill country'; Mehri *gebēl* 'mountain'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli

*giɬl* (base *gbl*) ‘mountain’; Amharic *gäbäta* ‘high hill’. Militarëv 2012:74 Proto-Semitic **gVb-Vl-*; D. Cohen 1970— :96 and 97; Klein 1987:89 and 90; Murtonen 1989:126; Zammit 2002:116. Proto-East Cushitic **gub(b)-* ‘mountain’ > Burji *gúbb-a* ‘highland’; Dullay *ɠup-o* ‘mountain’; Dasenech *gum* ‘mountain’; Afar *gubb-i* ‘high spot in undulating country’; Galla / Oromo *gubb-aa* ‘up, above’. Sasse 1979:15 and 1982:85; Hudson 1989: 195. Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *guβa* ‘plains’. Central Chadic **guɓa-* (< **gubaH-*) ‘mountain’ > Glavda *γoba* ‘mountain’; Gava *γuɓa* ‘mountain’; Mesme *gəbəy* ‘mountain’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:223, no. 992, **gübaʕ-* ‘mountain’; Militarëv 2012:74 Proto-Afrasian **ga/ub-*. [Ehret 1995:179, no. 263, **gab-* ‘top’.]

B. Dravidian: Toda *kofoy* ‘top of a hill, horizon’; Kannaḍa *kobe* ‘top of a coconut tree’, *kobaḷu* ‘top of a roof’; Telugu *koppu* ‘the crest or ridge of a roof’, *kopparamu*, *kopramu* ‘the top, summit, turret’; Tuḷu *kubaḷu* ‘top of the roof’, *kubè* ‘top of a coconut tree’; Koraga *kobali* ‘top of the roof’, *kobe* ‘top of a coconut tree’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:158, no. 1731(b).

(?) Sumerian *gub* ‘to stand, to erect’.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:383—384, no. 219; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 593, **g[U]bʕV(LV)* ‘hill, mountain’.

391. Proto-Nostratic root **gub-* (~ **gob-*):
(vb.) **gub-* ‘to cook, to roast, to burn’;
(n.) **gub-a* ‘the act of cooking; that which is used for cooking: pot, pan; stove, furnace’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gub-* ‘to cook, to roast, to burn’: Semitic: Akkadian *gubbubu* ‘to roast’, *gabbubu* ‘roasted’, **gubibtu* (pl. *gubibāte*) ‘parched barley’. Proto-East Cushitic **gub-* ‘to burn’ > Somali *gub-* ‘to burn’; Rendille *gub-* ‘to burn’; Boni *kub-* ‘to burn’; Galla / Oromo *gub-* ‘to burn’; Konso *kup-* ‘to burn’; Yaaku *kup-* ‘to rot’. Sasse 1979:17. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa (transitive) *gub-* ‘to burn, to burn the mouth (food)’, (intransitive) *gub-at-* ‘to burn’; Burji (transitive) *gub-*, *gub-aɗ-* ‘to burn’. Hudson 1989:33—34, 195, and 243. The Highland East Cushitic forms may be loanwords from Galla / Oromo. Orël—Stolbova 1995:219, no. 971, **gub-* ‘to burn’. Orël—Stolbova include Dahalo *guβ-* ‘to burn’. However, Ehret (1980:238) derives the Dahalo form from Proto-Southern Cushitic **guf-* ‘to burn (something)’.

B. (?) Indo-European: Old Lithuanian *gabija*, *gubija* ‘fire’, *Gubija* name of the fire-goddess.

C. Proto-Altaic **gi̯ūbe* ‘to smoke, to roast’: Proto-Tungus **gūb-* ‘(vb.) to fume, to smoke; (n.) furnace, stove’ > Evenki *gī-* ‘to fume, to smoke’, *gīwun* ‘furnace, stove’; Manchu *gūwa-χiyan* ‘a hole for cooking used by

soldiers in the field; a tripod used for supporting a cooking pot over a hole'. Proto-Turkic **gübeč* 'frying pan; earthenware cooking pot' > Karakhanide Turkic *küveč* 'frying pan; earthenware cooking pot'; Turkish *güvec* 'earthenware cooking pot; casserole'; Gagauz *güveč* 'frying pan; earthenware cooking pot'; Azerbaijani *güväž* 'frying pan; earthenware cooking pot'; Turkmenian *göweč* 'frying pan; earthenware cooking pot'; Uzbek (dialectal) *köväš* 'frying pan; earthenware cooking pot'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *köš* 'skull'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:558 **gi̯ūbe* 'to smoke, to roast'.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 5.21 cook; 5.23 roast, fry. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 592, **g[uy]bV* 'to heat' (→ 'to cook, to roast, to burn, to dry'). Blažek (1991a:362, no. 8) compares several Kartvelian forms with those given above, and Dolgopolsky includes these as well in his *Nostratic Dictionary*. However, these forms are suspect inasmuch as the root vowel of the reconstructed Kartvelian proto-form (**gab-*/**gb-* 'to cook, to boil') does not agree with what is found in the putative cognates in other Nostratic languages. Consequently, the Kartvelian material is not included here.

392. Proto-Nostratic root **gud-* (~ **god-*):
(vb.) **gud-* 'to throw, to toss, to shake';
(n.) **gud-a* 'that which is thrown or tossed off or aside: rubbish, refuse, cast-out things'

A. Proto-Afrasian **g[u]d-* 'to throw, to cast': Proto-Semitic **gad-ap-* 'to throw (away), to cast (away)' > Arabic *ğadafa* 'to cut off, to throw, to move the hands about in walking fast', *ğadaf* 'dregs, dirt'; Geez / Ethiopic *gadafa* [ገደፈ] 'to throw away, to thrust, to reject, to cast away, to discard, to cast down, to cast aside, to retrench, to give up, to abandon, to omit, to repudiate, to despise, to lose, to avoid, to deduct, to forget', *gʷədf* [ጕድፍ] 'sweepings, rubbish, refuse'; Tigre *gädfa* 'to throw away', *gədəf*, *gʷədəf* 'cast-out things'; Tigrinya *gädäfä* 'to abandon, to throw away', *gʷäduf* 'rubbish'; Amharic *gäddäfa* 'to forget something one has learned, to skip a line'; Gurage *gädäfä* 'to break a fast', *guduf* 'dirt'; Harari *guduf* 'place where rubbish is placed'. D. Cohen 1970— :102; Leslau 1979:262 and 1987:181.
B. Dravidian: Malayalam *kuṭayuka* 'to throw out, to fling away, to shake extremities'; Kannaḍa *koḍapu*, *koḍavu* 'to scatter or throw in different directions with the hand, to shake or toss about'; Koḍagu *koḍa-* (*koḍap-*, *koḍand-*) 'to shake'; Tuḷu *kuḍpuni* 'to shiver (as from ague); to dust, to shake off (as the dust from a cloth)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:152—153, no. 1662.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **gd-* 'to throw, to cast, to fling, to toss': Georgian *a-gd-eb-a* 'to throw, to cast, to fling, to toss', *da-gd-eb-a* 'to throw, to hurl';

Svan *li-gd-ur-i* ‘to seize, to clutch, to grasp, to hold’. Schmidt 1962:100; Fähnrich 2007:98 **gd-*.

Buck 1949:10.25 throw (vb.); 10.26 shake (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:394—395, no. 232.

393. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **gul-a* (~ **gol-a*) ‘enclosed space’:

A. Afrasian: Proto-East Cushitic **gol-* ‘enclosed space: shed, pen, stable’ > Somali *gol-a* ‘enclosed space, pen, stable’; Burji *gola* ‘wall (of house); shed for animals’; Gedeo / Darasa *gola* ‘shed for animals’; Sidamo *golo*, *goló* ‘fence, wall; cattle-pen outside house’. Hudson 1987:194, 242. and 366. Cushitic loans in: Geez / Ethiopic *gol* [ጎል] ‘stable, crib, manger, cave’, *golāmḥəsā* [ጎላምሕሳ] ‘old pen for cattle’; Tigre *gol* ‘stable’; Gurage *g*$^{w}$*äla* ‘pen for mules or horses inside the house’. Leslau 1979:271 and 1987:189, 191.
B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **külä* ‘dwelling’ > Finnish *kylä* ‘village’; Estonian *küla* ‘village’; Lapp / Saami (Northern) *gal'li-* ‘to visit, to pay a visit to’; Vogul / Mansi *kül*, *kwäl* ‘house, dwelling’. Collinder 1955:93, 1960:412 **külä*, and 1977:109; Rédei 1986—1988:155—156 **kilä* (**külä*).
C. Proto-Altaic **gūli* ‘dwelling, cottage’: Proto-Tungus **gūle* ‘hut, dwelling-place’ > Evenki *gūle* ‘hut, dwelling-place’. Proto-Turkic **gül* ‘house, home, dwelling’ > Turkish *-gil* suffix meaning ‘belonging to the family of’ (dial. ‘home, dwelling-place’); Azerbaijani *-gil* suffix meaning ‘belonging to the family of’; Chuvash *kil*, *kül* ‘dwelling, hut’; Yakut *külä* ‘vestibule, inner porch’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2002:570—571 **gūli* ‘dwelling, cottage’.

Buck 1949:7.12 house; 7.13 hut; 19.16 village. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 617, **gülA* ‘dwelling, house’.

394. Proto-Nostratic root **gun-* (~ **gon-*):
(vb.) **gun-* ‘to perceive, to notice’;
(n.) **gun-a* ‘notice, memory, mind, perception, remembrance, recollection’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *gnt* ‘memory, remembrance, recollection’. Hannig 1995:901; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:173.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **gon-* ‘to think, to remember’: Georgian *gon-* ‘to think, to remember’, *gon-eb-a* ‘reason, mind’; Mingrelian *gon-* ‘to think, to remember’; Laz *(n)gon-* ‘to think, to remember’; Svan *gon-*/*gn-* (*li-gn-ew-i*) ‘to think up, to inspire’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:87—88 **gon-*; Fähnrich 2007:109—110 **gon-*; Klimov 1964:63—64 **gon-* and 1998:31 **gon-* ‘to think, to remember’.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kunta-* ‘to perceive’ > Finnish *kuuntele-* ‘to listen’; Karelian *kuntele-*, *kuundele-* ‘to listen’; Veps (Northern) *kund'l'e-* ‘to listen, to obey’; Vogul / Mansi *qont-* ‘to find; to perceive, to see’, *kontəml-* ‘to hear (to perceive, to notice)’, *koontl-* ‘to notice’; Ostyak / Xanty *kunhəl-* (< **kuntəhəl-*), (Tremyugan) *kuntəgþ-*, (Southern) *huntt-*, *hunttət-* ‘to hear, to perceive, to notice’; Hungarian *hall-* ‘to hear’. Collinder 1955:28 and 1977:48; Rédei 1986—1988:207—208 **kunta-lɜ* ‘to listen, to hear’; Sammallahti 1988:544 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kuntå* ‘to perceive; to catch’; Décsy 1990:101 **kunta* ‘to catch, to find; to receive booty’. Finnish *kuuntele-* may have been influenced by *kuule-* ‘to hear’.

D. Proto-Altaic **gūno-* ‘to think’: Proto-Tungus **gūn-* ‘to say, to think’ > Manchu *ɢūni-* ‘to think’, *ɢūnin* ‘intention, thought, opinion, feeling, sense; mind, spirit’; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ɢoni-* ‘to think’; Evenki *gūn-* ‘to say’; Lamut / Even *gȭn-* ‘to say’; Negidal *gūn-* ‘to say’; Oroch *gun-* ‘to say’; Nanay / Gold *un(de)-* ‘to say’; Orok *un-* ‘to say’; Udihe *gun-* ‘to say’; Solon *gun-* ‘to say’. Proto-Mongolian **guni-* ‘to be sad, anxious’ > Mongolian *γuni-* ‘to grieve; to be afflicted, sad’, *γuniγ-* ‘grief, sadness, sorrow’, *γuniγalǯa-* ‘to lament, to be sad, to mourn’, *γuniγla-* ‘to grieve; to be afflicted, sad, depressed, or worried; to mourn’, *γuniγtai* ‘sad, sorrowful, mournful, downcast, cheerless; monotonous, melancholy’, *γunira-* ‘to be or become sad, grieved, sorrowful, distressed, afflicted’, *γuniχara-* ‘to be sad, melancholy, lonely for; to grieve, to be sorrowful’; Khalkha *guni-* ‘to be sad, anxious’; Buriat *guni-* ‘to be sad, anxious’; Kalmyk *γuńə-* ‘to be sad, anxious’; Ordos *ɢunid-* ‘to be sad, anxious’; Dagur *guni-* ‘to be sad, anxious’. Proto-Turkic **Kun-* ‘(vb.) to yearn; to be anxious, sorry; (n.) attention, care, usefulness’ > Middle Turkic *qunuq-* ‘to yearn; to be anxious, sorry’; Uzbek *qunt* ‘attention, care’; Tatar *qon* ‘attention, care’, (dial.) *qonar* ‘usefulness’, *qono* ‘diligent, busy’, *qonoq-* ‘to get used, to become accustomed’; Bashkir (dial.) *qont* ‘attention, care’, *qonar* ‘usefulness’; Kirghiz *qunt* ‘attention, care’, *qunar* ‘usefulness’; Kazakh *qunt* ‘attention, care’; Tuva *qunuq-* ‘to yearn; to be anxious, sorry’. Poppe 1960:24; Street 1974:13 Proto-Altaic **gunï-* ‘to think, to grieve’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:571—572 **gūno* ‘to think’.

Buck 1949:15.11 perceive by the senses; sense (sb.); 17.13 think (= reflect); 17.14 think (= be of the opinion); 17.31 remember. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 640, **guñ[h]i* ¬ **gu[h]nï* (or **guñ[ʔ]i* ¬ **gu[ʔ]nï*) ‘to think’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:387, no. 224.

395. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **gup*$^{h}$- (~ **gop*$^{h}$-):
(vb.) **gup*$^{h}$- ‘to extinguish; to be extinguished, to die out, to perish’;
(n.) **gup*$^{h}$-*a* ‘loss, destruction’

A. Proto-Indo-European *$gup^h$- > (through progressive voicing assimilation) *$g^hub^h$- (secondary full-grade forms: *$g^hewb^h$-/*$g^howb^h$-) ‘to be extinguished, destroyed; to perish’: Latvian *gubstu*, *gubt* ‘to subside, to collapse’; Old Church Slavic *gybělь* ‘loss, destruction’, *gybljǫ*, *gybati* (intr.) ‘to be destroyed’, *gybnǫ*, *gybnǫti* (beside *gynǫti*) (intr.) ‘to perish’, *pa-guba* ‘destruction, ruin’, *gubiti* ‘to spoil, to ruin’; Russian *gubítel′* [губитель] ‘undoer, ruiner, destroyer’, *gubít′* [губить] ‘to ruin; to be the undoing (of); to destroy; to spoil’; Czech *hubiti* ‘to spoil’; Serbo-Croatian *gùbiti* ‘to spoil’; Hittite *ku-up-ta-ar* ‘refuse, waste (of a ritual)’. Pokorny 1959:450 **gheub(h)*- ‘to bend, to bow (down)’; Walde 1927—1932.I: 567—568 **gheub(h)*-; Mann 1984—1987:332—333 **ghoubh*- ‘empty, vain, useless; loss, destruction’, 333 *$*ghoubhi̯ō$ (*$*ghoubhi̯ō$) ‘to be empty, to be vain; to come to naught’; Preobrazhensky 1951:166—167; Derksen 2008:195 *$g^houb^h$-*eie*-, 197 *$g^hub^h$-, and 200; Puhvel 1984— .4:259 **ghubhtr̥* ‘wasting, waste’ (root **ghewbh*-). Note: Only in Balto-Slavic and Anatolian.

B. Proto-Uralic **kupsa*- ‘to extinguish, to be extinguished’: Estonian *kustu*- (dial. *kistu*-) ‘to be or become extinguished, to go out, to die out; to be obliterated, to be wiped out; to fade out’, *kustuta*- ‘to extinguish, to put out’, *kustutus* ‘extinction’; Saami / Lapp (Kola) *gop′se* ‘to extinguish, to be extinguished’; Votyak / Udmurt *kys*- ‘to be extinguished; to put out, to extinguish’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hapta*- ‘to put out, to extinguish’; Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *kabta*- ‘to extinguish’, *kabtu*- ‘to be extinguished’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *kota*- ‘to extinguish’; Selkup Samoyed (C) *kapta*- ‘to extinguish’; Kamassian *kubder*- ‘to extinguish’. Collinder 1955:29 and 1977:49; Rédei 1986—1988:214—215 **kupsa*-; Décsy 1990:101 **kupsa* ‘to extinguish’; Sammallahti 1988:537 **kupså* ‘to extinguish’; Janhunen 1977b:54 **kâptå*-.

C. Proto-Altaic *$g̱iūp^ha$ (~ *-u*-) ‘to extinguish’: Proto-Tungus *$gūp$- ‘to extinguish; to be extinguished’ > Ulch (intr.) *gūpu*-, *gōkpi*- ‘to be extinguished’, (tr.) *gūptu*- ‘to extinguish’; Nanay / Gold *gūpku*- ‘to be extinguished’, (tr.) *gūpu*- ‘to extinguish’; Orok (intr.) *gūptu*- ‘to be extinguished’, (tr.) *gūpu*- ‘to extinguish’. Proto-Turkic **Kïp*- ‘spark, ashes’ > Tatar *qïpïn* ‘spark’; Kirghiz *qïpïn* ‘spark’; Kazakh *qïpïn* ‘ashes’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qïbïn* ‘spark’, *qïbïr* ‘ashes’; Yakut *kïbïan* ‘spark’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:560 *$g̱iūp′a$ (~ *-u*-) ‘to extinguish’.

Illič-Svityč 1965:335 **ku/p/sa* [‘гаснуть’] ‘(intr.) to burn out; (tr.) to extinguish’, 1971—1984.I:311, no. 185, **KuPśa* ‘to burn out; to extinguish’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 916, **ku<u>P</u>sa* ‘to extinguish, to exhaust’; Greenberg 2002:62—63, no. 134.

396. Proto-Nostratic root **gur*- (onomatopoeic):
(vb.) **gur*- ‘to rumble, to roar, to growl, to gurgle’;

(n.) **gur-a* ‘rumbling, roaring, gurgling, growling noise or sound’

A. Proto-Afrasian **gur-* ‘to rumble, to roar, to growl, to gurgle’: [Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **gar-gar-* ‘to rumble, to roar, to growl, to gurgle’ > Arabic *ğarğara* ‘to gargle’, *ğarğara* ‘gargling, rumbling noise, rumble, clatter (of a wagon)’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *egɛrgér* ‘to make a gurgling noise’, *əngɛrgér* ‘(stomach) to rumble’; Mehri *agárər* ‘to make a gurgling noise’, *engergōr* ‘(stomach) to rumble’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔangʷargʷara* (**gʷar-gʷar-*) [**አንጐርጕረ**] ‘to murmur, to mutter, to grumble, to complain, to claim, to be vexed, to be angry’; Tigrinya *ʔangʷärgʷärä* ‘to mutter, to mumble’; Amharic *angʷäraggʷärä* ‘to mutter’; Gurage *angəraggärä* ‘to grumble’, *(a)gʷarra* ‘to roar, to bellow, to howl’, *gurgurtä* ‘thunder’, (Masqan) *gurgur barä*, (Wolane) *gurgur balä* ‘to thunder, to murmur’; Harari *gūr bāya* ‘to thunder’, *gurur bāya* ‘to roar (animals), to thunder, to rumble (thunder)’, *gurgurti* ‘rumor’, *gurum gurum bāya* ‘to grumble, to groan’, *gurumti* ‘groan, rumor’. Leslau 1963:74, 75, 1979:288, 293, and 1987:202.] Note: The Semitic forms may belong either here or with Proto-Nostratic **ɢar-* (~ **ɢər-*) ‘to mutter, to groan, to grumble, to howl, to roar’. Berber: Tuareg *iğurhayən* ‘larynx, throat’; Tawlemmet *agurzay* ‘throat, salivary glands’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *gurzu* ‘to be hoarse’, *agurza* ‘hoarseness’; Chaouia *igərzi* ‘throat’. Chadic: Hausa *guñnaanii* ‘growling (of lions, dogs, etc.)’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kurai* ‘(vb.) to bark, to jubilate, to shout; (n.) noise, roar, shout’, *kuraippu* ‘noise’; Malayalam *kura* ‘disagreeable sound, cough, barking’, *kurekka* ‘cough, bark, hem’; Kota *kurv-* (*kurt-*) ‘to snore’, *kerv-* (*kert-*) ‘to bark’; Toda *kwarf-* (*kwart-*) ‘to snore, to bark’; Kannaḍa *kure* an imitative sound; Koḍagu *kora-* (*korap-*, *korat-*) ‘to bark’; Tuḷu *korapuni*, *korepini*, *korepuni* ‘to bark, to roar’, *korejuni* ‘to make a noise’; Parji *kūr-* ‘to groan’; Malto *kúr-kúr-* ‘to call a dog’; Brahui *xurrukāv* ‘a snore’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:162, no. 1796. Tamil *kuṟukuṟuppu*, *kuṟukuṟuppai* ‘snoring, stertorous breathing’, *kuṟaṭṭai* ‘snoring, snorting’, *koṟukkai* ‘snoring’; Malayalam *kuṟukuṟukka* ‘(vb.) to breathe with difficulty; (n.) the sound in the throat of a dying person’, *kuṟukkuka*, *kuṟuṅṅuka* ‘to purr, to coo (as a dove)’, *kurkku* ‘a snore’; Kannaḍa *guṟuguṭṭu* ‘to snore, to purr’, *guṟṟuguṭṭu* ‘to growl, to snarl (as dogs, bears, tigers)’; Koraga *gūru* ‘to cry (wolf)’; Telugu *guṟaka* ‘snoring’, *guṟṟumanu* ‘to snore, to growl, to snarl’; Tuḷu *guranè* ‘the snarling of a dog’, *guraguṭṭuni*, *gurkuṭṭuni* ‘to grunt’, *gurukuṭṭuni* ‘to snore, to purr, to coo, to rattle phlegm in the throat, to roar’; Kolami *gurgaḍil-* (*gurgaḍilt-*) ‘(dog) to growl, (pig) to grunt’; Parji *gurr-* ‘to hiss, to hoot’; Gondi *gurrānā* ‘to snore, to sleep’; Koṇḍa *gōr-* ‘to snore’; Kuṛux *gurrārnā* ‘to roar (as a tiger), to snarl or growl fiercely, to utter angry words or shouts of anger’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:169, no. 1852. Tamil *kūraṉ* ‘a dog’; Tuḷu *kūra* ‘a dog’, *kūri* ‘bitch’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:173, no. 1901. Malayalam (Kanikkar) *kora* ‘asthma’;

Kannaḍa *kora*, *gora* ‘sound produced in the throat by hoarseness, the purr of a cat’, *kore* ‘to snore’; Tuḷu *korapelu̯* ‘snoring’, *korape*, *korapele* ‘one who snores’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:191, no. 2122.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **gurgw-* (**gurgw-in-*, **gurgw-al-*) ‘to thunder’: Georgian *grgvin-* ‘to thunder’, (Xevsurian) *gurgwal-* ‘to thunder’; Mingrelian *gurgin-*, *gvirgvin-* ‘to thunder’; Laz *girgin-*, *gurgul-* ‘to thunder’; Svan *gurgw-n-* ‘to thunder’. Fähnrich 2007:117—118 **gurgw-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:94 **gurgw-*; Klimov 1964:64—65 **g̊rgwin-*, 66 **gurgwal-* and 1998:32 **grgw-in-* ‘to thunder’.

D. Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$ur-* ‘to rumble, to roar, to growl, to gurgle’: Sanskrit *ghurati* ‘to cry out frighteningly, to frighten with cries’, *ghuraghurāyate* ‘to utter gurgling sounds, to wheeze, to puff, to snort’, *ghurikā* ‘snorting’, *ghurghuraka-ḥ* ‘gurgling or murmuring sound’, *ghurghura-ḥ* ‘growling’, *ghurghurāyate* ‘to whistle’; Prakrit *ghōraï* ‘to snore’, *ghurughuraï*, *ghuraghuraï* ‘to cry out’, *ghuruhaï* ‘to growl’, *ghurukhaï* ‘to thunder’; Punjabi *ghurghur* ‘snarling’; Sinhalese *guguravanā* ‘to thunder’, *gigiriya* (< **ghurghurita-*) ‘thunder’; Oriya *ghuribā* ‘to gargle’; Armenian *grgṙam*, *grgam* ‘to croak, to cackle’, *goṙam* ‘to growl’; Old English *gyrran* ‘to grunt, to creak, to clatter’, *gyrretan* ‘to roar (of lions)’; Middle High German *gurren* ‘to growl’ (New High German *gurren* ‘to coo’). Mann 1984—1987:349—350 **ghurgh-*, **ghurghul-*, **ghurghur-* ‘throat; to gurgle’, 350 **ghūr-* (**ghūrō*, *-i̯ō*) (expressive variant: **ghurr-*) ‘to growl’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:282.

Buck 1949:1.56 thunder; 3.61 dog. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:397—398, no. 235.

397. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **gur-a* ‘gut, cord’:

A. Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$or-*/**g$^{h}$r̥-* ‘gut, cord’: Sanskrit *híra-ḥ* ‘band, strip, fillet’, *hirā́* ‘vein, artery’; Greek χορδή ‘gut-string’; Latin *haruspex* ‘a soothsayer who foretold future events from inspection of the entrails of victims’, *hīra* ‘the empty gut’; Old Icelandic *görn* ‘gut’, *garn* ‘yarn’; Old English *gearn* ‘yarn’; Middle Dutch *gaern* ‘yarn’ (Dutch *garen*); Old High German *garn* ‘yarn’ (New High German *Garn*); Lithuanian *žarnà* ‘gut, intestine’. Pokorny 1959:443 **ĝher-* ‘bowel’; Walde 1927—1932.I:604 **ĝher-*; Mann 1984—1987:344 **ghr̥ā*, **ghr̥u-* (**ghəru-*) (?), 423 **ĝhornos*, *-ā*, *-us* ‘gut, string, cord’; Watkins 1985:22 **gherə-* and 2000:30 **gherə-* ‘gut, entrails’; Mallory—Adams 1997:180 **ĝhorh$_{x}$neh$_{a}$-* entrails’; Boisacq 1950:1066; Frisk 1970—1973.II:1111—1112; Chantraine 1968—1980.II: 1269; Hofmann 1966:421 **gher-*; Beekes 2010.II:1643—1644 **ǵ$^{h}$orH-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:289—290 and 295; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:635—636 **ĝher-* and I:649; De Vaan 2008:280; Kroonen 2013:169 Proto-Germanic **garnō-* ‘intestines’; Orël 2003:127 Proto-Germanic **ɣarnan*, 127 **ɣarnō*; De Vries 1977:157 and 199; Onions 1966:1018;

Klein 1971:836 *ĝher-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:233 *ĝher-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:245; Smoczyński 2007.1:774; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1291.

B. Proto-Uralic (?) **kurɜ* ~ **kurkɜ* (*-kɜ* is probably a suffix) 'gut, cord': Hungarian *húr* 'intestine, string', *hurka* 'intestine, sausage'; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hurku* 'cord, cord made of reindeer tendons'; (?) Taigi *körü* 'cord'. Collinder 1955:15 and 1977:36. See also Rédei 1986—1988:161, 216, and 219.

Buck 1949:9.19 rope, cord. Koskinen 1980:30, no. 95; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:394, no. 231. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 655a, **gERV* 'entrails'.

398. Proto-Nostratic root **gus-* (~ **gos-*):
(vb.) **gus-* 'to go outside of or forth from; to make to go outside or forth from, to drive away, to chase away';
(n.) **gus-a* 'outsider, stranger'

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **gus-* 'to drive out, to chase away, to take out' > Iraqw *gus-* 'to drive out'; Alagwa *gusim-* 'to chase away'; Ma'a *-gu* 'to take out'; Dahalo *guð-* 'to take out'. Ehret 1980:239. [Ehret 1995:186, no. 286, **gus-* 'to drive away'; Orël—Stolbova 1995:204, no. 902, **gas-*/**gus-* 'to move'.]

B. Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$os-t$^{h}$i-* ('outsider' >) 'stranger' > 'guest': Latin *hostis* originally 'stranger', later 'enemy, opponent, foe'; Venetic **hosti-* in the personal name *ho.s.tihavo.s.*; Gothic *gasts* 'stranger'; Runic *-gastiʀ* 'guest'; Old Icelandic *gestr* 'guest'; Norwegian *gjest* 'guest'; Swedish *gäst* 'guest'; Danish *gjest* 'guest'; Old English *giest* 'stranger, guest, enemy'; Old Frisian *jest* 'guest'; Old Saxon *gast* 'stranger, guest'; Old High German *gast* 'enemy, guest' (New High German *Gast* 'guest, visitor; customer [at an inn], stranger'); Old Church Slavic *gostь* 'guest'; Russian *gost'* [гость] 'visitor, guest'. Pokorny 1959:453 **ghosti-s* 'stranger, guest'; Walde 1927—1932.I:640—641 **ghosti-s*; Mann 1984—1987:332 **ghostis* 'stranger, guest'; Watkins 1985:23 **ghos-ti-* and 2000:31 **ghos-ti-* 'stranger, guest, host'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:168, II:754—755 **g[$^{h}$]ost[$^{h}$]i-* and 1995.I:144, I:657 **g$^{h}$ost$^{h}$i-* 'host, guest'; Mallory—Adams 1997:249 **ghostis* 'guest; stranger, enemy'; Benveniste 1973:75—79; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:662—663 **ghostis*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:301; De Vaan 2008:291 **g$^{h}$osti-*; Derksen 2008:180—181 **g$^{h}$ost-i-*; Orël 2003:127—128 Proto-Germanic **ɠastiz*; Kroonen 2013:170 Proto-Germanic **gasti-* 'guest'; Feist 1939:202 **ghosti-*; Lehmann 1986:149 **ghosti-* 'stranger, guest'; De Vries 1977:165; Onions 1966:418 **ghostis*; Klein 1971:326; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:234 Common Germanic **gastiz*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:246; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:228; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:173 **g$^{h}$ost($h_2$)i-*. Semantic development as in

Dravidian: Tamil *veḷiyār* ‘outsiders, strangers’ ~ Telugu *velalu* ‘to go or come out, to start’, *velalucu* ‘to send out’, *velārincu*, *velār(u)cu* ‘to send or drive out, to cast out, to make public’, etc. (cf. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:500—501, no. 5498); or, within Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *falasa* [ፈለሰ] ‘to depart, to emigrate, to go over to, to be transferred, to be removed, to be banished, to go into banishment, to go into exile, to be transformed, to be changed, to secede, to split off, to separate oneself, to withdraw, to sojourn aboard’, *falāsī* [ፈላሲ] ‘an exile, stranger, alien, pilgrim, wanderer’, *falāsāwī* [ፈላሳዊ] ‘stranger’, *falāsīyāwī* [ፈላሲያዊ] ‘pilgrim, stranger’ (cf. Leslau 1987:160).

Buck 1949:19.55 stranger; 19.56 guest; 19.57 host. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 399—400, no. 237.

399. Proto-Nostratic root **guw-* (~ **gow-*):
(vb.) **guw-* ‘to observe, to notice, to watch, to pay attention to, to heed, to be or become aware of’;
(n.) **guw-a* ‘observation, heed, awareness, attention, notice’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **gu-* ‘to become accustomed to; to train, to teach’: Georgian *gu(v)-* ‘to become accustomed to; to train, to teach’; Mingrelian *g(u)-* in *ge-g-ap-a* ‘to become accustomed to; to train, to teach’; Laz *g-* in *o-g-ap-u* ‘to become accustomed to; to train, to teach’, *gigaper-* ‘habitual, usual’. Klimov 1964:65 **gu-* and 1998:34 **gu-* ‘to get accustomed, to train’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:92—93 **gu-*; Fähnrich 2007:114 **gu-*.

B. Proto-Indo-European **g$^{h}$ow-* ‘to observe, to notice, to watch, to pay attention to, to heed, to be or become aware of’: Latin *faveō* ‘to favor, to be favorable to, to help, to support’; Gothic *gaumjan* ‘to see, to observe’; Old Icelandic *gá* ‘to heed, to observe’, *geyma* ‘to heed, to mind’, *geymdir* ‘heed, attention’, *gaumr* ‘heed, attention’, *guma* ‘to heed, to pay attention to’; Old English *gīeman* ‘to take care of, to take notice of’, *gīeme* ‘care’; North Frisian *gumi* ‘christening, celebration’; Old Saxon *gōmian* ‘to guard’, *gōma* ‘entertainment’; Old High German *goumōn* ‘to foresee, to care for, to entertain guests, to eat’, *gouma* ‘attentiveness, banquet’; Old Church Slavic *govějǫ*, *gověti* ‘to honor, to worship’; Czech *hověju* ‘to care for, to favor’; Russian *govet′* [говеть] ‘to fast and attend service before confession and communion’. Pokorny 1959:453 **ghou̯(ē)-* ‘to pay attention to, to be aware of’; Walde 1927—1932.I:635—636 **ghou-*; Mann 1984—1987:333 **ghou̯eiō* ‘to praise, to worship’, 378—379 **gu̯hau̯eiō* ‘to favor, to befriend, to watch, to heed, to care for’; Watkins 1985:23 **ghow-ē-* and 2000:31 **ghow-ē-* ‘to honor, to revere, to worship’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:803—804, fn. 3, **g[$^{h}$]ou̯-* and 1995.I:704, fn. 6, **g$^{h}$ou-* ‘to pay attention to’; Mallory—Adams 1997:418 **ghou-* ‘to

perceive, to pay heed to'; De Vaan 2008:206 *$b^{h}h_{2}\underline{u}$-$eh_{1}$- 'to be favorable to'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:464—465 *$ghou(\bar{e})$-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:220—221; Orël 2003:128 Proto-Germanic *$ǯaumiþō$, 128 *$ǯaumjanan$, 128—129 *$ǯaum(j)ō(n)$; Kroonen 2013:171—172 Proto-Germanic **gauma*- 'heed, attention'; Feist 1939:207; Lehmann 1986:151 **ghow*- 'to perceive, to pay heed to'; De Vries 1977:151, 158, and 165—166; Derksen 2008:181.

Buck 1949:17.24 learn; 17.25 teach; 22.16 worship (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:400—401, no. 238.

400. Proto-Nostratic root **guw*- (~ **gow*-):
(vb.) **guw*- 'to hunt wild animals';
(n.) **guw-a* 'wild animal, wild beast, game'; (adj.) 'wild, untamed'
Extended form:
(vb.) **guw-V-r*- 'to hunt wild animals';
(n.) **guw-r-a* 'wild animal, wild beast, game'; (adj.) 'wild, untamed'

Notes:
1. The unextended stem is preserved in Egyptian.
2. The Afrasian (Cushitic and Chadic) and Indo-European forms are deverbatives: **guw-V-r-*.

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *gw* '(wild) bull'. Hannig 1995:896; Faulkner 1962:288; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:159. Proto-Afrasian **g[u]war*- 'antelope': West Chadic **gar*- 'oryx' > Tsagu *gaare* 'oryx'; Mburku *gaari* 'oryx'. Central Chadic **gar*- 'antelope' > Logone *garia* 'antelope'. East Chadic **gawar*- 'antelope' > Tumak *gəru* 'antelope'; Kwang *gowor-to* 'antelope'. North Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *gár-uwa* 'a kind of antelope'. Reinisch 1895:102. Southern Cushitic: Rift **gwar*- 'antelope' > Iraqw *gwaraay* 'antelope'. Omotic **gar*- 'antelope' > Ome *gaaraa* 'antelope'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:203, no. 898, **gar*-/**gawar*- 'antelope'.

B. Dravidian: Kolami *kori* 'antelope'; Parji *kuri* 'antelope'; Gadba (Ollari) *kuruy* 'deer'; Gondi *kurs* 'antelope'; Kui *kruhu*, *krusu* 'barking deer, jungle sheep'; Kuwi *kluhu*, *kruhu*, *kurhu* 'antelope'; (?) Malayalam *kūran* 'hog-deer'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:161, no. 1785; Krishnamurti 2003:12 **kur-V-c*- 'deer'.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$g^{h}w\check{e}r$- 'wild animal, wild beast': Greek θήρ (Lesbian θήρ, Thessalian θείρ) 'a wild beast, beast of prey', θήρα (Ionic θήρη) 'a hunting of wild beasts, the chase', θηράω, θερεύω 'to hunt'; Latin *fĕrus* 'wild, untamed, rough, savage, uncivilized, cruel', *fĕrox* 'wild, unbridled, arrogant', *fĕrīnus* 'relating to a wild beast, wild'; Lithuanian *žvėrìs* '(wild) beast', *žvėriáuju*, *žvėriáuti* 'to hunt'; Old Church Slavic *zvěrь* 'wild animal'; Russian *zver'* [зверь] '(wild) beast'; Slovak *zver* 'wild

beast'; Serbo-Croatian *zvêr* 'wild beast'; Slovenian *zvêr* 'wild beast'. Pokorny 1959:493 **ĝhu̯ĕr-* 'wild animal'; Walde 1927—1932.I:642—643 **ĝhu̯er-*; Mann 1984—1987:408 **ĝu̯hēr-* (**ĝu̯hērs*, **ĝu̯hēris*) 'game animal, wild animal'; Watkins 1985:23 **ghwer-* and 2000:32 **ghwer-* 'wild beast'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:468, II:469, II:471, II:485, II:491 **ĝ[ʰ]u̯er-* and 1995.I:390, I:405, I:411 **ĝʰwer-* 'wild animal'; Mallory—Adams 1997:23 **ĝhu̯ḗr* 'wild animal'; Boisacq 1950:344 **ĝhu̯ēr-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:671—672 Greek (pl.) θῆρες < **ĝhu̯ḗr-es*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:435—436 **ghwēr-*; Hofmann 1966:115 **ĝhu̯ēr*; Beekes 2010.I:547 **ǵʰueh₁r-*; De Vaan 2008:215 **ǵʰu̯eh₁(-)r-* 'wild animal'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:487—488 **ĝhu̯ēr-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:230; Shevelov 1964:44; Derksen 2008:549—550 **ǵʰueh₁r-* and 2015:524 **ǵʰueh₁r-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:795 **ǵʰu̯eh₁-r-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1327.

D. Proto-Altaic **guri* ~ **gori* (~ *-rʸ-*; *-e*) 'deer, game': Proto-Tungus **gur-ma-*, **gur-na-* 'hare, squirrel, ermine' > Evenki *gurnun* 'squirrel'; Lamut / Even *gurnata* 'ermine'; Manchu *ɢulmaχun* 'hare'; Spoken Manchu (Sibo) *ɢuləmahun* 'rabbit, hare'; Nanay / Gold *ɢormaχõ* 'hare', *gorgo* 'fox'. Mongolian loans in: Manchu *gurgu* 'wild animal, beast', *gurguše-* 'to hunt wild animals'; Solon *gures* 'wild animal'. Proto-Mongolian **görüɣe* 'antelope, wild steppe animal, game' > Mongolian *görügesü(n)* (Middle Mongolian *göreʾe*) 'wild herbivorous animal, game, beast, antelope', *görügeči-* 'hunter, trapper', *görüge(n)* 'hunting, chasing; game', *görügele-* 'to hunt'; Ordos *görõs* '(wild) beast'; Khalkha *görõs(ön)* 'antelope'; Buriat *gürõhe(n)* 'antelope, wild animal, game'; Kalmyk *görə*, *görəsn̥* 'antelope, wild animal, game'; Moghol *gor[ä]sun* 'wild ass'; Shira-Yughur *görösən* 'antelope, wild animal, game'; Dagur *gurēs*, *gurēse* 'antelope, wild animal, game'; Monguor *korosə* 'wild animal, ferocious beast'. Poppe 1960:25; Street 1974:13 **göregē* 'wild animal'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 574—575 **guri* (~ *-o-*, *-ŕ-*, *-e*) 'deer, game'.

Buck 1949:3.11 animal (also wild beast); 3.79 hunt (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:237, no. 93, **gUjRä* 'wild (beast)'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:398—399, no. 236; Dolgopolsky 1998:41, no. 36, **gurHa* 'antelope, male antelope' and 2008, no. 659, **güRV* 'beast'.

## 22.22. PROTO-NOSTRATIC *kʰ

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| kʰ- | k- | k- | k- | kʰ- | k- | kʰ- | k- q- |
| -kʰ- | -k- | -k(k)- | -k- | -kʰ- | -k(k)- | -kʰ- | -k(k)-<br>-q(q)- |

401. Proto-Nostratic 1st person pronoun stem (stative) **kʰa-*:

A. Proto-Afrasian **-k(a)-* 1st person pronoun stem: Proto-Semitic **-ku* marker of the 1st person sg. in the stative; **-ku* in the 1st person sg. independent pronoun **ʔan-āku* (also **ʔan-ā* and **ʔan-ī*), which consists of the stem **ʔan-* followed by the suffixal element **-āku*, which itself is composed of **-ā* plus **-ku* (cf. Moscati 1964:103—104). Egyptian *-k* in *ỉnk* 1st person independent pronoun; also *-kw(ỉ)*, *-kỉ*, *-k* ending of the 1st person sg. of the old perfective ("pseudo-participle"); Coptic 1st person sg. independent pronoun *anok* [ⲁⲛⲟⲕ]. Hannig 1995:79—80 and 879; Faulkner 1962:24; Erman—Grapow 1921:15 and 1926—1963.1:101, 5:117; Gardiner 1957:53 (§64), 234—236 (§309), 554, and 597; Loprieno 1995:64—66 and 74; Černý 1976:9; Vycichl 1983:12. Berber: *-k* in, for example: Tuareg *nək*, *nəkkunan* 1st person independent pronoun 'I, me'; Kabyle *nəkk*, *nəkki*, *nəkkini* 1st person independent pronoun 'me'; Tamazight *nəkk*, *nəç* 1st person independent pronoun 'me'; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *nki* 1st person independent pronoun 'me', 1st person suffixed personal subject pronoun *-aγ* (< **-ā-kV*; cf. Diakonoff 1988:80—81, table and note *c*); Ghadames *nəc*, *nəccan* 1st person independent pronoun 'me'; Mzab *nəcc*, *nəcci*, *nəccin* 1st person independent pronoun 'me'. Note also Ongota *ka*/*-k* 'I, me' (cf. Fleming 2002b:50).

B. Elamo-Dravidian: David McAlpin (1981:119—120, §542.1) reconstructs a 1st person singular appellative personal ending **-kə* for Proto-Elamo-Dravidian, and this undoubtedly belongs here. Note the 1st person personal possessive pronominal enclitic in Brahui: *-ka*; note also the locutive *-k* in Elamite in, for example, *u...sunki*-k 'I am king' or *huttah halen*-k 'I made it at great pains' (*hutta-h*, predicate; *halen*-k, included form, locutive). For Proto-Dravidian, Zvelebil (1990:35—36) reconstructs a 1st person singular non-past personal ending **-N-ku*, found, for example, in Old Tamil (archaic non-past) *-Ø-ku* and in Gondi (future) *-k-ā*, while the 1st person plural exclusive non-past personal ending was **-N-kum*, found, for example, in Old Tamil (archaic non-past) 1st person plural exclusive *-Ø-kum* and in Gondi (future) 1st person plural exclusive *-k-em*, 1st person plural inclusive *-k-āṭ*. See also Krishnamurti 2003:290 and 301—304.

C. Indo-European: Greek has a unique formation, the so-called "first perfect", which would be better named the "κ-perfect". As noted by Sihler (1995:576): "Its inception must belong to prehistoric G[reek], for it is already established, within limits, in Hom[er] and in the earliest records of other dialects." Moreover, Sihler notes (1995:576): "In Hom[er] the formation is found in some 20 roots, all ending in long vowel (from the G[reek] standpoint), and in all of them the κ-stem is virtually limited to the SINGULAR stems which actually contain a long vowel… Later the formation, by now more accurately a κα-perfect, spreads to other stems ending in a long vowel, then to stems ending in any vowel (including denominatives), and finally to stems ending in consonants, and to all persons and numbers." This is very important, for Sihler here traces the expansion of this stem type within the history of Greek itself. Thus, we are dealing with developments specific to Greek. Buck (1933:289—290) agrees with Sihler. In Latin, we find 1st singular perfect forms *fēcī* 'I did' and *iēcī* 'I threw' (N.B. *faciō* and *iaciō* are "secondary elaborations based on these" [Sihler 1995:562]). As in Greek, the *-c-* [k] is found in all persons (cf. third singular *fecit*), and, as in Greek, the *-c-* [k] has given rise to secondary formations. The *-k-* forms are also found in Tocharian, as in 1st singular preterit active *tākā-* 'I was', and, as in Greek and Latin, the *-k-* is found in all persons and has given rise to secondary formations. Van Windekens (1976.I:495—496) goes so far as to posit Proto-Indo-European **dhēq-*, **dhə$_1$q-*, as does Rix (1998a:120—121). On the basis of the evidence from Greek, Latin, and Tocharian, we may assume that a "suffix" **-k-* is to be reconstructed for late-stage Proto-Indo-European — what I have referred to as "Disintegrating Indo-European". This "suffix" originally had a very limited distribution — it seems to have appeared only in the perfect (< stative) singular of verbs that ended in a long vowel, when the long vowel originated from earlier short vowel plus laryngeal. All of the other formations found in Greek, Italic, and Tocharian are secondary elaborations. But, we can go back even farther — it is my contention that the *-k-* originally characterized the 1st person exclusively, from which it spread to other persons. Of course, this suggestion is not new. Sturtevant (1942:87—88) suggested that **-k-* developed in the 1st person singular when a root-final laryngeal was followed by the ending **-xe* (that is, **-H$_2$e* [Kuryłowicz would write **-ə̯$_2$e*]). Though a laryngeal explanation along these lines has not been generally accepted (cf. Messing 1947:202—203), the suggestion that the *-k-* was originally confined to the 1st person singular is still worthy of consideration, especially in view of the evidence from other Nostratic languages.

D. Uralic: Hungarian 1st person subjective ending *-k*; Selkup Samoyed 1st person subjective ending *-k*. The 1st person ending *-k* may also survive in the Permian languages in the negative verb: Zyrian / Komi *o-g* 'I am not',

*e-g* ‘I was not’; Votyak / Udmurt *u-g* ‘I am not’. Greenberg 2000:67—68; Collinder 1960:309, §996.

E. Etruscan: First person singular passive preterite ending *-χe*, as in: *mi araθiale ziχuχe* ‘I was written for Araθ’, *mi titasi cver menaχe* ‘I was offered as a gift to Tita’ or ‘I was offered as a gift by Tita’ (cf. Bonfante—Bonfante 2002:101). This ending is also found in Raetic: *tina-χe* ‘I have given, I gave’ (cf. Sverdrup 2002:98).

Greenberg 2000:67—70; Dolgopolsky 1984:89—90 **HVkE*.

402. Proto-Nostratic demonstrative pronoun stem:
Proximate: **kʰa-* (~ **kʰə-*) ‘this’;
Intermediate: **kʰi-* (~ **kʰe-*) ‘that’;
Distant: **kʰu-* (~ **kʰo-*) ‘that yonder’

A. Proto-Afrasian **ka-*, **ki-*, **ku-* demonstrative pronoun stem: Semitic: Aramaic *-χ* (< **-k*) in *dēχ* ‘that’; Arabic *-k* in *ðāka*, *ðālika* ‘that’; Mehri *-k* in *ðāk* ‘that’; Geez / Ethiopic *-(k)ku* [-ሁ] an element expressing distance as in *zəkku* ‘that’; Gurage *ka* ‘that’, (Chaha) *kəm* in *kəməkəm* ‘such and such’, *-x* (< **-k*) in *zax* ‘that’; Amharic *-h* (< **-k*) in *zih* ‘this’. Barth 1913:80—83; Brockelmann 1908—1913.I:318 and I:323—324; Leslau 1979:331, 343 and 1987:271, 635. Highland East Cushitic: Burji (m. sg.) *kú* ‘this’, (m./f. sg./pl.) *káaci* ‘that, those’, (m./f. pl.) *cí* ‘these’; Gedeo / Darasa (m. sg./pl.) *kunni* ‘this, these’, (m. sg./pl.) *ikki* ‘that, those’; Hadiyya (m. sg./pl., f. pl.) *ku(k)* ‘this, these’, (m. sg./pl., f. pl.) *o(k)* ‘that, those’; Kambata (m. sg./pl., f. pl.) *ku* ‘this, these’; Sidamo (m. sg.) *kuni* ‘this’, (m. sg., m./f. pl.) *kuuʔu* ‘that, those’, (m. pl.) *kuni*, *kuri* ‘these’. Hudson 1976:255—256 and 1989:150—151, 153; Sasse 1982:111. Cushitic: Galla / Oromo (Wellegga) near demonstratives: (subject) *kun(i)*, (base) *kana* ‘this’. Proto-Southern Cushitic (m.) **ʔuukaa* ‘this’, (m. bound) **kaa* ‘this’ > Iraqw *ka* ‘this’ (neuter ?); Burunge (m.) *ki* ‘this’, (m.) *kaʔa* ‘that’; K’wadza *-(u)ko* masculine gender marker’; Ma’a *ka* ‘this’; Asa *-(u)k*, *-ok* masculine gender marker; Dahalo *ʔuukwa* ‘this’. Ehret 1980:296. Omotic: Aari unaffixed 3rd person pronominal stems (m. sg.) *kí*, (f. sg.) *kó*, (m./f. pl.) *ké*. Ehret 1995:194, no. 309, **kaa* ‘this’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **-k-* pronoun stem: Georgian [*-k-*]; Mingrelian [*-k-*]; Laz [*-k-*]. In the modern Kartvelian languages, **-k-* is only found in its historical derivatives (cf. Georgian *a-k-a* ‘here’, *i-k-i* ‘there’). Klimov 1964:194 **-k-* and 1998:211*-*k-* pronoun stem; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:368—369 **-k-*; Fähnrich 2007:453—454 **-k-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰe-/*kʰo-*, **kʰi-* demonstrative pronoun stem: Hittite (nom. sg.) *ka-a-aš*, (nom.-acc. sg. neuter) *ki-i* ‘this, that’; Palaic *ka-* ‘this (one)’, *ki-i-at* ‘here’; Greek *κε in: ἐ-κεῖνος, (poet.) κεῖνος (Aeolian κῆνος) ‘that person or thing, that person there’, ἐ-κεῖ ‘there, in that place’,

ἐ-κεῖθεν, (poet.) κεῖθεν ‘from that place, thence’; Latin *ce-* in *ce-do* ‘give here!’, *-c(e)* in: *hi-c*, *sī-c*, *illī-c*, *illū-c*, *tun-c*, *nun-c*, *ec-ce*; *ci-* in: *cis* ‘on this side’, *citer* ‘on this side’, *citrō* ‘to this side’, *citrā* ‘on this side, nearer’; Old Irish *cé* in *bith cé* ‘this world’; Gothic *hēr* ‘here, hither’, *hi-* pronominal stem preserved in the adverbial phrases *himma daga* ‘on this day, today’, *fram himma* ‘from henceforth’, *und hina dag* ‘to this day’, *und hita*, *und hita nu* ‘till now, hitherto’ and in *hiri* ‘come here!’, *hidrē* ‘hither’; Old Icelandic *hann* ‘he’, *hér* ‘here’, *heðra* ‘here, hither’, *hinn* ‘the other, (emphatically) that’; Old English *hē* ‘he’, *hīe* ‘they’, *hider* ‘hither’, *hēr* ‘here’; Old Frisian *hi*, *he* ‘here’, *hīr* ‘here’; Old Saxon *hi*, *he*, *hie* ‘he’, *hēr*, *hīr* ‘here’; Old High German *hia(r)* ‘here’ (New High German *hier*), *hin(n)a* ‘hence, thither, that way, over there’ (New High German *hin*), *hin(n)ān*, *hin(n)ana* ‘away from here, from hence’ (New High German *hinnen* — only in *aus hinnen*); Lithuanian *šìs* ‘this’; Old Church Slavic *sь* ‘this’. Pokorny 1959:609—610 **k̂o-*, **k̂e-* ‘this’; Walde 1927—1932.I:452—454 **k̂o-*, **k̂e-*; Mann 1984—1987:606 **k̂ei* (**k̂eu̯*, **k̂ein-*) ‘here, there; hither, thither’, 617 **k̂id* (**k̂ide*, **k̂idə*) ‘hither, here’, 619 **k̂is*, (f.) **k̂u̯ā*, **k̂u̯ə*, (n.) **k̂id* ‘this, he (she), it’, 620 **k̂it-* ‘this way, hither’, 621 **k̂u̯ā*, **k̂u̯ə*, 621 **k̂u̯ē* ‘here, hither’, 622 **k̂u̯ēmo*, **k̂im-* ‘hither’, 622 **k̂u̯en-* (**k̂u̯on-*, **k̂in-*) ‘this’; Watkins 1985:32 **ko-* and 2000:43 **ko-* stem of demonstrative pronoun meaning ‘this’; Mallory—Adams 1997:458 **k̂ís* ‘this (one)’; Puhvel 1984— .4:3—12 **k̂e-*, **k̂o-*, **k̂i-*; Beekes 2010.I:397 **ḱe*, **ḱi*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:329 **ke-*/**ki-*; Boisacq 1950:233 **k̂o-*, **k̂i-*, **k̂u̯o-* and 234; Frisk 1970—1973.I:475—476 **k̂e*, **k̂i* and I:476; Hofmann 1966:75—76 **k̂o-*, **k̂i-*, **k̂u̯o-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:109 **ke* and 123; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:192—193 **k̂e*, **ko-*; **k̂i* (adv.), **k̂(i)u̯o-* and I:222; De Vaan 2008:102 **ḱe*, **ḱi* ‘this, here’; Orël 2003:172 Proto-Germanic **xēᵤ̯r*, 172 **xi̯ˇ*; Kroonen 2013:225 Proto-Germanic **hi* ‘this, these’ and 225 **hiar* ‘here’; Feist 1939:254 **k̂ēu̯-r* and 255 **k̂eu̯-*, **k̂i-* (**k̂u̯o-*); Lehmann 1986:182 **k̂ey-* + adv. *-r* and 182—183 **k̂ey-* ‘here, this’; De Vries 1977:209 **k̂e-*, **k̂o-*, 215, 222—223, and 228; Onions 1966:432, 437, and 442; Klein 1971:337 **k̂i-* ‘this one’, 343 **k̂i-* ‘this; here’, and 348; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:307 **k̂e-* ‘here’ and 309; Kluge—Seebold 1989:309 under *hier*, **kei-* ‘here’; under *hin*, **ḱi-*; and 310; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:990; Smoczyński 2007.1:639—640 **ḱi-*; Derksen 2008:484 **ḱi-* and 2015:450—451 **ḱi-*.

D. Proto-Altaic **kʰo-* (~ **k-*) ‘this’: Proto-Mongolian **kü* deictic particle > Written Mongolian *ene kü* ‘exactly this’, *tere kü* ‘exactly that’; Khalkha *χ̄ū̄*; Ordos *kū̄*; Dagur *ke*, *kē*. Proto-Turkic **kö* ‘this’ > Salar *ku* ‘this’; Sary-Uighur *gu*, *go* ‘this’; Chuvash *ko*, *kъv* ‘this’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:709 **ko* (~ **kʻ-*) ‘this’.

E. Gilyak / Nivkh (Amur) *kud'*, (East Sakhalin) *kud*, *kunt* ‘that (absent in the present situation, formerly referred to in the previous discourse)’.

F. Etruscan (archaic) *ika* ‘this’, (later) *eca*, *ca*.

Sumerian *ki* ‘there, where’.

Greenberg 2000:91—94; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 982, **Ḳ[ü]* demonstrative pronoun (animate ?); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:403—404, no. 241.

403. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k$^{h}$ab-a* ‘he-goat, male sheep, buck, ram’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **kab-* ‘he-goat, male sheep, buck, ram’: Proto-Semitic **kab-aṯ-* ‘lamb, he-goat, male sheep, buck, ram’ > Hebrew *keβeś* [כֶּבֶשׂ] ‘lamb’; Syriac *kebšā* ‘lamb’ (Arabic loan); Akkadian *kabsu* ‘young (male) sheep’; Amorite *kabś(ān)um* ‘lamb’; Arabic *kabš* ‘ram, male sheep’; Ḥarsūsi *kabś* ‘lamb’; Soqoṭri *kubś* ‘goat’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *kɔbś* ‘lamb’; Mehri *kábś* ‘(male) lamb’. Murtonen 1989:227; Klein 1987:270.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k$^{h}$ab-ro-* > (with progressive voicing assimilation) **k$^{h}$ap$^{h}$-ro-* ‘he-goat, buck’: Greek κάπρος ‘wild boar’; Latin *caper* ‘he-goat’; Umbrian *kabru* ‘he-goat’; Old Irish *gabor* ‘goat’; Welsh *gafr* ‘he-goat’; Old Icelandic *hafr* ‘he-goat, buck’; Faroese *havur* ‘he-goat, buck’; Old English *hæfer* ‘buck, he-goat’; East Franconian *Haberling* ‘year-old he-goat’; New High German (dial.) *Haber-* in *Habergeiß* ‘bogeyman’. Pokorny 1959:529 **kapro-* ‘he-goat’; Walde 1927—1932.I:347—348 **kapro-*; Watkins 1985:27 **kapro-* and 2000:37 **kap-ro-* ‘he-goat, buck’; Mann 1984—1987:462 **kapros*, *-ā* ‘goat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:229 **kápros* ‘he-goat’; Frisk 1970—1973.I:782—783 **kápros*; Boisacq 1950:409 **qapro-s*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:495; Hofmann 1966:132; Beekes 2010.I:639—640 **kapro-* (root **kh$_{2}$p-*); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:157—158 **kapros*; De Vaan 2008:89; Ernout—Meillet 1979:94—95; Orël 2003:148 Proto-Germanic **xaƀraz*; Kroonen 2013:198 Proto-Germanic **hafra-* ‘billy goat, buck’; De Vries 1977:201. Sanskrit *kápṛt* ‘penis’ may belong here as well (cf. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:157).

Buck 1949:3.26 ram; 3.37 he-goat. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:412, no. 253; Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 843, **kabV* ‘sheep, goat’.

404. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k$^{h}$ab-a* ‘foot, hoof’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **kab-* ‘(sg.) foot, hoof; (pl.) shoes’: Egyptian *kbwỉ* ‘sole (of foot)’, *ṯbwt*, *ṯbt* ‘sole (of foot), sandal’. Hannig 1995:880 and 951; Faulkner 1962:304; Gardiner 1957:601; Erman—Grapow 1921:208 and 1926—1963.5:118, 5:361—363. West Chadic **kab-* ‘shoes’ > Angas *kaap* ‘shoes’. Proto-East Cushitic **kab-*/**kob-* ‘(sg./sglt.) foot, hoof, footprint; (pl./coll.) shoes’ > Burji *kótt-ee* (< **kob-te*) ‘foot, hoof’; Saho *kab-ela* ‘shoes’; Afar *kab-el* ‘shoes’; Arbore *kob-o* ‘shoes’; Dasenech *kob* ‘shoes’; Elmolo *kop* ‘shoes’; Sidamo *kotte* ‘shoe’; Somali *kab* ‘shoes’; Rendille *kob* ‘shoes’; Galla / Oromo *kop’-ee* ~ *kob-ee* ‘shoes’, *kottee* (< **kob-tee*) ‘paw,

hoof, spoor'; Konso *xop-ta* 'footprint, sandal'; Gidole (sglt.) *hof-t* 'footprint', (pl.) *hop-a* 'shoe(s)'. Sasse 1979:12 and 1982:119; Hudson 1989:133. East Cushitic (Werizoid) **xop-* 'shoe, sandal' > Gawwada *xope* 'shoe, sandal'. Orël—Stolbova 1995:307, no. 1406, **kab-* 'shoe, sandal'. According to Orël—Stolbova, the *-o-* in East Cushitic **kob-* is a "secondary *-o-* before a labial".

B. Proto-Indo-European **$k^hab$-* > (with progressive voicing assimilation and with laryngeal suffix, as suggested by Mallory—Adams 1997:272 and Watkins 2000:43) **$k^h\check{a}p^h$-Ho-* 'hoof': Sanskrit *śaphá-ḥ* 'hoof'; Avestan *safa* 'hoof of the horse'; Old Icelandic *hófr* 'hoof'; Norwegian *hov* 'hoof'; Swedish *hov* 'hoof'; Danish *hov* 'hoof'; Old English *hōf* 'hoof'; Old Frisian *hōf* 'hoof'; Old Saxon *hōf* 'hoof'; Dutch *hoef* 'hoof'; Old High German *huof* 'hoof' (New High German *Huf*). Pokorny 1959:530 **$\hat{k}\check{a}$pho-* or **$\hat{k}\check{o}$pho-* 'hoof'; Walde 1927—1932.I:346 **$\hat{k}\check{a}$pho-* or **$\hat{k}\check{o}$pho-*; Mann 1984—1987:531 [**kōp-*]; Watkins 1985:27 **kap(h)o-* (lengthened-grade form **kāp(h)o-* in Germanic **χōfaz*) and 2000:43 **kop-ə̯o-* 'hoof'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:31 **Kop$^h$o-* and 1995.I:28 **Kop$^h$o-* 'hoof'; Mallory—Adams 1997:272 **$\hat{k}$oph$_2$ós* 'hoof'; Orël 2003:181 Proto-Germanic **xōfaz*; Kroonen 2013:238—239 Proto-Germanic **hōfa-* 'hoof'; De Vries 1977:247; Onions 1966:447 Common Germanic **χōfaz*; Klein 1971:362; Hoad 1986:220; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:318 **$\hat{k}\check{a}$pho-* or **$\hat{k}\check{o}$pho-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:318; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:301; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:297.

Buck 1949:6.51 shoe. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:412, no. 253; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1108, **Ḳaṗ[ä]* 'palm of hand, sole of foot; hoof'.

405. Proto-Nostratic root **$k^h$ad-* (~ **$k^h$əd-*):
(vb.) **$k^h$ad-* 'to cover, to wrap, to clothe';
(n.) **$k^h$ad-a* 'covering, shield, protection'
Perhaps identical to:
(vb.) **$k^h$ad-* 'to tie, to bind';
(n.) **$k^h$ad-a* 'tie, band, fastening'

A. Proto-Afrasian **kad-* 'to cover, to wrap': Proto-Semitic **kad-an-* 'to cover, to wrap' > Arabic *kadana* 'to wrap oneself in clothes, to yoke oxen to the plow'; Akkadian *kidinnu* 'divine protection' (< **kadānu* 'to protect' < 'to cover'); Geez / Ethiopic *kadana* [**ከደነ**] 'to cover, to wrap, to clothe, to hide, to veil, to close, to protect, to forgive (sins)'; Tigrinya *kädänä* 'to cover, to clothe'; Tigre *kädna* 'to cover'; Harari *xädäna* 'to cover, to thatch', *mäxdaň* 'cover of any kind, lid'; Amharic *käddänä* 'to cover the roof with straw, to cover a pot'; Gurage *kädänä* 'to thatch a house, to cover with a lid'. Leslau 1963:96, 1979:337, and 1987:275—276.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṭi* ‘protection, safeguard, defense’, *kaṭikai* ‘shield’; Kannaḍa *kaḍitale* ‘shield’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:106, no. 1127.
C. Proto-Eskimo **qaðəliʁ-* ‘to cover’: Central Siberian Yupik *qayəliʁ-* ‘to cover’; Sirenik *qaciʁ-* ‘to heave up on (sled), to cover’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qalliq-* ‘to cover’; North Alaskan Inuit *qalliq-* ‘to cover’; Western Canadian Inuit *qalliqtuq-* ‘to heap up (on top)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qalli(C)-* ‘to press down (once)’; Greenlandic *qaɬɬiʁ-* ‘to cover’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:274.

Buck 1949:10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 12.26 cover (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:424—425, no. 267.

406. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰad-* (~ **kʰəd-*):
(vb.) **kʰad-* ‘to tie, to bind’;
(n.) **kʰad-a* ‘tie, band, fastening’
Perhaps identical to:
(vb.) **kʰad-* ‘to cover, to wrap, to clothe’;
(n.) **kʰad-a* ‘covering, shield, protection’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **kad-kad-* ‘to tie, to bind’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kʷadkʷada* [ቀዶቀዶ] ‘to tie, to bind’; Tigrinya *kʷäkkʷädä* (< *kʷadkʷada*) ‘to tie’; Amharic *kʷädäkkʷädä* ‘to tie up (a criminal or prisoner)’. Leslau 1987:275.
B. [Dravidian: Tamil *kaṭṭu* (*kaṭṭi-*) ‘(vb.) to tie, to fasten, to build, to wear, to put on, to bind by spells, to marry, to shut up, to store, to hug, to compare with, to be equal; (n.) tie, band, fastening, regulations, custom, building, marriage, bundle, packet, dam, causeway’, *kaṭṭaṭam* ‘building, binding of a book, setting of a jewel’, *kaṭṭaṇam* ‘building’, *kaṭṭaḷai* ‘code, rule, regulations’, *kaṭṭai* ‘dam’; Malayalam *keṭṭuka* ‘to tie, to build, to clasp, to yoke, to dress, to marry, to make into a bundle, to stop, to restrain, to become entangled, to clot’, *keṭṭikka* ‘to cause to tie, to make to wear, to give in marriage’, *keṭṭu* ‘tie, bundle, band, connection (as in marriage), restraint, dam, bank, building’, *keṭṭakam* ‘house’, *kaṭṭu* ‘tie, bundle’; Kota *kaṭ-* (*kac-*) ‘to tie, to build, to manage (house), to be equal’, *kaṭ* ‘knot, caste custom, case of which decision has been given’, *kaṭaṛm* ‘wall of brick or stone’, *kaṭaṇ* ‘caste custom, individual’s habit’; Toda *koṭ-* (*koty-*) ‘to tie, to build, to kill by witchcraft, to obstruct, to manage (a house)’, *koṭ* ‘knot, bundle, amulet’, *koṭaṣ* ‘noose’; Kannaḍa *kaṭṭu* ‘(vb.) to tie, to bind, to yoke, to build, to shut up, to stop by magic, to bewitch, to amass (wealth), to obstruct, to shut, to dam, to be bound, to be stopped; (n.) building, tying, checking, restraint, band, tie, bundle, something built, regulation, rule, bewitching’, *kaṭṭuvike* ‘tying, etc.’, *kaṭṭuka* ‘man who ties’, *kaṭṭaḍa*, *kaṭṭaṇa*, *kaṭṇa* ‘a building’, *kaṭṭal* ‘state of being bound, tied, surrounded’, *kaṭṭe* ‘structure of earth or stones to sit upon, embankment, dam,

causeway', *gaṭṭu* 'dam, embankment', *gaṭṭe* 'bale, bundle'; Koḍagu *këṭṭ-* (*këṭṭi-*) 'to tie, to build', *këṭṭï* 'knot, bundle', *kaṭṭe* 'bund of tank, platform built under tree on village green', *kaṭṭaḍa* 'a building'; Tuḷu *kaṭṭuni* 'to tie, to bind, to build, to amass (wealth)', *kaṭṭāvuni* 'to cause to bind or tie, to have a house built', *kaṭṭu* 'band, tie, bundle, regulation, bond', *kaṭṭaṇa*, *kaṭṭalme* 'building', *kaṭṭa* 'a dam', *kaṭṭaḷe* 'custom, rule', *kaṭṭāṇi* 'necklace'; Telugu *kaṭṭu* '(vb.) to tie, to bind, to wear (clothes), to build, to bewitch, to obstruct; (n.) tie, bond, knot, band, wearing of a garment, restraint, rule or regulation', *kaṭṭincu* 'to get built, to cause to be bound or tied', *kaṭṭa* 'dam, embankment; bundle', *kaṭṭaḍa*, *kaṭṭaḍi* 'rule, law, fashion, manner', *kaṭṭaḍamu* 'building', *kaṭṭanamu* 'a tie', *gaṭṭu* 'dam, embankment'; Kolami *kaṭ-* (*kaṭt-*) 'to tie, to build', *kaṭṭā* 'platform', *kaṭṭa* 'bund of field'; Naikṛi *kaṭṭ-* 'to tie, to build', *kaṭṭa* 'bund of field, dam, dike', *kaṭṭe* 'necklace'; Naiki (of Chanda) *kaṭ-*/*kaṭṭ-* 'to bind, to tie hair, to build, to attach bowstring'; Parji *kaṭṭ-* 'to tie, to build', *kaḍk-* 'to tie, to fasten, to build', *kaṭṭa* 'bund of field'; Gadba (Ollari) *kaṭ-* 'to tie, to build', (Salur) *kaṭṭ-* 'to bind', *gaṭṭu* 'bank'; Gondi *kaṭṭānā* 'to be shut (of door), to close or come to grips (of two men fighting)', *kaṭṭitānā* 'to adhere, to be attached to', *kaṭṭā* 'a dam in the river for catching fish', *kaṭṭa* 'bund, embankment', *kaṭ* 'bank of a river'; Konḍa *kaṭa* 'bundle (of hay, etc.)', *gaṭu* 'bund, bank (of a river, tank, etc.)', *kaṭis-* 'to yoke (plow)'; Pengo *kaṭa* 'bank of a river'; Kui *kāṭ-* 'to fix, to fasten, to secure'; Kuwi *gaṭṭu* 'bund of a field', *kādagattu* 'bank of a river', *gaṭu* 'boundary, beach, shore; end of a table, field, etc.'; Malto *gaṭa* 'rope, cord'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:108, no. 1147; Krishnamurti 2003:199 **kaṭ-*/**kaṭṭ-* 'to tie, to bind', **kaṭṭ-ay-* 'a dam'.] These forms may belong under Proto-Nostratic root **k'ad-* (~ **k'əd-*) '(vb.) to tie, to fasten; to build, to construct; (n.) tie, band, fastening' instead.

Sumerian *kàd* 'to fasten, to tie, to bind', $kad_5$ 'to tie, to fasten'.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:424—425, no. 267.

407. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k*$^{h}$*al-a* 'female in-law':
Note also:
(n.) **k'el-a* 'female in-law'

A. Proto-Afrasian **kal-* 'female in-law': Proto-Semitic **kall-* 'daughter-in-law, bride' > Akkadian *kallatu*, *kallutu* 'daughter-in-law, wife of son living in his father's household, bride, sister-in-law'; Hebrew *kallāh* [כַּלָּה] 'bride, betrothed; daughter-in-law'; Palmyrene *klh* 'bride'; Jewish Aramaic *kallәθā* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Ugaritic *klt* 'bride, daughter-in-law (?)'; Sabaean *hklln* 'to give in marriage'; Soqoṭri *kə́lan* 'bridegroom'; Mehri *kəlōn* 'bride, groom'; Hōbyōt *kúlún* 'bridegroom', *kulúnt-* 'bride'; Śḥeri /

Jibbāli *kólún* ‘bride, bridegroom’; Ḥarsūsi *kelōn* ‘bridegroom’, *kelōnet* ‘bride’. Klein 1987:277. West Chadic **kalya-* ‘woman’ > Zakshi *kyel* ‘woman’; Zem *kal* ‘woman’; Zaar *kəl* ‘woman’; Buu *kəl* ‘woman’; Dokshi *kəli* ‘woman’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:310, no. 1419, **kal-* ‘female in-law’.

B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *xallī* ‘father’s younger brother’s wife’; Malto *qali* ‘mother’s sister’, *qalapo* ‘sister’s son’, *qalapi* ‘sister’s daughter’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1318.

C. Kartvelian: Old Georgian *kal-i* ‘maiden’ (Georgian *kal-i* ‘woman, daughter’).

D. Proto-Uralic **kälɜ* (**kälɜ-wɜ*) ‘sister-in-law’: Finnish *käly* ‘husband’s sister; wife’s sister; wife of the husband’s brother; wife of the wife’s brother’; Estonian *käli* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’; Lapp / Saami *galojædne* ‘husband’s brother’s wife’; Mordvin (Moksha) *kel* ‘wife’s sister; wife’s brother’s daughter’; Zyrian / Komi *kel* ‘wife’s sister; wife’s brother’s daughter’; Ostyak / Xanty *küli* ‘wife’s sister; wife’s brother’s daughter’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *seel* ‘brother-in-law (husbands of two sisters)’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *sealuŋ* ‘brother-in-law’; (?) Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *seði*, (Baiha) *seri* ‘brother-in-law’; (?) Selkup Samoyed *šäl* ‘the husband of the wife’s sister or female cousin; the wife of the wife’s brother or male cousin; the husband of the husband’s sister or female cousin; the wife of the husband’s brother or male cousin’. Collinder 1955:23, 1960:406 **kälü*, and 1977:43; Sammallahti 1988:538 **käläw* ‘in-law’; Rédei 1986—1988:135—136 **kälɜ* (**kälɜ-wɜ*); Décsy 1990:100 **kälä(vä)* ‘sister-in-law’; Janhunen 1977b:67 **kelə̂*. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *kel'il* ‘the husband of the wife’s sister or female cousin; the wife of the wife’s brother or male cousin; the husband of the husband’s sister or female cousin; the wife of the husband’s brother or male cousin’. Nikolaeva 2006:205.

Buck 1949:2.66 sister-in-law. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:295—296, no. 162, **kälU* ‘female relation’; Koskinen 1980:19, no. 47; Dolgopolsky 1998:85—87 **kälu/ü* ‘a woman of the other exogamous moiety’ (→ ‘female relative-in-law, bride’) and 2008, no. 862, **kälû* ‘a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety’ (→ ‘female relative-in-law, bride’); Tyler 1968:811, no. 152; Bomhard 1999a:65; Hakola 2000:52, no. 186.

408. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰal-* (~ **kʰəl-*):
(vb.) **kʰal-* ‘to make a noise, to sound; to call out, to shout’;
(n.) **kʰal-a* ‘noise, sound’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kal-* ‘to make a noise, to sound; to call out, to shout’: Proto-Semitic **kal-aħ-* ‘to call, to cry out, to shout’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kalḥa*, *kalləḥa* [ክልሐ] ‘to cry out, to cry, to shout, to cry aloud, to howl’; Tigre *kälaḥ* ‘little bell’; Tigrinya *(tä)kalḥe* ‘to argue with one another, to

quarrel'; Harari *kälaḥa* 'to call someone by shouting'. Amharic *(a)klalla* 'to make a thundering noise', *källälä* 'to resound'. Leslau 1987:282—283. Cushitic: Beja / Beḍawye *kalá?* (pl. *kálʾa*) 'bell'; Saho *kalah* 'to shout'; Awngi / Awiya *kəläx-x$^{w}$a* 'to shout'. According to Leslau (1987:283), the Cushitic forms may be loans from Ethiopian Semitic.

B. Dravidian: Tamil (reduplicated) *kalakala* 'to reiterate a sound, to rustle, to tinkle, to chink, to clink, to rattle', *kali* 'to sound, to clamor, to roar', *kallu* (*kalli-*) 'to cause to sound (as a drum)', *kaḷakaḷa* 'to rattle, to chatter, to gurgle', *kaḷan* 'sound, noise'; Malayalam *kaḷakaḷa* 'confused noise, buzz, din'; Kannaḍa *kalakala* 'confused noise, the murmuring or buzz of a crowd', *kaḷakaḷa* 'noise, clamor, tumult, chattering of birds, the noise of rice when nearly boiled'; Tuḷu *kalakala* 'a confused noise, hum', *kalkuni*, *kaḷku*, *kālku* 'to cry as a demon or one possessed by an evil spirit'; Telugu *kalakala* imitative word representing laughter; Kuwi *kālori a-* 'to shout', *kālovi* 'sound', *kalōvi* 'noise'; Naiki (of Chanda) *kalla* 'noise'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:121—122, no. 1302; Krishnamurti 2003:486 **kala-kala-* 'to rustle, to tinkle, to rattle' (onomatopoeic).

C. Proto-Indo-European **k$^{h}$el-*/**k$^{h}$ol-*, **k$^{h}$al-* '(vb.) to make a noise, to sound; to call out, to shout; (n.) noise, sound': Greek καλέω 'to call, to summon', κέλαδος 'noise'; Latin *calō* 'to call, to summon', *clāmō* 'to call, to shout, to cry aloud'; Old Icelandic *hjala* 'to chatter, to talk', *hlóa* 'to bellow, to roar'; Old English *hiellan* 'to make a noise', *hlōwan* 'to low, to make a loud sound'; Old Saxon *hlōwan* 'to low, to roar'; Old Low Frankish *hluoien* 'to roar'; Dutch *hloeien* 'to roar'; Old High German *halōn* 'to call, to fetch', *hloujen* 'to low, to roar'; Middle High German *hëllen* 'to resound'; Lithuanian *kalbà* 'language'; Latvian *kaḷuôt* 'to chatter'; Hittite *kalleš-*, *kalliš-* 'to evoke, to summon', (reduplicated) *kalgalinai-* 'to clang, to clash'. Rix 1998a:321—322 **kleh$_{1}$-* 'to call'; Pokorny 1959:548—550 **kel-* 'to call'; Walde 1927—1932.I:443—446 **kel-*; Mann 1984—1987:464 **kal-* (**kalāi̯ō*, **kalei̯ō*) 'to call, to name, to summon, to invite, to accuse', 487 **kelō*, *-i̯ō* 'to roar, to din, to shout', 507 **klāmō*, *-i̯ō* 'to shout', 515 **kl̥-* (**kəl-*) radical type: 'to call, to name, to abuse'; Watkins 1985:28—29 **kelə-* (variant form **klā-* < **klaH-*) and 2000:39 **kelə-* 'to shout' (with variant [metathesized] form **kleH$_{2}$-*, colored to **klaH$_{2}$-*, contracted to **klā-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:202 **k[$^{h}$]l̥l-e(s)-* and 1995.I:174 **k$^{h}$l̥l-e(s)-* 'to call'; Mallory—Adams 1997:90 **kelh$_{1}$-* 'to call out to'; Boisacq 1950:397—398 **qalā-*, **qel(ə)-* and 429; Frisk 1970—1973.I:762—763 and II:813; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:484—485 and I:511 **kel-H$_{2}$-*; Beekes 2010.I:623—624 **klh$_{1}$-*; Hofmann 1966:129 and 138; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:141—142 **qel-* and I:227; De Vaan 2008:84—85; Ernout—Meillet 1979:87—88 and 124—125; Kroonen 2013:231 Proto-Germanic **hlōan-* 'to low, to bellow'; Orël 2003:156 Proto-Germanic **xalōjanan*, 177—178 **xlōanan*; De Vries 1977:230; Onions 1966:538 **klā-*; Klein 1971:431; Kloekhorst 2008b:430—431;

Puhvel 1984— .4:22—24 and 4:25—26; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:207—208 **kel(ə)*-; Smoczyński 2007.1:247—248; Derksen 2015:220 **kelh₁*-.

D. Proto-Eskimo **qaləʁ*- ‘to make characteristic cry (animal)’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qalliʁ*- ‘to yell, to ring, to whistle, to growl’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qalʁiʁ*- ‘to cry, to make inarticulate vocal sound’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *qalʁiʁ*- ‘to cry, to whistle, to shriek’; Central Siberian Yupik *qalʁiʁ*- ‘to cry, to whine, to twitter, to make characteristic sound (animal)’; Sirenik *qaʁləʁ*- ‘to make a characteristic animal sound’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qaʁluq*- ‘to yell, to call (animal)’; North Alaskan Inuit *qalʁuq*- ‘to make characteristic sound (animal)’; Western Canadian Inuit *qalʁuq*- ‘to bark (dogs)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qaʁʁulaaq*- ‘to yell, to make inarticulate cries’; Greenlandic Inuit *qaʁɬuʁ*- ‘to twitter, to squeak, to squeal’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:279. Proto-Eskimo **qalmaʁ*- ‘to call dogs’: Central Alaskan Yupik *qalmaʁ*- ‘to summon a dog vocally, to try to attract a man by flirting (woman)’; Central Siberian Yupik *qalmaʁ*- ‘to summon a dog vocally’; Western Canadian Inuit *qammaq*- ‘to call, to lure an animal’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qammatuq*- ‘to call (dogs)’; Greenlandic Inuit *qaʁmaʁ*- ‘to call, to lure (dog)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:279. Proto-Inuit **qaləŋu*- ‘to growl’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *qaliŋuzit*-, *qaliŋužaaq*- ‘to growl’; North Alaskan Inuit *qaliŋu*- ‘to growl’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qaliŋulaaq*-, *qatiŋula(a)q*- ‘to growl’; Greenlandic Inuit *qaliŋuuq*- ‘to growl, to show the teeth (dog)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:279.

Buck 1949:18.13 shout, cry out; 18.24 language; 18.41 call (vb. = summon). Möller 1911:126 and 133; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:406, no. 244; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1049, **ḳa[L]VħV* ‘to shout, to cry, to weep, to make noise’.

409. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰal*- (~ **kʰəl*-):
(vb.) **kʰal*- ‘to guard, to hold (back), to watch’;
(n.) **kʰal-a* ‘protection, care, support; restraint, detention, custody, hold’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kal*- ‘to guard, to hold (back), to watch’: Proto-Semitic **kal-aʔ*- ‘to guard, to watch, to hold back’, (reduplicated) **kal-kal*- ‘to hold back, to withhold, to prevent’ > Hebrew *kālāʾ* [כָּלָא] ‘to shut up, to restrain, to withhold’; Syriac *kəlā* ‘to hold back, to withhold’; Ugaritic *klʾ* ‘to close, to shut’ (?); Arabic *kalaʾa* ‘to guard, to watch, to protect, to preserve’; Mandaic *kla* ‘to hold back, to withhold’; Akkadian *kalū* ‘to detain, to delay, to hold back (a person), to keep in custody, to confine, to prevent, to hinder; to withhold, to refuse goods, to keep, to deny a wish’; Geez / Ethiopic *kalʾa* [ከልአ] ‘to hinder, to prohibit, to forbid, to prevent, to keep back, to hold back, to deprive, to restrain, to impede, to decline, to reject, to refuse’, (reduplicated) *kalkala* [ከልከለ] ‘to hinder, to prevent, to prohibit’; Tigre *kälʾa* ‘to hinder, to prevent’, (reduplicated) *kälkälä* ‘to

hinder, to keep back'; Tigrinya *kälʾe* 'to prevent, to forbid', (reduplicated) *kälkälä* 'to hinder, to keep back'; Gurage (Soddo) *källa* 'to prohibit, to forbid, to refuse, to prevent, to deprive', (Soddo) (reduplicated) *(tä)klakkälä* 'to defend, to protect'; Amharic *källa* 'to hinder, to impede, to prevent', (reduplicated) *käläkkälä* 'to prevent, to prohibit, to forbid, to hinder, to impede, to deprive, to bar'; Argobba (reduplicated) *käläkkäla* 'to hinder, to keep back'. Murtonen 1989:231; Klein 1987:276; Zammit 2002:357; Leslau 1979:341, 342 and 1987:281—282, 283. Cushitic: Saho-Afar *kal*, *kale* 'to hold back'.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$k^h$*el-*/*$k^h$*ol-* 'to guard, to watch, to hold (back)': Common Germanic *$\chi$*alðan-* 'to guard, to watch, to hold (back)' > Gothic *haldan* 'to hold, to take care of, to tend'; Old Icelandic *halda* 'to hold fast, to keep back, to restrain, to withhold, to keep, to retain, to preserve, to hold', *hald* 'hold, fastening; keeping in repair; support, backing; custody'; Old Swedish *halla* 'to hold'; Old English *healdan* 'to hold', *geheald* 'keeping, custody, protection'; Old Frisian *halda* 'to hold, to guard'; Old Saxon *haldan* 'to hold, to guard'; Dutch *houden* 'to hold'; Old High German *haltan* 'to hold, to guard' (New High German *halten*). Pokorny 1959:548 **kel-* 'to drive'; Walde 1927—1932.I:442—443 **qel-*; Watkins 1985:28 **kel-* and 2000:39 **kel-* 'to drive, to set in swift motion'; Orël 2003:155 Proto-Germanic **xalđan*, 155 **xalđanan*; Feist 1939:239—240; Lehmann 1986:173—174 **kel-* 'to drive'; De Vries 1977:204; Onions 1966:444; Klein 1971:349; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:285 **kel-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:289; Mallory—Adams 1997:170 **kel-* 'to drive'.

Sumerian *kal* 'to hold, to keep, to retain'.

Buck 1949:11.15 hold; 11.25 preserve, keep safe, save. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:409, no. 248.

410. Proto-Nostratic root *$k^h$*al-* (~ *$k^h$*əl-*):
(vb.) *$k^h$*al-* 'to point out, to make clear, to make known, to disclose, to explain';
(n.) *$k^h$*al-a* 'study, learning; investigation, explanation, clarification'

A. Proto-Afrasian **kal-* 'to point out, to make clear, to make known, to disclose, to explain': Proto-Semitic **kal-am-* 'to point out, to make clear, to make known, to disclose, to explain' > Akkadian *kullumu* 'to show, to reveal, to explain, to disclose'; Arabic *kalama* 'to address, to speak, to talk, to utter, to say', *kalima* 'word, speech, utterance, remark'; Geez / Ethiopic *kelamāṭe* [ኬለማጤ] 'language' (this may be a loan from Arabic); Tigre *kalämäta* 'to incite to fight by praising speeches', *kälamat* 'song'. Leslau 1987:284; Zammit 2002:358.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kal* (*kaṟp-*, *kaṟṟ-*) ‘to learn, to study, to practice (as arts), to acquire skill in the use of arms’, *kalai* ‘arts and sciences, learning, erudition’, *kalvi* ‘studying, learning, erudition, science, practice, scientific work’; Malayalam *kalkka* (*kaṟṟ-*) ‘to learn’, *kala* ‘art, science’; Kota *kal* (*kaṯ-*) ‘to learn’, *kalc-* (*kalc-*) ‘to teach’, *kalyv* ‘education’; Toda *kal-* (*kaṯ-*) ‘to learn’, *kalc-* (*kalč-*) ‘to teach’, *kalfy* ‘education’; Kannaḍa *kal* (*kalt-*), *kali* (*kalit-*) ‘to learn’, *kalisu*, *kalusu* ‘to teach’, *kal* ‘learning’, *kalike* ‘learning, skill’, *kalita*, *kalpi* ‘learning, erudition’, *kaliyuvike* ‘learning, act of learning’, *kale* ‘an art’; Tuḷu *kalpuni* ‘to learn, to study’, *kalpāvuni* ‘to teach, to investigate’, *kalpādi* ‘a learned man, sophist; hypocrite’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:120, no. 1297; Krishnamurti 2003:14 **kal-*/**kaṯ-* ‘to learn’.

C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kalɣero-* ‘to boast, to brag, to show off’: Chukchi *kalero-* ‘to pretend or appear to be rich’, *kalɣotke-* ‘to boast’; Kerek *in-kaaliju-u-* ‘to show’, *kalʲʁu-ttu-* ‘to boast’; Koryak *kalejo-* ‘to boast’. Fortescue 2005:127.

Buck 1949:17.24 learn; 17.25 teach; 18.45 boast (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 407, no. 245.

411. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **kʰalʸ-a* ‘reed, stalk, stem, blade of grass, haulm’:

A. Afrasian: Semitic: the following plant names in Akkadian may belong here (though some of them may be loanwords): *kalbānu* (*kalbannu*, *kulbānu*) a plant (possibly of foreign origin), *kallammeḫu* a plant, *kallaṣūdi* a plant, *kalū* a thorny plant.

B. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *kaḷḷa* name of a plant; Tuḷu *kaḷḷè* a kind of grass. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:129, no. 1384.

C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰolH-mo-*/**kʰl̥H-mo-* ‘reed, stalk, stem, haulm’: Greek κάλαμος ‘reed’, καλάμη ‘the stem or stalk of corn’; Latin *culmus* ‘a stalk, haulm’, *calamus* ‘a reed’ (< Greek κάλαμος); Old Icelandic *hálmr* ‘straw, haulm’; Swedish *halm* ‘straw, haulm’; Norwegian *halm* ‘straw, haulm’; Danish *halm* ‘straw, haulm’; Old English *healm* ‘haulm, straw, stem’ (Middle English *halm*); Old Saxon *halm* ‘stalk, stem, straw’; Dutch *halm* ‘stalk, stem, straw’; Old High German *halm*, *halam* ‘stalk, stem, straw’ (New High German *Halm*); Old Prussian *salme* ‘straw’; Latvian *saĩms* ‘(a single) straw’; Old Church Slavic *slama* ‘straw’; Russian *solóma* [соломa] ‘straw’. Pokorny 1959:612 **k̂oləmos*, **k̂oləmā* ‘grass, reed’; Walde 1927—1932.I:464 **k̂oləmos*, **k̂oləmā*; Mann 1984—1987:630 **k̂l̥m-* ‘stalk, straw, haulm’, 634 **k̂olmos*, *-ā* ‘straw, stalk, haulm’; Watkins 1985:32 **koləm-* (suffixed form **koləm-o-*) and 2000:43 **kolə-mo-* ‘grass, reed’ (oldest form **k̂olə₂-mo-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:542 **k̂ólhₓōm* ‘stalk, stem, straw’; Boisacq 1950:397 **k̂ᵒləmo-s-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:760—761 **k̂oləmo-*, **k̂oləmā-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:483—

484 **koləmo-*, **koləmā*; Beekes 2010.I:621—622 **ḱolh$_2$-m-*, **ḱlh$_2$-em-*; Hofmann 1966:129 **k̂olə-mos*; De Vaan 2008:150; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:303—304 **k̂olə-mos*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:155; Orël 2003:156 Proto-Germanic **xalmaz*; Kroonen 2013:204—205 Proto-Germanic **halma-* 'blade of grass'; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:267; De Vries 1977:206; Onions 1966:430 **kolmos*; Klein 1971:181 and 336; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:285 **k̂oləmos*, **k̂oləmā*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:289 **koləmo-*; Derksen 2008:459 **ḱolh$_2$-m-* and 2015:548 **ḱolh$_2$-m-*.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Volgaic **kalke* '(a single) hair; stalk, stem' > Finnish *kalki* '(a single) hair; straw, haulm'; Lapp / Saami *guol'gâ-* 'hair (but not the hair on the head of human beings); coat, covering of hair'; Mordvin *kalgo* 'chive, shive (of flax)'. Collinder 1955:149 and 1977:158; Rédei 1986—1988:644 **kalke*.

E. Proto-Altaic **k$^h$ălʸo* 'reed, a kind of grass': Proto-Mongolian **kal-* 'reed, feather-grass' > Written Mongolian *qaltalǯi* 'reed, feather-grass'; Khalkha *χaltalǯ* 'reed, feather-grass'; Buriat *χalaχan* 'reed, feather-grass'. Proto-Turkic **KAlʸak* 'bulrush, reedmace' > Karakhanide Turkic *qašaq* 'bulrush, reedmace'; Kirghiz *qašaq* 'bulrush, reedmace', *qašeq* 'aftergrass'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:758 **k'ăĺo* 'reed, a kind of grass'. Due to problems with the semantics, the Tungus forms listed by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak are not included here.

Buck 1949:8.51 grass. Hakola 2000:50, no. 178.

412. Proto-Nostratic root **k$^h$alʸ-* (~ **k$^h$əlʸ-*):
(vb.) **k$^h$alʸ-* 'to rob, to steal, to hide';
(n.) **k$^h$alʸ-a* 'theft'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kaḷ* (*kaṭp-*, *kaṭṭ-*) 'to rob, to steal, to deceive', *kaḷavāṇi*, *kaḷavāḷi*, *kaḷvan* 'thief', *kaḷḷal* 'stealing', *kaḷavu* 'robbery, theft, deceit, hypocrisy, stolen property'; Malayalam *kaḷkukka*, *kakkuka* 'to steal'; Kota *kaḷv-* (*kaḷd-*) 'to steal'; Toda *koḷ* (*koḷd-*) 'to steal'; Kannaḍa *kaḷ* (*kaḷd-*) 'to steal', *kaḷḷa*, *kaḷa* 'thief'; Koḍagu *kaḷ-* (*kapp-*, *kaṭṭ-*) 'to steal'; Telugu *kalla* 'falsehood, untruth, lie, fault, deceit'; Malto *qale* (*qaḍ-*) 'to rob, to steal', *qalwe* 'thief', *qalwi* 'theft'; Brahui *xalling* 'to lift (cattle)', *kalp* 'deceitful'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:127—128, no. 1372; Krishnamurti 2003:95 **kaḷ-* 'to steal'.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k$^h$l-ep$^h$-*/**k$^h$l-op$^h$-* 'to rob, to steal, to hide': Greek κλέπτω 'to steal', κλέπτης 'thief'; Latin *clepō* 'to steal, to conceal oneself', *cleps* 'thief'; Old Irish *cluain* (< **klopni-*) 'deception'; Gothic **hlifan* 'to steal', *hliftus* 'thief'; Tocharian B *kälyp-* 'to steal'; Old Prussian *au-klipts* 'hidden, concealed'. Rix 1998a:323—324 **klep-* 'to steal (secretly)'; Pokorny 1959:604 **k̂lep-* 'to secrete, to steal'; Walde 1927—1932.I:497 **klep-*; Mann 1984—1987:510 **klep-* 'to carry off, to hide, to steal';

Watkins 1985:31 **klep-* and 2000:42 **klep-* ‘to steal’; Mallory—Adams 1997:595 **klep-* ‘± to lay a hand on’; Boisacq 1950:468 **qlep-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:870—871; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:541—542; Hofmann 1966:147; Beekes 2010.I:713—714 **klep-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:127; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:232 **klep-*; De Vaan 2008:120; Orël 2003:175 Proto-Germanic **xlefanan*; Kroonen 2013:230 Proto-Germanic **hlefan-* ‘to steal’; Feist 1939:263 **klep-*; Lehmann 1986:187 **klep-*; Adams 1999:175—176 **klep-* ‘± to touch with the fingers, to investigate’; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:203.

Buck 1949:11.56 steal; 11.57 thief. Caldwell 1913:591; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:423—424, no. 266.

413. Proto-Nostratic root **k$^{h}$am-* (~ **k$^{h}$əm-*) or **q$^{h}$am-* (~ **q$^{h}$əm-*):
(vb.) **k$^{h}$am-* or **q$^{h}$am-* ‘to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch’;
(n.) **k$^{h}$am-a* or **q$^{h}$am-a* ‘grip, hold, hand(ful); bond, fetter’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kam-* ‘to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch’: Proto-Semitic **kam-* (**kam-at̰-*, **kam-aw/y-*) ‘to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch’ > Arabic *kamaša* ‘to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch’, *kamša* ‘a handful’; Akkadian *kamū* ‘to capture, to overcome, to ensnare’, *kamū* ‘fetters’, *kamū* ‘captured, captive’, *kāmū* (f. *kāmītu*) ‘ensnaring’, *kamītu* ‘bonds, captivity’, *kimītu*, *kimūtu* ‘captivity’. Berber: Tuareg *əkməm* ‘to hold on tightly to something vertical; to clench, to press, to squeeze (for example, to weigh down, to bother, to annoy, to worry, to cause difficulties or problems)’, *takmant* ‘a muzzle’; Mzab *takmamt* ‘a muzzle’; Kabyle *kəm*, *kəmməm* ‘to muzzle, to suffocate, to stop someone from speaking’, *takmamt* ‘a muzzle’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **kam-* ‘to hold’ > Iraqw *kom-* ‘to have’; Burunge *kom-* ‘to have’; Asa *kom-* ‘to have’; K’wadza *komos-* ‘to grip’; Dahalo *kam-* ‘to hold’. Ehret 1980:241. Ehret 1995:198, no. 321, **kam-* ‘to hold’.

B. Dravidian: Koraga *kamḍi* ‘to steal’; Telugu *kamucu* ‘to hold, to seize’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:124, no. 1326.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k$^{h}$em-t$^{h}$-/*k$^{h}$om-t$^{h}$-/*k$^{h}$m̥-t$^{h}$-* ‘(vb.) to seize, to grasp, to grip, to clutch; (n.) hand’: Gothic *handus* ‘hand’, *-hinþan* ‘to seize’ (used only in compounds: *fra-hinþan* ‘to capture, to imprison’, *fra-hunþans* ‘prisoner’), *hunþs* ‘booty’; Old Icelandic *hönd* ‘hand’, *henda* ‘to catch with the hand’; Old Swedish *hinna* ‘to obtain’; Swedish *hand* ‘hand’; Norwegian *hand* ‘hand’; Danish *haand* ‘hand’; Old English *hand* ‘hand’, *ge-hendan* ‘to hold’, *hentan* ‘to try to seize, to attack, to seize’, *hūþ* ‘plunder, booty’, *huntian* ‘to hunt’; Old Frisian *hand*, *hond* ‘hand’; Old Saxon *hand* ‘hand’; Dutch *hand* ‘hand’; Old High German *hant* ‘hand’ (New High German *Hand*), *-hunda* in *herihunda* ‘spoils of war’. Mann 1984—1987:631 **k̂m̥t-* (or **km̥t-*) ‘to hold, to seize’; Gamkrelidze—

Ivanov 1984.II:850 **k̂[ʰ]m̥t[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:747 **k̂ʰm̥tʰ-* ‘hand (with outstretched fingers)’; Orël 2003:159 Proto-Germanic **xanđjanan*, 159 **xanđlan* ~ **xanđlō*, 159 **xanđlōjanan*, 159 **xanđuz*, 169 **xenþanan*, 194 **xunþiz* ~ **xunþō*; Kroonen 2013:207—208 Proto-Germanic **handu-* ‘hand’, 227 **hinþan-* ‘to reach for’, and 257 **huntōn-* ‘to chase’; Lehmann 1986:122, 176—177, and 196; Feist 1939:161 **kent-*, **kend-*, 244—245 **k̂omt-*, and 277 **kend-*, **kent-*; De Vries 1977:222 and 281; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:262—263; Onions 1966:425—426 and 453 **kend-*; **kent-*, **kn̥t-*; Klein 1971:333, 342, and 356; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:287; Kluge—Seebold 1989:290; Vercoullie 1898:103; Szemerényi 1960:69; Markey 1984:261—292.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **käme(-ne)* ‘hand; palm, flat of the hand’ > Finnish *kämmen* ‘palm, flat of the hand; paw’; Vote *čämmäl* ‘palm, flat of the hand’; Estonian *kämmal*, *kämmel* ‘palm, flat of the hand’; (?) Lapp / Saami (Kola) *kiem* ‘flat of the hand, hand’; Ostyak / Xanty (Eastern) *kömən* in *kömənkă̮yər* ‘the hollow hands as a measure’. Collinder 1955:87 and 1977:103; Rédei 1986—1988:137 **käme(-ne)*.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:412—413, no. 254.

414. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰam-* (~ **kʰəm-*):
(vb.) **kʰam-* ‘to work, to labor, to toil; to do, to make’;
(n.) **kʰam-a* ‘work, labor, toil’

A. (?) Afrasian: New Egyptian *kmt* ‘metal tool’. Hannig 1995:884.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **kam-/*km-* ‘to do’: Georgian *kam-/km-* ‘to do’; Mingrelian *kim-* ‘to do’; Laz *kom-*, *kum-*, *kip-* ‘to do’. Klimov 1964:196 **kam-/*km-* and 1998:212 **kam-/*km-* ‘to do’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:370—371 **kam-/*km-*; Fähnrich 2007:456—457 **kam-/*km-*; Schmidt 1962:137—138. Proto-Kartvelian **km-en-/*km-n-* ‘to make’: Georgian *kmna* (< **kmen-* < **kam-en-*) ‘to make’; Mingrelian *kimin-* ‘to make’; Laz *(n)kimin-* ‘to knead dough’. Klimov 1964:199 **kmn-* and 1998:218 **km-en-/*km-n-* ‘to make’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰm̥H-* ‘to work, to toil, to labor’: Sanskrit *śā́myati* ‘to toil at, to exert oneself’; Greek κάμνω ‘to work, to labor, to toil, to be weary’. Rix 1998a:287—288 **k̂emh₂-* ‘to become tired, to tire’; Pokorny 1959:557 **k̂em(ə)-* ‘to become tired’; Walde 1927—1932.I:387—388 **k̂em(āˣ)-*; Mann 1984—1987:600 **k̂am-* ‘to do, to act, to toil, to languish’; Watkins 1985:29 **kemə-* ‘to be tired, to tire’; Mallory—Adams 1997:588 **k̂emhₐ-* ‘to grow tired, to tire oneself with work’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:325—326; Boisacq 1950:403—404 **k̂m̥n-*, **k̂emā-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:773—774; Hofmann 1966:131 **k̂m̥-n-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:490 **kʷm-neə̯₂-*, **km-eə̯₂-*, **kʷm-ə̯₂-*; Beekes 2010.I:632 **ḱemh₂-*.

Buck 1949:9.11 do, make; 9.12 work, labor, toil (sb. abstr.); work (sb. concr.); 9.13 work, labor, toil (vb. intr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:416, no. 258.

415. Proto-Nostratic root *$k^h$*am-* (~ *$k^h$*əm-*):
(vb.) *$k^h$*am-* ‘to gather together, to collect’; (adv.) ‘together, along with’;
(n.) *$k^h$*am-a* ‘collection, assemblage, gathering’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kam-* ‘to gather together, to collect’: Semitic: Akkadian *kamāsu* (Middle Assyrian *kamāṣu*) ‘to gather, to collect, to bring in (barley, persons, animals, documents, or objects)’, *kummusu* ‘to gather in barley, to collect or assemble persons; (in the stative) to be assembled, stationed’, *šukmusu* ‘to collect, to place’, *nakmusu* ‘to be gathered’. Berber: Tuareg *kəmət* ‘to gather up, to collect, to pick up; to be picked up, to be gathered up, to be collected’, *akmu* ‘act of picking up, collecting’; Tamazight *kəmməm* ‘to amass, to pick up and carry in one’s arms’, *tukkimt* ‘armful, load, burden’; Kabyle *kəmməm* ‘to amass’, *takumma* ‘armful’, *ukkim* ‘fist, a punch’; Mzab *tçuma* ‘bundle, large package’.
B. Kartvelian: Svan *käm-/km-* (inf. *li-km-e*) ‘to join or add something to somebody or something’, *käma* ‘addition to a share’.
C. Proto-Indo-European *$k^h$*em-/*$k^h$*om-/*$k^h$*ṃ-* ‘to gather together’: Albanian *qem* ‘to gather’; Latvian *k'ems* ‘bunch’. Mann 1984—1987:487 **kem-* ‘to gather’. Proto-Indo-European *$k^h$*om-* ‘together, along with’: Latin *com-*, *cum* ‘together with’; Oscan *com-*, *kúm* ‘together with’; Umbrian *com* ‘with, along with’; Old Irish *com-* ‘with’; Welsh *cyf-*, *cyn-*, *cy-* ‘with’; Gaulish *com-* ‘with’. Pokorny 1959:612—613 **kom* ‘alongside’; Walde 1927—1932.I:458—460 **kom*; Mann 1984—1987:528 **kom*, **kom-* ‘with, together’; Watkins 1985:32 **kom* and 2000:43 **kom* ‘beside, near, by, with’; Mallory—Adams 1997:646 **ko(m)* ‘with, side by side’; Lindsay 1894:581; De Vaan 2008:128 **ḱom* ‘with’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:156; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:251—253; Lewis—Pedersen 1937:78—79; Thurneysen 1946:502—504; Brugmann 1904:478—479 **ko*, **kom*.

Buck 1949:12.21 collect, gather; 12.22 join, unite. Bomhard—Kerns 1994: 414—415, no. 256.

416. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$k^h$*an$^y$*-a* ‘stem, stalk, stick’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **kan-* ‘stem, stalk, shoot’: Proto-Semitic **kann-* ‘stem, stalk, shoot’ > Akkadian *kannu* ‘slip (of a plant), stalk, shoot (of a tree)’; Syriac *kannā* ‘stem (of a tree), stalk, root (of a plant)’; Hebrew *kēn* [כֵּן] ‘base, pedestal; office, place’ (< ‘base [root] of a plant’), *kannāh* [כַּנָּה] ‘plant, shoot’ (a hapax legomenon in the Bible), *kannāh* [כַּנָּה] ‘base, stand’; Tigre *kanät* ‘rowing-pole’. Murtonen 1989:235; Klein 1987:280. Berber: Tawlemmet *təkənit* ‘a kind of plant’; Tamazight *takumət* ‘tan (bark

of an oak)'. Cushitic: Bilin *kə́nā* 'tree'; Kemant *kana* 'tree'; Awngi / Awiya *kani* 'tree'. Appleyard 2006:140.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṇṇi* 'sprout, shoot, tender leaf'; Malayalam *kaṇṇi* 'shoot of betel vines, palm leaves'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:111, no. 1185. Kota *kaṇk* 'thin dry sticks used as kindling or in a bunch as a torch'; Kannaḍa *kaṇike*, *kaṇuku* 'stalk of the great millet when deprived of its ear', *kaṇḍike* 'a stalk or stem'; Tuḷu *kaṇakṳ* 'fuel, firewood'; Telugu *kaṇika* 'a stick'; (?) Kuwi *kandi* 'stick (dried), twig'; Kuṛux *kaŋk* 'wood, fuel, timber'; Malto *kanku* 'wood'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:110, no. 1165. Proto-Dravidian **kān-p-* > **kāmp-* 'stem, stalk, stick': Tamil *kāmpu* 'flower-stalk, flowering branch, handle, shaft, haft'; Malayalam *kāmpu* 'stem, stalk, stick of an umbrella'; Kannaḍa *kāmu*, *kāvu* 'stalk, culm, stem, handle'; Telugu *kāma* 'stem, stalk, stick, handle (of an axe, hoe, umbrella, etc.), shaft'; Gadba (Salur) *kāŋ* 'butt of an axe'; Gondi *kāmē* 'stalk of a spoon', *kāme* 'handle of a ladle'; Kuwi *kamba*, *kāmba* 'handle'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:135, no. 1454.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k$^{h}$ent$^{h}$-*/**k$^{h}$ont$^{h}$-* 'prick, point, spike': Greek κεντέω 'to prick, to goad, to spur on; to sting; to prick, to stab', κέντρον 'any sharp point', κοντός 'a pole'; Latin *contus* 'a pole used for pushing a boat along; a long spear or pike' (< Greek κοντός); Old Irish *cinteir* 'spur'; Welsh *cethr* 'nail, tip'; Breton *kentr* 'spur'; Cornish *kenter* 'spike'; Old High German *hantag*, *hantīg* 'bitter, sharp' (New High German *hantig*). Rix 1998a:290 **k̂ent-* 'to prick, to pierce'; Pokorny 1959:567 **k̂ent-* 'to prick, to pierce, to stab'; Walde 1927—1932.I:402 **k̂ent-*; Mann 1984—1987:609 **k̂ent-* 'prick, point, spike', 609 **k̂entrom*, *-ā* (**k̂n̥tr-*) 'point, spike, spur'; Watkins 1985:29 **kent-* and 2000:40 **kent-* 'to prick, to jab'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:236 **k̂[$^{h}$]ent[$^{h}$]-* and 1995.I:205 **k̂$^{h}$ent$^{h}$-* 'to stab'; Mallory—Adams 1997:509—510 **kent-* 'sharp'; Boisacq 1950:434; Frisk 1970—1973.I:820—821; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:515; Hofmann 1966:139; Beekes 2010.I:672—673 **ḱent-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:140—141; Kluge—Seebold 1989:293.

D. (?) Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kanta-* 'stump' > Finnish *kanta* 'base, stump; standpoint', *kanto* 'stump'; Livonian *kand* 'tree-trunk; stump; substructure of a hayrick'; Lapp / Saami *guoddo*/*gud'du-* 'stump (of a tree)'; Mordvin *kando* 'wind-fallen tree'; Vogul / Mansi *kõõnt* 'vertical support of a storehouse; foot of a pillar (post) of a storehouse'. Collinder 1955:85 and 1977:102; Rédei 1986—1988:123 **kanta*.

Dolgopolsky 1998:69—70, no. 87, **kaǹV(-bV)* 'stalk, trunk' ('log') and 2008, no. 894, **kaǹ|ńV(-ṭV)* 'stalk, trunk of a tree'; Bomhard 1999a:62; Hakola 2000:53, no. 194.

417. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k$^{h}$an$^{y}$-a* ~ **k$^{h}$in$^{y}$-a* ~ **k$^{h}$un$^{y}$-a* 'bee, honey':

A. Afrasian: Proto-East Cushitic **kan(n)-*, **kin(n)-* ‘bee’ > Somali *šinn-i* ‘bee’; Konso *xan-ta* ‘bee’; Gidole *han-t(a)* ‘bee’; Galla / Oromo *kann-i-sa* ‘bee’ (Borana *kinn-ii-sa* ‘bee’ [< **kann-ii-sa*]); Gedeo / Darasa *kinn-ii-sa* ‘bee’. Sasse 1979:6 and 24; Hudson 1989:25.
B. Dravidian: Iruḷa *kunni* ‘bee’; Kota *kuṇy* ‘bee’; (?) Tuḷu *koṇi*, *koṇḍi* ‘a sting’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:170, no. 1867.
C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰn̥H-kʰo-* ‘honey, honey-colored’: Sanskrit *kāñcana-ḥ* ‘golden’, *kāñcaná-m*, *kánaka-m* ‘gold’; Greek κνηκός (Doric κνᾱκός) ‘pale yellow’; Old Icelandic *hunang* ‘honey’; Faroese *hunangur* ‘honey’; Norwegian *huning* ‘honey’; Old Danish *honni(n)g* ‘honey’; Swedish *honung*, *honing* ‘honey’; Old English *hunig* ‘honey’; Old Frisian *hunig* ‘honey’; Old Saxon *honeg*, *huneg* ‘honey’; Middle Dutch *honich*, *honinc* ‘honey’ (Dutch *honig*, *honing*); Old High German *honag*, *honang* ‘honey’ (New High German *Honig*). Pokorny 1959:564—565 **kₑnəkó-* ‘golden (color)’; Walde 1927—1932.I:400 **qₑnəqó-*; Watkins 1985:29 **k(e)nəko-* and 2000:40 **k(e)nəko-* ‘yellow, golden’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:195 **qn̥qenó-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:271 **kn̥hₐónks* ‘honey-colored, golden’; Boisacq 1950:475—476; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:547; Frisk 1970—1973.I:882—883; Hofmann 1966:149; Beekes 2010.I:722—723 **knh₂kó-*; Kroonen 2013:255—256 Proto-Germanic **hunanga-* ‘honey’ (< **kn̥h₂-onḱ-o-*); Orël 2003:193 Proto-Germanic **xunaɣan*; De Vries 1977:266; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:297 **kənako-*; Klein 1971:352; Onions 1966:446 Common Germanic **χuna(ŋ)gam*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:185—186 **kn̥Hko-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:315—316; Kluge—Seebold 1989:315—316 **kn̥ənko-*.

Buck 1949:3.82 bee; 5.84 honey. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:411, no. 251; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1086a, **Ḳ[U]ṅ[H]V* or **k[U]ṅ|ńV* ‘bee’.

418. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰaŋ-* (~ **kʰəŋ-*):
(vb.) **kʰaŋ-* ‘to make a noise, to sound’;
(n.) **kʰaŋ-a* ‘noise, (ringing or tinkling) sound’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *kny* ‘to call’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:132.
B. Dravidian: Tamil (reduplicated) *kaṇakaṇa* ‘to sound, to rattle, to jingle, to tinkle’; Kannaḍa *kaṇa* an imitative sound, (reduplicated) *kaṇakaṇa* ‘the ringing sound of unbroken earthen or metal vessels, bells, etc., when struck with the knuckles’; Tuḷu *gaṇilu̯* ‘tinkling’, *gaṇaṅṅu̯* ‘a tinkling sound’; Telugu (reduplicated) *gaṇagaṇa* ‘the ringing or tinkling of bells’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:110, no. 1162.
C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰan-* ‘to make a noise, to sound’: Greek καναχή ‘sharp sound, the ring or clang of metal’, κανάσσω ‘to pour with a gurgling sound’, καναχέω, καναχίζω ‘to ring, to clash, to clang (of metal)’, ἠϊ-κανός ‘cock, rooster’ (< ‘dawn-singer’); Latin *canō* ‘to sing, to sound,

to play an instrument'; Umbrian *kanetu* 'to sing, to play music'; Old Irish *canim* 'to sing'; Gothic *hana* 'cock, rooster'; Old Icelandic *hani* 'cock, rooster'; Swedish *hane* 'cock, rooster'; Old English *henn* 'hen', *henna* 'fowl', *hana* 'cock, rooster'; Old Frisian *henne* 'hen', *hona* 'cock, rooster'; Old Saxon *hano* 'cock, rooster', *hōn* 'fowl, hen'; Dutch *haan* 'cock, rooster', *hen* 'hen'; Middle Low German *henne* 'hen'; Old High German *henna* 'hen' (New High German *Henne*), *hano* 'cock, rooster' (New High German *Hahn*), *huon* 'fowl, hen' (New High German *Huhn*). Rix 1998a:305—306 **kan-* 'to sing, to sound'; Pokorny 1959:525—526 **kan-* 'to sing'; Walde 1927—1932.I:351 **qan-*; Mann 1984—1987:600—601 **k̂an-* 'to sing, to hum, to bark, to echo'; Watkins 1985:27 **kan-* and 2000:36—37 **kan-* 'to sing'; Mallory—Adams 1997:519 **kan-* 'to sing'; Boisacq 1950:316 and 405; Hofmann 1966:131; Frisk 1970—1973.I:626 and I:776; Beekes 2010.I:634; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:408 and I:491; De Vaan 2008:87—88; Ernout—Meillet 1979:93—94 **k*$^{o}$*ne/o-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:154—155; Orël 2003:161 Proto-Germanic **xanōn*; Kroonen 2013:207 Proto-Germanic **hanan-* 'rooster, singer'; Feist 1939:243—244 **kan-*; Lehmann 1986:176 **kan-* 'to sing'; De Vries 1977:208; Onions 1966:436; Klein 1971:342; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:282; Kluge—Seebold 1989:287, 305, and 319; Vercoullie 1898:101 and 109.

D. Proto-Uralic **kaŋɜ-* 'to call': Hungarian *hív-/hivo-* 'to call, to invite'; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *haaŋa-* 'to ask, to request, to beg'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *kaŋa-* 'to ask, to request, to beg'; Selkup Samoyed *kuera-* 'to ask, to request, to beg'. Collinder 1955:14, 1960:406 **kyŋɜ-*, and 1977:35; Rédei 1986—1988:125—126 **kanɜ-* (**kaŋɜ-*); Décsy 1990:100 **kanga* '(to) call'.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kəŋ(læ)-* 'to growl, to snarl' > Chukchi *kəŋ-ʔejŋe-* 'to growl, to snarl'; Koryak *kəŋla-* 'to growl, to snarl'. Note also Kamchadal / Itelmen *keiŋai-* 'to roar' (this may be a loan from Chukotian). Fortescue 2005:150.

Buck 1949:18.12 sing. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:415—416, no. 257; Hakola 2000:53, no. 193; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1076, **ḲanV* 'to sing, to sound'.

419. Proto-Nostratic root **k*$^{h}$*ap*$^{h}$*-*:
(vb.) **k*$^{h}$*ap*$^{h}$*-* 'to take, seize, or grasp with the hand; to press or squeeze with the hand';
(n.) **k*$^{h}$*ap*$^{h}$*-a* 'hand'

A. Proto-Afrasian **kap-* '(vb.) to take, to seize; (n.) hand': Proto-Semitic **kapp-* 'palm, hand' > Hebrew *kaφ* [כַּף] 'palm'; Phoenician *kpp* 'palm of the hand'; Imperial Aramaic *kp* 'hand'; Syriac *kappā* 'palm of the hand'; Ugaritic *kp* 'palm, hand'; Akkadian *kappu* 'hand'; Arabic *kaff* 'palm of the hand, hand'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *kɛff* 'to withhold, to keep someone quiet', *kɛf*

‘paw, claw, palm of the hand’; Ḥarsūsi *kef* ‘flat of the hand, claw, paw’; Mehri *kəf* ‘to withhold, to keep someone quiet’, *kaf* ‘palm of the hand, paw, claw’. Diakonoff 1992:85 **kapp-* ‘palm of the hand’; Murtonen 1989:236—237; Klein 1987:283; Zammit 2002:356. Egyptian *kp* ‘enemy’s hands separated from his arms, cut off hands’. Erman—Grapow 1921:195 and 1926—1963.5:118; Hannig 1995:880. Orël—Stolbova 1995:312, no. 1428, **kap-* ‘hand’.

B. Elamo-Dravidian: Royal Achaemenid Elamite *kap-pi* ‘catch, latch, clasp, brooch’. Dravidian: Kuṛux *kappnā* ‘to cover or press gently with the hand, to throw the hand or claws upon in order to catch, to feel with the hand or feet for knowing’, *kappar ērnā* ‘to feel, to touch’; Malto *kape* ‘to touch, to meddle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:114, no. 1225; Krishnamurti 2003:144 **kap-*, **kapp-*/**kaw-* ‘to cover, to overspread’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰapʰ-* ‘to take, to seize’: Latin *capiō* ‘to take, to seize’; Old Irish *cachtaim* ‘to take captive’; Welsh *caeth* ‘slave’; Gothic **haftjan* ‘to hold fast to’; Old Icelandic *haft* ‘bond, chain’ (pl. *höft* ‘fetters’), *haftr* (f. *hafta*) ‘prisoner’, *hapt* ‘bond’, *hepta*, *hefta* ‘to bind, to fetter’; Old English *hæft* ‘bond, fetter; captivity’, *hæftan* ‘to bind; to confine, to imprison, to arrest’, *hæften* ‘custody’, *hæftnian* ‘to take captive’; Old Frisian *heft(e)* ‘captivity’; Old High German *gi-heftan* ‘to fetter’ (New High German *heften*), *haft* ‘captivity’ (New High German *Haft*). Rix 1998a:307—308 **keh₂p-* ‘to grasp, to seize, to grab, to snatch’; Pokorny 1959:527—528 **kap-* ‘to grasp’; Walde 1927—1932.I:342—345 **qap-*; Mann 1984—1987:471 **kapi̯ō*, **kapmi* ‘to take, to seize, to lift’; Watkins 1985:27 **kap-* and 2000:37 **kap-* (suffixed form **kap-yo-*) ‘to grasp’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:146 **k[ʰ]ap[ʰ]-* and 1995.I:125 **kʰapʰ-* ‘to have, to catch’; Mallory—Adams 1997:90 **kaptos* ‘captive’, **kap-* ‘to take, to seize’ and 563 **kap-* ‘to seize’; De Vaan 2008:89—90; Ernout—Meillet 1979:95—97; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:159—160 **qap-*; Orël 2003:149 Proto-Germanic **xafjanan*, 149 **xaftan* ~ **xaftaz*, 149 **xaftaz* I, 149 **xaftaz* II, 149 **xaftjan*, 149 **xaftjanan*, 149 **xaftnōjanan* ~ **xaftenōjanan*; Feist 1939:230; Lehmann 1986:167—168 and 168; De Vries 1977:209 and 222; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:280 and 296; Kluge—Seebold 1989:286 and 299.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kappɜ-* ‘to take, to seize, to grasp’ > Finnish *kaappaus* ‘captive, coup, hijacking’; Mordvin (Erza) *kapode-* ‘to grab quickly’. Proto-Finno-Ugrian **käppä* ‘hand, paw’ > Finnish *käppä* ‘hand, paw’, *käpälä* ‘paw’; Estonian *käpp* (gen. *käpa*) ‘claw, paw, hand’; Mordvin (Erza) *kepe*, (Moksha) *käpä* ‘barefooted’. Rédei 1986—1988:651—652 **käppä*.

E. Proto-Altaic **kʰapʰV-* ‘to press, to grasp’: Proto-Tungus **χap-ki-* ‘to strangle, to throttle’ > Evenki *apki-* ‘to strangle, to throttle’; Lamut / Even *apqъ-* ‘to strangle, to throttle’; Negidal *apqu̯-* ‘to strangle, to throttle’; Orok *χaqpi̯-* ‘to strangle, to throttle’. Proto-Mongolian **kab-* ‘to pinch, to

squeeze, to grasp, to hold; to join, to press together' > Mongolian *qabči-* 'to compress, to press or squeeze together', *qabčiγda-* 'to be pressed, squeezed, jammed, pitched', *qabčiγu* 'narrow, tight, constricted', *qabčiγurda-* 'to compress, to squeeze, to pinch', *qabčila-* 'to squeeze, to press, to compress', *qabčilγ-a* 'oppression, pressure, squeezing, jamming'; Khalkha *χavči-*, *χavsr-* 'to join, to press together', *χavt-*, *χavtgay* 'flat'; Buriat *χabša-* 'to pinch, to squeeze, to grasp, to hold'; Kalmyk *χapčə-*, *χawšə-*, *χawl-* 'to pinch, to squeeze, to grasp, to hold'; Ordos *ɢabči-* 'to pinch, to squeeze, to grasp, to hold'; *gābtāgā* 'flat', *ɢabtā-* 'to be flat'; Dagur *karči-*, *χawči-* 'to pinch, to squeeze, to grasp, to hold', *kabtaǵē*, *kabeteǵay* 'flat', *kabtečiē-* 'to pinch, to squeeze, to grasp, to hold'. Proto-Turkic **Kap-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qap-* 'to grasp, to seize, to capture'; Karakhanide Turkic *qap-* 'to snatch, to take'; Turkish *kap-* 'to snatch, to seize, to carry off, to acquire', *kapıcı* 'one who seizes', *kapan* 'who seizes or grabs', *kapış* 'manner of seizing, looting', *kapış-* 'to snatch something from one another'; Gagauz *kap-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite'; Azerbaijani *ɢap-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite'; Turkmenian *ɢap-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite'; Uzbek *qɔp-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite'; Uighur *qap-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite'; Tatar *qap-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite'; Bashkir *qap-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite'; Kirghiz *qap-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite'; Kazakh *qap-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite'; Noghay *qap-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qap-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite'; Chuvash *χĭp-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite'; Yakut *χap-* 'to snatch, to take; to bite'. Poppe 1960:43—44, 48, 89, 137, and 146; Street 1974:16 **kap-* 'to grasp, to seize', **kap-tï-* 'to squeeze'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:766—767 **kʻapʻV* 'to press, to grasp'.

F. Proto-Eskimo **kapət-* and **kapəɣ-* 'to be narrow, constricted; to be tight-fitting': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kapxitə-* 'to be constricted, narrow'; Central Alaskan Yupik *kapxitə-* 'to be narrow'; Central Siberian Yupik (with metathesis) *kaxpəsq$^{w}$aaq*, *kaxpəstaaq* 'narrow opening'; North Alaskan Inuit *kapit* 'to be tight-fitting'; Western Canadian Inuit *kapit-* 'to be tight (garment)'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kapit-* 'to pull outer garment over *atigi*'; Greenlandic Inuit *kapit-* 'to pull outer garment over inner one'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:139.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 12.62 narrow. Brunner 1969:39; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:313—315, no. 190, **ķaba*/**ķapʻa* 'to seize'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1107, **Ķapʼ V* ~ **Ķapʼ V* 'to seize'; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:404—405, no. 242; Hakola 2000:55, no. 201.

420. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k$^{h}$ap$^{h}$-a* 'bowl, cup, jar, container; skull':

A. Proto-Afrasian **kap-* 'bowl, cup, jar, container': Proto-Semitic **kapr-* 'bowl, cup, jar, container' > Akkadian *kapru* 'a type of sacrifice and a

platter for it'; Hebrew *kəφōr* [כְּפוֹר] 'small bowl (of gold or silver used in the temple)'; Syriac *kāφūrtā* 'an earthen vessel, crock'; Arabic *kāfira* 'jar'; Geez / Ethiopic *kafar* [ከፈር] 'basket, container for measuring, bushel'; Tigrinya *käfär* 'big basket'. Klein 1987:283; Leslau 1987:276—277.

B. Proto-Indo-European **kʰapʰ-* 'bowl, cup, jar, container; head': Sanskrit *kapā́la-m* 'cup, bowl; skull', *kapúcchala-m* 'tuft of hair on the back of the head (hanging down like a tail), the fore-part of a sacrificial ladle'; Latin *capis* 'a one-handled vessel (used in sacrifices)', *caput* 'the head'; Old English *hafela*, *heafola* 'head', *hafud-* 'head'. Probably also (with unexplained diphthong in the first syllable): Gothic *haubiþ* 'head'; Old Icelandic *höfuð* 'head'; Swedish *huvud* 'head'; Old English *hēafod* 'head'; Old Frisian *hāved*, *hād* 'head'; Old Saxon *hōƀid* 'head'; Dutch *hoofd* 'head'; Old High German *houbit* 'head' (New High German *Haupt*). Pokorny 1959:529—530 **kap-ut*, *-(ĕ)lo-* 'head'; Walde 1927—1932.I: 346—347 **qap-ut*, *-(ĕ)lo-*; Mann 1984—1987:471 **kapiṭios* (**kaputios*) 'top, head, hill'; Watkins 1985:27 **kaput* and 2000:37 **kaput-* 'head'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:813, fn. 3, **k[ʰ]ap[ʰ]ut[ʰ]-*, **k[ʰ]ap[ʰ]-el-* and 1995.I:713, fn. 26, **kʰapʰutʰ-*, **kʰapʰ-el-* 'head'; Mallory—Adams 1997:260—261 **káput* 'head' and 261 **kapōlo-* 'head, skull'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:155 and I:156 **kaput-*; De Vaan 2008:90 and 91; Orël 2003:148 Proto-Germanic **xaƀuđan*, 165 **xauƀuđan* ~ **xauƀiđan* (secondary variants [taboo?] of **xaƀuđan*); Kroonen 2013:215 Proto-Germanic **ha(u)beda-* ~ **ha(u)buda-* 'head'; Feist 1939:248; Lehmann 1986:178—179 **kap-ut-*; De Vries 1977:279; Onions 1966:432; Klein 1971:337; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:293—294; Kluge—Seebold 1989:297 **kapwet-*/**kaput-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:155—156.

C. Proto-Altaic **kʰapʰa* 'vessel, container': Proto-Tungus **χapsa* 'container, box, bag' > Manchu *absa* 'a birchbark container'; Evenki *awsa* 'box, bag'; Lamut / Even *awsъ* 'bag'; Negidal *awfsak* 'box'; Nanay / Gold *χapsio* 'box'; Orok *χapsaw* 'bag'. Proto-Mongolian **kaɣurčag*, **kayirčag* 'small box, chest' > Written Mongolian *qaγurčaγ*, *qayirčaγ* 'small box, chest'; Khalkha *χūrcag*, *χaircag* 'small box, chest'; Buriat *χūrcag* 'coffin'; Kalmyk *χūrcəγ* 'large box, chest'; Ordos *χārčaɢ* 'small box, chest'; Monguor *χāžə* 'small box, chest'. Proto-Turkic **Kapïrčak*, **Kapsak* 'box, coffin; basket' > Karakhanide Turkic *qapïrčaq* 'box, coffin; basket'; Turkish [*koburčuk*] (dial. [*kapuržak*]) 'box, coffin', (dial.) [*kabzak*, *kabsak*] 'basket'; Turkmenian *ɢapïržaq* 'box, coffin'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:763 **k'ap'a* 'a kind of vessel, box'.

Buck 1949:4.20 head.

421. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰap'-* (~ **kʰəp'-*):
(vb.) **kʰap'-* 'to buy; to pay back';
(n.) **kʰap'-a* 'recompense, tribute, pay-back'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kappam* ‘tribute’; Malayalam *kappam* ‘tribute, taxes’; Kannaḍa *kappa*, *kappu* ‘tribute’; Tuḷu *kappa* ‘tribute, an offering’; Telugu *kappamu* ‘tax, tribute, subsidy’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:113, no. 1218; Krishnamurti 2003:8 **kapp-am* ‘a kind of tax, tribute’.

B. (?) Proto-Indo-European **k*$^{h}$*ap’-* ‘to obtain’: Proto-Germanic **χaβēn-* ‘to have’ > Gothic *haban* ‘to have, to hold’; Old Icelandic *hafa* ‘to have, to hold; to keep, to retain; to bring, to carry; to take, to carry off; to get, to gain, to win’; Faroese *hava* ‘to have’; Swedish *hava* ‘to have’; Norwegian *hava* ‘to have’; Danish *have* ‘to have’; Old English *habban* ‘to have, to hold; to take; to possess’; Old Frisian *hebba* ‘to have, to own, to get, to receive, to keep, to maintain’; Old Saxon *hebbian* ‘to have’; Dutch *hebben* ‘to have’; Old High German *habēn* ‘to have’ (New High German *haben*). Orël 2003:147 Proto-Germanic **xaƀan*, 147 **xaƀēnan*; Kroonen 2013:197 Proto-Germanic **habēn-* ‘to have’; Feist 1939:229 (etymology uncertain); Lehmann 1986:167 (etymology uncertain); De Vries 1977:201; Onions 1966:431; Klein 1971:336; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:157; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:287; Kluge—Seebold 1989:284; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:276—277 **khabh-*. As noted by Lehmann (1986:167): “Since PIE lacked a verb corresponding to ‘have’ indicating possession and auxiliary function, [Gothic] *haban* must have originated in Gmc;…” The Germanic forms cited above have been contaminated by reflexes of Proto-Indo-European **k*$^{h}$*ap*$^{h}$*-* ‘to take, to seize’ (cf. Lehmann 1986:167).

C. Proto-Altaic **k*$^{h}$*apa-* ‘to buy; to pay back’: Proto-Tungus **χab-* ‘to buy; to complain, to start a lawsuit’ > Manchu *χabša-* ‘to accuse, to bring to court’, *χabšan* ‘accusation, complaint’; Ulch *χapsị-* ‘to complain, to start a lawsuit’; Orok *χaw-* ‘to buy’, *χapsị-* ‘to complain, to start a lawsuit’; Nanay / Gold *χapsị-* ‘to complain, to start a lawsuit’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:760—761 **k‘apa* ‘to buy, to pay back’.

Buck 1949:11.11 have; 11.65 pay (vb.); 11.69 tax; 11.81 buy.

422. Proto-Nostratic root **k*$^{h}$*ar-* (~ **k*$^{h}$*ər-*):
(vb.) **k*$^{h}$*ar-* ‘to cut, to cut into, to cut off’;
(n.) **k*$^{h}$*ar-a* ‘cut, incision’
Derivative:
(n.) **k*$^{h}$*ar-a* ‘skin, hide; bark, rind’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kar-* ‘to cut, to cut into, to cut off’: Proto-Semitic **kar-at-* ‘to cut off, to cut down’ > Hebrew *kāraθ* [כָּרַת] ‘to cut off, to cut down’; Phoenician *krt* ‘woodcutter’ (?); Akkadian *karātu* ‘to strike, to cut off, to break off’, *kartu* ‘cut up’; Tigrinya *kärätä* ‘to cut’, *kärtätä* ‘to nibble’. Murtonen 1989:240; Klein 1987:288. Proto-Semitic **kar-ad-* ‘to cut off’ > Arabic *karada* ‘to cut off, to shear’. Proto-Semitic **kar-ay-* ‘to cut into, to make cuts or incisions, to dig’ > Hebrew *kārāh* [כָּרָה] ‘to dig’; Aramaic

*kərā* ‘to dig’; Ugaritic *kry* ‘to dig’; Arabic *karā* ‘to dig’, *karw* ‘digging, excavation’; Geez / Ethiopic *karaya* [**ከረየ**] ‘to dig (a well, in the ground), to make holes, to dig up, to excavate, to peck (the eyes), to make cuts or incisions’; Tigre *kära* ‘cut off (by digging)’; Amharic *käräyyä* ‘to dig, to till the earth’; Gurage *käre* ‘to dig a hole’; Harari *xara* ‘to dig a hole’. Murtonen 1989:239; Klein 1987:285; Leslau 1963:97, 1979:347, and 1987:294—295. Egyptian *krt* ‘carnage, massacre’, (reduplicated) *krkr* ‘knife’. Hannig 1995:887; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:136. Chadic: Ngizim *kàrmú* ‘to chop, to cut down, to chop off’. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *kar-* ‘to cut down a tree’; Sidamo *kar-* ‘to fell (a tree)’. Hudson 1989:249 and 376. Ehret 1995:200, no. 330, **kur-*/**kar-* ‘to cut up’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **kʰer-*/**kʰor-*/**kʰr̥-* ‘to cut off, to cut down’: Hittite (3rd sg. pres.) *kar-aš-zi* ‘to cut off’; Sanskrit *kartati*, *kṛntáti* ‘to cut, to cut off’, *kṛṇā́ti* ‘to injure, to kill’; Avestan *kərəntaiti* ‘to cut, to flay; to clean, to dress (a slaughtered animal)’; Greek κείρω ‘to cut off, to clip, to hew down’; Old Icelandic *skera* ‘to cut, to shape’; Faroese *skera* ‘to cut’; Norwegian *skjera* ‘to cut’; Swedish *skära* ‘to cut’; Danish *skjære* ‘to cut’; Old English *sceran*, *scieran* ‘to cut, to shear’, *scēarra* ‘shears, scissors’, *sceard* ‘notched, with pieces broken off or out’, *scierdan* ‘to injure, to destroy’; Old Frisian *skera* ‘to cut, to shear’, *skēra* ‘shears, scissors, clippers’; Old Saxon *skerian* ‘to cut, to shear’, *skāra* ‘shears, scissors, clippers’; Dutch *scheren* ‘to cut, to shear’, *schaar* ‘shears, scissors, clippers’; Old High German *skeran* ‘to cut, to shear’ (New High German *scheren*), *scār(a)* ‘scissors, shears, clippers’ (New High German *Schere*); Lithuanian *kerpù*, *kir̃pti* ‘to cut (with scissors)’; Tocharian A *kärṣt-*, B *kärst-* ‘to cut off, to cut down, to terminate; to tear; to destroy utterly’. Rix 1998a:503 **(s)ker-* ‘to cut off, to shear, to scrape (off)’; Pokorny 1959:938—947 **(s)ker-*, **(s)kerə-*, **(s)krē-* ‘to cut’; Walde 1927—1932.II:573—587 **sqer-*, **qer-*; Mann 1984—1987:491 **kerō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to cut’, 611—612 **k̂eri̯ō* ‘to strike, to stab, to cut, to sever’; Watkins 1985:59—60 **sker-* (also **ker-*) and 2000:77—78 **(s)ker-* ‘to cut’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:707 **sk[ʰ]er-* and 1995.I:612 **skʰer-* ‘to carve, to shear, to cut out’; Mallory—Adams 1997:143 **(s)ker-* ‘to cut apart, to cut off’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:257 **ker-* and I:260; Hofmann 1966:137 **(s)qer-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:810—811; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:510; Boisacq 1950:427—428 **(s)qer-*; Beekes 2010.I:665 **(s)ker-*; Orël 2003:338—339 Proto-Germanic **skeranan*, 340 **skērjan* ~ **skērō*; Kroonen 2013:443 Proto-Germanic **skēra-* ‘pair of scissors’ and 443—444 **skeran-* ‘to cut’; De Vries 1977:490 **(s)ker-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:189 **(s)ker-*; Klein 1971:678 **(s)qer-*; Onions 1966:818; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:348—349; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:643; Kluge—Seebold 1989:629 and 630 **sker-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:207—

208 **(s)qer-*; Adams 1999:168—169 **kers-* < **(s)ker-* ‘to cut’; Derksen 2015:405 **(s)krH-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:257—258.

Buck 1949:8.22 dig; 9.22 cut (vb.). Brunner 1969:38, no. 159; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:407—408, no. 246; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 939, **käRtV* ‘to cut (off), to notch’.

423. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **kʰar-a* ‘skin, hide; bark, rind’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **kʰar-* ‘to cut, to cut into, to cut off’;
(n.) **kʰar-a* ‘cut, incision’

A. Proto-Indo-European **kʰer-/*kʰor-/*kʰr̥-* ‘skin, hide; bark, rind’: Sanskrit *cárman-* ‘skin, hide, bark’, *kŕ̥tti-ḥ* ‘skin, hide’; Avestan *čarəman-* ‘skin, hide’; Latin *corium* ‘skin, hide; leather; (of plants) bark, rind’, *cortex* ‘rind, bark, shell’; Old Irish *coirt* ‘skin, bark’; Welsh *cwr* (pl. *cyroedd*) ‘skin’; Old Icelandic *hörund* ‘human flesh, skin, complexion’; Norwegian *hørold*, *horong* ‘flesh, skin’; Old Swedish *harund* ‘flesh, skin’; Old Danish *harend* ‘flesh, skin’; Old English *heorða* ‘deer- (or goat- ?) skin’, *hyrð* ‘skin, hide’; Swiss German *Herde*, *Härde* ‘sheepskin, goatskin’; Russian *korá* [кора] ‘crust; rind, bark’. Pokorny 1959:938—947 **(s)ker-*, **(s)kerə-*, **(s)krē-* ‘to cut’; Walde 1927—1932.II:573—587 **sqer-*, **qer-*; Mann 1984—1987:490 **kermn-* ‘cut, cutting; piece, part; skin, flesh’, 533 **korā*, **kor̥om* ‘skin, leather’, 536 **koros* ‘skin, hide’, 568 **kr̥̆t-* ‘cut, strike; cutting; cutter, knife, dagger; cut piece, skin’; Mallory—Adams 1997:522 **kérmen-* ‘skin’ < **(s)ker-* ‘to cut (off)’; Watkins 1985:59—60 **sker-* (also **ker-*) and 2000:77—78 **(s)ker-* ‘to cut’ (extended roots: **skert-*, **kert-*); Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:17 and I:378; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:274 **qor-* and I:279 **(s)qer-t-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:143 **sker-* and 144—145 **kert-*; De Vaan 2008:136; Orël 2003:170 West Germanic **xerđōn*; Kroonen 2013:213 Proto-Germanic **harunda/ō-* ‘flesh’; De Vries 1977:282 **(s)ker-*.
B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kere* ‘bark’ > Finnish *keri* ‘bark that grows on a birch after the first bark has been removed’, *kerma* (*kermä*) ‘thin crust, thin or soft shell’; Estonian *kirme(tis)* ‘thin coating, thin crust’; Lapp / Saami *gârrâ*/*gârâ-* ‘shell, crust; (conifer) bark’; Mordvin *keŕ* ‘linden bark’; Cheremis / Mari *kər*, *kür* ‘(thick) linden bark’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *kur*, *kyr* ‘piece of bark’; Zyrian / Komi *kor* ‘bark (of floriferous tree)’; Vogul / Mansi *ker*, *keer* ‘bark, shell (of eggs, etc.)’; Ostyak / Xanty *kär* ‘bark, shell’; Hungarian *kérëg* ‘crust, bark’. Collinder 1955:87 and 1977:104; Rédei 1986—1988:148—149 **kere* ‘bark’; Sammallahti 1988:543 **keri/ä* ‘bark’; Décsy 1990:100 **kerä* ‘bark; to flay, to strip off the skin of’.

Buck 1949:4.12 skin, hide. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:408—409, no. 247.

424. Proto-Nostratic root *$k^h$*ar-* (~ *$k^h$*ər-*):
(vb.) *$k^h$*ar-* ‘to twist, turn, spin, or wind around’;
(n.) *$k^h$*ar-a* ‘ring, circle, curve’; (adj.) ‘round, curved, twisted’
Possible derivative:
(n.) *$k^h$*ar-a* ‘edge, side, bank’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kar-* ‘to twist, turn, or wind around’: Proto-Semitic **kar-ar-* ‘to twist, turn, or wind around’ > Arabic *karra* ‘to turn around and attack; to return, to come back’, *karr* ‘rope of bast or fibers of palm leaves’, *kura* ‘globe, sphere, ball’; Sabaean *krr* ‘to return to a campaign’; Hebrew **kārar* [כָּרַר] (participle *məχarkēr* [מְכַרְכֵּר]) ‘to dance’; Tigrinya *kärärä* ‘to be twisted; to be round’; Harari *kärära* ‘to become tight (thread that is twisted by passing it through the palms)’; Amharic *kärrärä* ‘to become tight, twisted’, *kər* ‘thread’; Argobba *kər* ‘thread’; Gurage *(a)kärrärä* ‘to twist threads’, *kərr* ‘thread’. Klein 1987:288; Zammit 2002:352; Leslau 1963:94 and 1979:350. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **kar-kar-* ‘to twist, turn, wind, or roll around’ > Arabic *karkara* ‘to turn the millstone’; Sabaean *krkr* ‘a load or measure’; Hebrew *kikkār* [כִּכָּר] (< **kirkār*) ‘round loaf of bread; a round weight, a talent’; Aramaic *kakkərā* ‘ball’, *kəraχ* ‘to go round, to encircle’; Akkadian *kakkaru* (< **karkaru*) ‘metal disk (weighing one talent); round loaf of bread’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔank$^w$ark$^w$ara* [ኦንኬርኬረ] ‘to roll, to roll around, to roll along, to roll off, to revolve, to overturn’; Tigrinya *ʔank$^w$ärk$^w$ärä* ‘to roll’; Tigre *kärkärä* ‘to roll’; Amharic *(tän)k$^w$äräkk$^w$ärä* ‘to roll’, *mänk$^w$äräk$^w$ər* ‘wheel’; Gurage (Endegeñ) *(tä)k$^w$räkk$^w$ärä* ‘to be lumpy (flour)’. Klein 1987:276; Murtonen 1989:238; Leslau 1979:349 and 1987:292. Berber: Tuareg *kurət* ‘to wrap around several times (as a turban around the head)’, *takārut* ‘turban’, *asəkkāru* ‘a piece of material which can be wrapped several times around the head’; Tamazight *kur* ‘to be wrapped up, to be wound into a ball’, *sskur* ‘to roll, to roll into a ball’, *takurt*, *tacurt* ‘ball, a spool of thread or yarn, balloon’, *akur* ‘paunch, gizzard’; Kabyle *k$^w$ər* ‘to be wrapped, to be wound into a ball’, *akur* ‘a large ball’, *takurt* ‘ball, a spool of thread or yarn’. Cushitic: Saho (reduplicated) *karkar* ‘to be round’. Proto-Southern Cushitic **kar-* ‘to turn around’ > K’wadza *kangal-* ‘to turn around’; Ma’a *kikarara* ‘ring’. Ehret 1980:242. Omotic: Bench / Gimira *kar-* ‘to be round’, *kart-* ‘to turn (intr.)’. Ehret 1995:200, no. 328, **kar-* ‘to turn round, to go round’. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:323, no. 1481, **kor-* ‘(to be) round’.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kar̲aṅku* (*kar̲aṅki-*) ‘(vb.) to whirl; (n.) whirling, gyration, kite’, *kar̲akku* (*kar̲akki-*) ‘to spin (as yarn)’; Malayalam *kar̲aṅṅuka* ‘to turn around, to whirl’; Kannaḍa *gar̲a*, *gar̲agar̲a* ‘whirlingly, around and around’, (?) *kor̲i*, *kor̲e* ‘to whirl’; Tuḷu *gar̲ų*, *gara*, *garagara*, *garranè* ‘a whirling noise’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:129, no. 1387.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$k^her$-/*$k^hor$-/*$k^hr̥$- and *(s)$k^her$-/*(s)$k^hor$-/*(s)$k^hr̥$- ‘to twist, turn, or wind around’: Sanskrit *kartana-m* ‘the act of spinning cotton or thread’, *kṛṇátti* ‘to twist, to spin’; Avestan *skarəna-* ‘round’; Greek κάρταλλος ‘basket with a pointed bottom’, κορωνός ‘crooked, curved’; Latin *crātis* ‘wicker basket, hurdle-work’, *corbis* ‘wicker basket’, *curvus* ‘bent, bowed, arched, curved’; Welsh *crwn* ‘round’; Gothic *haurds* ‘(woven) door’; Old Icelandic *hurð* ‘door’; Old English *hyrd* ‘door’, *hyrdel* ‘hurdle’; Old Saxon *hurth* ‘door’; Old High German *hurd* ‘wattle, hurdle’ (New High German *Hürde*); Lithuanian *kraipaũ*, *kraipýti* ‘to turn about’, *kreĩvas* ‘crooked, curved, wry’, *krypstù*, *krỹpti* ‘to bow, to bend’; Russian *koróbit′* [коробить] ‘to warp’, *krivít′* [кривить] ‘to bend, to distort’, *krivój* [кривой] ‘curved, crooked’, *kružít′* [кружить] ‘to turn, to whirl, to spin’, *krutít′* [крутить] ‘to twist, to twirl, to roll up’, *krug* [круг] ‘circle’, *krugóm* [кругом] ‘round’; Slovenian *krétati* ‘to turn’. Rix 1998a:317 **kert-* ‘to twist, to turn, to rotate, to spin’ and 504 **(s)kerb-* ‘to be bent; to twist, to wrinkle, to crumple’; Pokorny 1959:584—585 **kert-*, **kerət-*, **krāt-* ‘to twist or turn together’ and 935—938 **(s)ker-* ‘to turn, to bend’; Walde 1927—1932.I:421—422 **qer-*, **qerāt-* and II:568—573 **(s)qer-*; Mann 1984—1987:533 **kor-* ‘bend, curve; bent, curved’, 533 **korb-* (**korbis*, *-os*, *-ā*; **kreb-*, **kr̥b-* ?) ‘wicker, basket’, 533 **korb-* ‘ridge, furrow’, 534 **korbi̯ō* (?) ‘to bend, to twist, to deprave, to distort, to shrink’, 535 **korōn-*, **korən-* ‘edge, rim, border’, 538 **korūbhō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to bend, to turn, to depart’, 546 **kreiu̯os* ‘bent’, 547 **krembō* (**kromb-*) ‘to twist, to bend, to turn, to fold’, 548 **krengh-* ‘ring, circle, belt, girth’, 548 **krentos* ‘turned, bent; turn, bend’, 551 **krib-* ‘wicker, basketry’, 552 **krik-* ‘twist, cramp, varicosity’, 555 **krīu̯os* ‘twisted, with crumpled horn’, 555 (**krn̥gu̯o-*), 555 **kroip-* ‘turn, bend’, 555—556 **kroiu̯os* ‘bent, crooked, lame; bent object’, 556 **krok-* ‘loop, curl, crook, hook’, 557 **krongei̯ō* (**krongi̯ō*) ‘to turn, to twist’, 557 **krongos*, *-ā*, *-is* ‘twist, bend, curl, turn’, 557—558 **krontos* ‘turned, bent; turn, bend, edge’, 560 **krumbos* ‘bent, crooked; bend, crook, crutch, haunch, joint’, 560 **krombilos*, *-ā* ‘bend, crease, fold, curve, crook’, 560 **krumos* ‘bent, lame’, 561 **krunk-* ‘bend, fold’, 568 **kr̥̄t-* ‘plait, wicker, bentwork, frame, rack, truss’, 569 **kr̥̄təlos*, *-i̯os* (**kr̥tilo-*) ‘wicker, bentwork’, 1179 **skreblos*, **skrebəros* ‘twist, twine’, 1180 **skrebhō* ‘to go, to turn’; Watkins 1985:30 **kert-* ‘to turn, to entwine’, 60 **sker-* (also **ker-*) ‘to turn, to bend’ and 2000:41 **kert-* ‘to turn, to entwine’ (zero-grade form **kr̥t-*), 78 **(s)ker-* ‘to turn, to bend’; Mallory—Adams 1997:571 **kert-* ‘to plait, to twine’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:257; Boisacq 1950:416—417 **qerāt-*, **qert-* and 499—500 **qere-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:794 and I:927—928; Hofmann 1966:134 **qert-*, **qerāt-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:501 and I:570; Beekes 2010.I:650 and I:758—759; De Vaan 2008:135, 141, and 158; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:272—273 **(s)qerebh-*, I:285—286 **qerāt-*, **qert-*, and I:317—318 **(s)qer-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:142,

147—148 **kr̥̄t-*, **kr̥ət-*, and 161; Orël 2003:194 Proto-Germanic **xurđiz* ~ **xurþiz*; Kroonen 2013:258 Proto-Germanic **hurdi-* ‘wickerwork door’; De Vries 1977:267—268 **kert-*; Lehmann 1986:179—180 **kert-*; Feist 1939:250 **kert-*; Onions 1966:453 **kr̥t-*; Klein 1971:356—357 **qerāt-*, **qert-*; Hoad 1986:223; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:322 **kert-*, **kerāt-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:321; Derksen 2008:251 **krongʰ-o-*, 251—252, 252 **kront-*, and 2015:256—257 **krei-uo-*.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kerä-* ‘(vb.) to turn, twist, or wind around; (adj.) round’ > Finnish *kierä*, *kiero* ‘twisted, wound, rolled up’, *kiertä-* ‘to turn, to twist, to wind (tr.); to circle, to go around, to rotate (intr.)’, *kiero* ‘not straight, twisted, wry; crooked, distorted’, *kierros* ‘round, circuit, turn’, *kierto* ‘circulation, round; cycle’, *kierre* ‘thread, worm’; (?) Mordvin *kiŕne-* ‘to bend (tr.)’; Hungarian *kerek* ‘round, circular’, *kerék* ‘wheel’, *kering-* ‘to revolve’; Ostyak / Xanty *körək* ‘round’, *körəg-* ‘to turn (intr.), to revolve’. Collinder 1955:88 and 1977:105; Rédei 1986—1988:147—148 **kerä*. Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kere* ‘any round thing or object’ > Finnish *keri* ‘circumference, (round) frame’; Hungarian *köré* ‘round, around’; Votyak / Udmurt *kury* ‘copper ring’. Collinder 1955:88 and 1977:104; Rédei 1986—1988:148 **kere*.

Buck 1949:10.12 turn (vb.); 10.13 turn around (vb.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 10.15 roll (vb.); 12.74 crooked; 12.81 round; 12.82 circle. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:420—421, no. 263; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:321—323, no. 197, **ḳärʌ* ‘to tie (tightly)’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 917, **karV* ‘to twist, to turn around, to return’.

425. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **kʰar-a* ‘edge, side, bank’:
Perhaps a derivative of:
(vb.) **kʰar-* ‘to twist, turn, spin, or wind around’;
(n.) **kʰar-a* ‘ring, circle, curve’; (adj.) ‘round, curved, twisted’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Geez / Ethiopic *karir* [ከሪር], *kʷarir* [ኩሪር], *korār* [ኮራር], *karer* [ከሬር], *kerār* [ኬራር] ‘(round) hill, ravine, rock’. Leslau 1987:294.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *karai* ‘shore, bank, ridge of a field, border of a cloth’; Malayalam *kara* ‘shore, riverside, land (opposite to sea), colored border of a cloth’, *karal* ‘border, margin, edge’; Kannaḍa *kare* ‘bank, shore, boundary, border of a cloth’; Koḍagu *kare* ‘bank’; Tuḷu *karè* ‘seashore, bank of a river, border, colored border of a cloth’; Telugu *kara* ‘shore, bank’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:120, no. 1293.

C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰer-*/**kʰor-*/**kʰr̥-* ‘edge, shore, bank’: Avestan *karana-* ‘end, border, shore’; Farsi *karān* ‘shore, side’; Lithuanian *krãštas* ‘edge, verge, border, brim, bank’, *krañtas* ‘bank, seashore’; Latvian *krasts* ‘shore, bank (of a river)’, *krants* ‘cliff’; Russian *krutój* [крутой] ‘steep’,

*krúča* [круча] ‘steep slope’. Pokorny 1959:584—585 **kert-*, **kerət-*, **krāt-* ‘to twist or turn together’; Walde 1927—1932.I:421—422 **qer-*, **qerāt-*; Mann 1984—1987:535 **korōn-*, **korən-* ‘edge, rim, border’, 557—558 **krontos* ‘turned, bent; turn, bend, edge’; Watkins 1985:30 **kert-* ‘to turn, to entwine’ and 2000:41 **kert-* ‘to turn, to entwine’ (zero-grade form **kr̥t-*); Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:288 and I:289; Smoczyński 2007.1:307 and 1:308.

D. Uralic: Selkup Samoyed *kery* ‘edge, brim’. Rédei 1986—1988:148.

E. Proto-Altaic **k$^{h}$āre* ‘edge’: Proto-Tungus **χāri-* ‘border, hem’ > Ulch *χāriča* ‘border, hem’; Nanay / Gold *χāri-*, *χāriča* ‘border, hem’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:767—768 **k‘āre* ‘edge’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also include Proto-Mongolian **kira* ‘edge, ridge’ and Proto-Turkic **Kir* ‘isolated mountain; mountain top, mountain ridge; steppe, desert, level ground; edge’. However, the Mongolian and Turkic forms are separated from the Tungus forms in this book and are included instead under Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k$^{h}$ir-a* ‘uppermost part (of anything): horn, head, skull, crown of head; tip, top, summit, peak’.

Sumerian *kar* ‘embankment, quay-wall, wall along a canal or moat, mooring-place, harbor’.

Buck 1949:1.27 shore. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:340—341, no. 216, **Ḳarʌ* ‘cliff, steep elevation’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1161, **ḲarXV* ‘bank, edge’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:422, no. 264.

426. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k$^{h}$ar-a* ‘hardness, strength, firmness, fortitude’; (adj.) ‘hard, strong, firm’:
Identical to:
(n.) **k$^{h}$ar-a* ‘roughness, coarseness’; (adj.) ‘rough, coarse’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kar-* ‘hard, dry’: Proto-Semitic **kar-ar-* ‘to be or become hard, dry’ > Geez / Ethiopic *karra* [ሐረ], *karara* [ሐረረ] ‘to be dry, to dry up (spring)’; Tigrinya *kärärä* ‘to be hard, dry’; Amharic *kärrärä* ‘to become hard, to dry out’; Harari *kärära* ‘to become stiff’. Leslau 1963:94 and 1987:293—294. Southern Cushitic: Proto-Rift **karaħ-* ‘hard, dry’ > Burunge *karaḥadi* ‘hard, dry’; K’wadza *kalahayi* ‘dry, withered, hard’. Ehret 1980:366.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *karumai* ‘strength, greatness’; Malayalam *karu*, *kaṟu* ‘stout, hard’, *karuma* ‘hardness, strength of a man’, *karuman* ‘one who is strong and able’, *karuttu* ‘strength, vigor, power, fortitude, courage’; Kannaḍa *kara*, *karu* ‘greatness, abundance, power’; Telugu *karamu* ‘much, great, very’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:119, no. 1287. [(?) Tamil *kāṟ* ‘(vb.) to become hard, mature; to be firm or strong in mind; to be implacable; (n.) hardness, solidity or close grain (as of timber), core, strength of mind’,

*kāṛppu* ‘close grain (as of the heart of timber), essence’, *kāṛi* ‘great strength, toughness, hardness’, *kāṛuntu* ‘heart or core of a tree’; Malayalam *kaṛampu* ‘pulp of fruit, pith, essence’; Kannaḍa *kāṛime*, *kāḷime* ‘obstinacy, haughtiness’; (?) Parji *kāṛ-* ‘to expand hood (serpent)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:138, no. 1491.]

C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰar-* ‘hard, strong, firm’: Sanskrit *karkaṭa-ḥ* ‘crab’, *karkara-ḥ* ‘hard, firm’; Greek καρκίνος ‘crab’, κάρτος, κράτος ‘strength, might’, καρτερός ‘strong, stout, staunch, sturdy’, κρατύς ‘strong, mighty’; Latin *cancer* (< **carcro-*) ‘crab’; Gothic *hardus* ‘hard, stern’; Old Icelandic *harðr* ‘hard, stern, severe’, *herða* ‘to make hard’; Norwegian *hard* ‘hard, strong’; Swedish *hård* ‘hard, strong’; Danish *haard* ‘hard, strong’; Old English *heard* ‘hard, strong, stern, severe, brave, stubborn’, *heardian* ‘to harden’, *heardnes* ‘hardness’, (adv.) *hearde* ‘hardly, firmly, very severely, strictly, vehemently; exceedingly, greatly; painfully, grievously’; Old Frisian *herd* ‘hard’, *herda* ‘to harden’; Old Saxon *hard* ‘hard’, *herdian* ‘to harden’; Old High German *hart* ‘hard’ (New High German *hart*), *harten* ‘to harden’ (New High German *härten*). Pokorny 1959:531—532 **kar-*, (reduplicated) **karkar-* ‘hard’; Walde 1927—1932.I:354—355 **qar-*, (reduplicated) **qarqar-*; Mann 1984—1987:475 **kark-* (?) ‘crab’, 475—476 **karkəros* ‘rough, tough, harsh, coarse’, 478 **kartus* ‘hard, harsh, bitter’, 544 **kratos*, *-is*, *-us* ‘strong; strength, power, force’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:533 (reduplicated) **k[ʰ]ark[ʰ]ar-* and 1995.I:451 **kʰarkʰar-* ‘rough, hard’; Watkins 1985:27 **kar-* and 2000:37 **kar-* ‘hard’; Mallory—Adams 1997:512 **karkr(o)-* ‘crab’, **kar-* ‘hard’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:169 and I:170; Boisacq 1950:414 **qar-* and 510—511 **qar-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:789—790 and II:8—10 **qartú-* or **qortú-* beside **qṛtú-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:498—499 and I:578—579; Hofmann 1966:133 and 158 **qre-t-*, **qṛt-* (root **qar-*); Beekes 2010.I:646 and I:772—773 **kret-s-*, **krt-u-*, **krt-ero-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:91; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:151 **qar-*; De Vaan 2008:86—87; Orël 2003:161 Proto-Germanic **xarđīn*, 162 **xarđjanan*, 162 **xarđuz*; Kroonen 2013:211 Proto-Germanic **hardu-* ‘hard, severe’; Lehmann 1986:177 **kar-*; Feist 1939:246—247 **kar-*; De Vries 1977:210—211; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:265 **kortú-*; Klein 1971:334 **qar-*; Onions 1966:427 Common Germanic **χarðuz*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:290 **kar-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:294.

Buck 1949:4.81 strong, mighty, powerful; 15.74 hard; 15.84 dry. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:425—426, no. 268; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1943, **q̇aH₂ŕV* ‘hard, firm’.

427. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **kʰar-a* ‘roughness, coarseness’; (adj.) ‘rough, coarse’:
Identical to:
(n.) **kʰar-a* ‘hardness, strength, firmness, fortitude’; (adj.) ‘hard, strong, firm’

Derivative:
(n.) *$k^h$*ar-a* ‘bitterness, pungency, harshness’; (adj.) ‘bitter, pungent, harsh, sharp, caustic, hot (of taste), acrid’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kar-* ‘rough, coarse’: Proto-Semitic **kar-ad-* ‘rough, coarse’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kardada* [ከርደደ] ‘to be rough, coarse’, *kərdud* [ከርዱድ፡] ‘rough, coarse’; Amharic *käräddädä* ‘to be rough’. Leslau 1987: 290.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *karaṭu* ‘roughness, unevenness, churlish temper’, *karaṭṭu* ‘rugged, uneven, unpolished’; Malayalam *karaṭu* ‘what is rough or uneven’, *kar̲u* ‘rough’, *kar̲uppu* ‘roughness’, *karukarukka* ‘to be harsh, sharp, rough, irritating’; Kannaḍa *karaḍu* ‘that which is rough, uneven, unpolished, hard, or waste, useless, or wicked’; Tuḷu *karaḍu*, *karaḍu* ‘rough, coarse, worn out’, *kargōṭa* ‘hardness, hard-heartedness; hard, hard-hearted’, *garu* ‘rough’; Telugu *kara* ‘sharp’, *karusu* ‘rough, harsh, harsh words’, *kar̲aku*, *kar̲uku* ‘harshness, roughness, sharpness; rough, harsh, sharp’, *gari* ‘hardness, stiffness, sharpness’, *karaṭi* ‘stubborn, brutish, villainous’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:117, no. 1265.
C. Proto-Indo-European **k$^h$ar-* ‘rough, hard, harsh’: Sanskrit *karkaśá-ḥ* ‘rough, hard’; Pāḷi *kakkasa-* ‘rough, harsh’; Prakrit *kakkasa-* ‘rough, hard’; Lithuanian *kratùs* ‘rough, uneven’. Pokorny 1959:531—532 **kar-*, (reduplicated) **karkar-* ‘hard’; Walde 1927—1932.I:354—355 **qar-*, (reduplicated) **qarqar-*; Mann 1984—1987:475—476 **karkəros* ‘rough, tough, harsh, coarse’, 478 **kartus* ‘hard, harsh, bitter’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:170.

Buck 1949:15.76 rough. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:426, no. 269.

428. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$k^h$*ar-a* ‘bitterness, pungency, harshness’; (adj.) ‘bitter, pungent, harsh, sharp, caustic, hot (of taste), acrid’:
Derivative of:
(n.) *$k^h$*ar-a* ‘roughness, coarseness’; (adj.) ‘rough, coarse’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kār* ‘to be pungent, acrid, hot to the taste, very saltish or brackish’, *kāram* ‘pungency; caustic; alkali’, *kārppu* ‘pungency, saltness’, *kari* ‘to be saltish to the taste, to smart (as the eyes from oil or soap or chili), to feel an irritating sensation in the throat due to acidity of the stomach; to nag, to worry’, *karippu* ‘pungency, worrying, nagging’, *karil* ‘pungency’, (reduplicated) *karakara* ‘to feel irritation (as from sand or grit in the eye), to feel irritation in the throat, to be hoarse’, *karakarappu* ‘irritation in the throat, hoarseness’, *karakar-en̲al* ‘being irritated in the throat’; Malayalam *kāram* ‘caustic; different salts; pungency (as of pepper)’, (reduplicated) *karukarukka* ‘to be harsh, sharp, rough, irritating (for example, of grating sensation in the eyes)’; Kota *ka·rm-* ‘hot taste (of

peppers, chilies, etc.), burning sensation if pepper is put in the eye'; Toda *ko·rm* 'curry', *kary-* (*karc-*) 'to tickle (nose)'; Kannaḍa *kāra* 'pungency', *karlu* 'salt land'; Koḍagu *ka·ra* 'hot (as the taste of curry)'; Tuḷu *kāra* 'tasting or smelling hot; hot, pungent', *kāruppu* 'a strong or black sort of salt'; Telugu *kāru* 'saltness; salt, brackish', *kāramu* 'pungency; pungent, acrid, caustic'; Kolami *karoṭ* 'salty'; Konḍa *karya* 'saltness'; Pengo *kariya* 'saltness'; Manḍa *kariya* 'salty'; Brahui *xarēn* 'bitter'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:137, no. 1466. Tamil *kāṟ* 'to be pungent, acrid', *kāṟppu* 'pungency', *kāṭṭu* 'pungency, acridity' (Telugu loan); Kannaḍa *kāṭa*, *gāṭa*, *gāṭu* 'strong stifling smell (as of tobacco, chilies, etc.)'; Tuḷu *gāṭṵ*, *gāṭi* 'hot, pungent'; Telugu *gāṭu* 'pungency, acridity'; Kolami *gāṭam* 'hot, pungent'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:138—139, no. 1491.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$k^h$*ar-*/*$k^h$*r̥-* 'sharp, pungent': Sanskrit *kaṭú-ḥ* (< *$k^h$*ṛt-ú-*) 'sharp, pungent'; Lithuanian *kartùs* 'bitter'. Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:143; Walde 1927—1932.II:578; Mann 1984—1987:478 **kartus* 'hard, harsh, bitter'; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:225; Smoczyński 2007.1:260.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **karwa* 'bitter, sharp, pungent' > Finnish *karvas* 'acrid, pungent, bitter', *karvaus* 'bitterness, acridity', *karvastele-* 'to smart'; Lapp / Saami (Lule) *kaarvees* 'bitter' (Finnish loan); Votyak / Udmurt *kuriʒ't* 'sharp, pungent; bitter'; Zyrian / Komi (Sysola) *kuriʒd*, (Permyak) *kuriʒt* 'bitter'; Ostyak / Xanty *korəɣ-* 'to burn, to smart', *korwaŋ* 'burning'. Rédei 1986—1988:128—129 **karwa*.

Buck 1949:15.37 bitter; 15.38 acid, sour. Hakola 2000:58, no. 218.

429. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$k^h$*ar-a* 'blackness, darkness'; (adj.) 'black, dark':

A. Proto-Afrasian **kar-* 'black, dirty': Egyptian (Demotic) *krky* 'filth'; Coptic *čorğ(e)* [ⲥⲟⲣϫ(ⲉ)], *ğerği* [ϫⲉⲣϫⲓ] 'dirt, filth', *r-čorğ* [ⲣ-ⲥⲟⲣϫ] 'to become filthy'. Vycichl 1983:347; Černý 1976:336. Omotic: Yemsa / Janjero *kara* 'black'.

B. Proto-Dravidian **kăṟ-*, **kāṟ-*, **kăr-* 'black, dark': Tamil *kaṟu* 'to grow black, to darken, to become dirty, to become impure, to mature', (reduplicated) *kaṟukaṟu* 'to become very black', *kaṟuppu* 'blackness, darkness, spot, taint, moral defect', *kāṟu* (*kāṟi-*) 'to be blackened', *kaṟai* 'spot, stain, rust, blemish, fault, blackness, darkness'; Malayalam *kaṟukka* 'to grow black', *kaṟa* 'blackness, spot, stain, rust', *kaṟu* 'black', *kāṟu* 'darkness, black cloud'; Kota *karp* 'blackness, a demon'; Toda *kaṟ* 'dirt, spot, rust', *kaṟf-* (*kaṟt-*) 'to become black, dark'; Kannaḍa *kaṟaṅgu* 'to turn black', *kaṟe*, *kaṟi* 'the color black, blackness, stain, blot', *kaṟṟage*, *kaṟṟane* 'blackly, blackness'; Koḍagu *kara-* (*karap-*, *karat-*) 'to become black', *karapï* 'blackness', *karatë* 'black', *kare* 'stain'; Telugu *kaṟa* 'blackness, a stain, blot; black', *kaṟi* 'black'; Konḍa *kaṟi* 'blackness', *kaṟ(i)ni* 'black'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:130, no. 1395. Tamil *kāṟ* 'blackness, blemish,

defect', *kāṟakam* 'blackness'; Kannaḍa *kāṟ*, *kāḍu* 'blackness; black', *kaṟgu*, *kargu* 'black'; Tuḷu *kāri*, *kāḷi* 'blackish'; Manḍa *kaṛindi* 'black'; Kuwi *kāṛ-* 'to become black', *kāṛia* 'black'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:139, no. 1494. Tamil *karu* 'black', *karukkal* 'darkness, twilight, cloudiness, sunburnt paddy crop', *karukku* (*karukki-*) 'to darken by heat, to burn, to scorch, to toast, to fry', *karuku* (*karuki-*) 'to be scorched, blackened by fire or sun, to become dark in the evening', *karumai* 'blackness'; Malayalam *kari*, *karu* 'black; charcoal, coal', *karikkal*, *karukkal* 'twilight, dusk, frying', *karima*, *karuma* 'blackness', *karimpu* 'dark color, gray'; Kota *kar* 'black'; Kannaḍa *karidu* 'black', *kargu* 'to turn black', *kare* 'blackness'; Tuḷu *kari* 'soot, charcoal', *kariya* 'black'; Koraga *kardɨ* 'black'; Telugu *kaggu* 'to fade, to turn black (through heat, smoking)'; Naiki (of Chanda) *karan*, *karen*, *kareyan* 'black'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:118, no. 1278(a). Tamil *kār* 'blackness, darkness, cloud, rainy season', *kār* 'to darken, to grow black', *kāri* 'blackness; crow, black bull'; Kannaḍa *kār* 'blackness, rainy season'; Tuḷu *kārụ*, *kāri* 'black, dark'; Gondi *kārial*, *kāryal*, *karial*, *kaṛial*, *kareyal*, *kari*, *karkāl* 'black'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:118—119, no. 1278(c); Krishnamurti 2003:391 **kār-*/**kar-V-* 'dark, black, dark clouds'.

C. Proto-Indo-European (**k*$^{h}$*ar-s-*/)**k*$^{h}$*ṛ-s-* 'black, dark': Sanskrit *kṛṣṇá-ḥ* 'black, dark, dark blue', *kṛ́ṣṇaka-ḥ* 'blackish'; Old Prussian *kirsnan* 'black'; Old Church Slavic *črъnъ* 'black'; Russian *čërnyj* [чёрный] 'black'; Slovak *čierny* 'black'; Slovenian *čŕni* 'black'. Pokorny 1959:583 **kers-* 'dirty color'; Walde 1927—1932.I:428—429 **qers-*; Mann 1984—1987:1029 **qu̯ĕrsnos* (**qu̯rsno-*) 'dark, black', 1052 **qu̯rsnos* (**qu̯ʔsnos*, **qu̯rksnos*) 'black, dark'; Watkins 1985:30 **kers-* and 2000:41 **kers-* 'dark, dirty'; Mallory—Adams 1997:69—70 **k*$^{w}$*ṛsnós* 'black'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:264.

D. Proto-Altaic **k*$^{h}$*aru* (~ *k-*) 'black': Proto-Mongolian **kara* 'black' > Written Mongolian *qara* 'black, dark, obscure'; Dagur *χara*, *χar* 'black'; Monguor *χara* 'black'; Ordos *χara* 'black'; Buriat *χara* 'black'; Khalkha *χar* 'black'; Kalmyk *χarъ* 'black'; Moghol *qarō* 'black'. Poppe 1955:131. Mongolian loans in: Manchu *qara* 'black (of animals)'; Evenki *karā* 'black'. Proto-Turkic **Kara* 'black' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qara* 'black'; Turkish *kara* 'black'; Gagauz *qara* 'black'; Azerbaijani *ɢara* 'black'; Turkmenian *ɢara* 'black'; Uzbek *qɔrɛ* 'black'; Uighur *qara* 'black'; Karaim *qara* 'black'; Tatar *qara* 'black'; Bashkir *qara* 'black'; Kirghiz *qara* 'black'; Kazakh *qara* 'black'; Noghay *qara* 'black'; Tuva *qara* 'black'; Chuvash *χora* 'black'; Yakut *χara* 'black'; Dolgan *kara* 'black'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:651—652 **karu* (~ *k'-*) 'black'. Initial consonant uncertain; hence, either here or with Proto-Nostratic **k'ar-* 'dark, dark-colored; dirty, soiled'.

Buck 1949:15.65 black; 15.88 dirty, soiled. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:337—338, no. 213, *Ḳar/ä/* ‘black, dark colored’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:429—430, no. 274; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1155, *ḲarhA* ‘black’.

430. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$k^h$ar-a* ‘heart, core, essence’:

A. Dravidian: Malayalam *karaḷ*, *karuḷ* ‘lungs and heart, liver, bowels; heart, mind’, *kariḷ* ‘heart’; Kota *karl* ‘heart, mind, desire’; Kannaḍa *karuḷ*, *karaḷu*, *karḷu*, *kaḷḷu* ‘an entrail, the bowels; love’; Koḍagu *karï* ‘intestines’; Tuḷu *karalu̯*, *karlu̯* ‘the bowels, the liver’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:118, no. 1274; Krishnamurti 2003:14 **kar-Vḷ* ‘intestines, bowels’. [(?) Tamil *kāṟ* ‘(vb.) to become hard, mature; to be firm or strong in mind; to be implacable; (n.) hardness, solidity or close grain (as of timber), core, strength of mind’, *kāṟppu* ‘close grain (as of the heart of timber), essence’, *kāṟi* ‘great strength, toughness, hardness’, *kāṟuntu* ‘heart or core of a tree’; Malayalam *kaṟampu* ‘pulp of fruit, pith, essence’; Kannaḍa *kāṟime*, *kāḷime* ‘obstinacy, haughtiness’; (?) Parji *kāṛ-* ‘to expand hood (serpent)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:138, no. 1491.]

B. Proto-Indo-European *$k^h$ert’-/*$k^h$ṛt’-* ‘heart’: Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *ki-ir* ‘heart’, (gen. sg. *kar-ti-ya-aš*); Palaic (dat.-loc. sg.) *ka-a-ar-ti* ‘heart’; Greek καρδία (poet. κήρ) ‘heart’; Armenian *sirt* ‘heart’; Latin *cor* ‘heart’ (gen. sg. *cordis*); Old Irish *cride* ‘heart’; Welsh *craidd* ‘center, heart’; Cornish *créz* ‘middle’; Gothic *hairtō* ‘heart’; Old Icelandic *hjarta* ‘heart’; Norwegian *hjarta* ‘heart’; Swedish *hjärta* ‘heart’; Danish *hjerte* ‘heart’; Old English *heorte* ‘heart’; Old Frisian *herte* ‘heart’; Old Saxon *herta* ‘heart’; Dutch *hart* ‘heart’; Old High German *herza* ‘heart’ (New High German *Herz*); Lithuanian *širdìs* ‘heart’, *šerdìs* ‘core, pith, heart’; Latvian *sirds* ‘heart’; Old Church Slavic *srъdьce* ‘heart’, *sr̀da* ‘center, middle, midst’; Russian *sérdce* [сердце] ‘heart’; Slovak *srdce* ‘heart’. The following (but with a different initial consonant: *$g^h$ert’-/*$g^h$ṛt’-* ‘heart’) may belong here as well: Sanskrit *hṛ́daya-* ‘heart; mind, soul; breast, chest, stomach, interior’; Avestan *zərəd-* ‘heart’; Baluchi *zirdē* ‘heart’. Pokorny 1959:579—580 (*k̂ered-:) *k̂erd-, *k̂ērd-, *k̂u̯rd-, *k̂red- ‘heart’; Walde 1927—1932.I:423—424 (*k̂ered-:) *k̂ĕrd-, *k̂u̯rd-, *k̂red-; Mann 1984—1987:610 *k̂erd- (*k̂erdis, -ā, -i̯ə) ‘heart, core, center’, 637—638 *k̂u̯rd- ‘core, center, heart’; Watkins 1985:30 *kerd- and 2000:41 *kerd- ‘heart’; Lehmann 1986:171; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:173, I:186. I:273, II:801, II:812, II:878 *k̂[ʰ]er-t’- and 1995.I:148, I:160, I:238, I:702, I:712, I:775 *k̂ʰer(-t’)- ‘heart’, I:148, I:160, I:171 *k̂ʰṛ-t’-; Mallory—Adams 1997:262—263 *k̂ḗrd ‘heart’; Puhvel 1984— .4:189—191 *k̂ērd(i) : *k̂u̯rd(-y)-; Kloekhorst 2008b:469—471; Boisacq 1950:412—413 *k̂ērd-, *k̂u̯rd-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:787—788 *k̂ērd; Hofmann 1966:133 *k̂ērd-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:497—498 *kērd; Beekes 2010.I:644 *ḱer(d)-; Derksen 2008:485 *ḱrd- and 2015:448—449 *ḱērd-; Fraenkel 1962—

1965.II:986—987; Smoczyński 2007.1:638—639 **ḱērd-Ø*; De Vaan 2008:134—135; Ernout—Meillet 1979:142; Kroonen 2013:222 Proto-Germanic **hertōn-* ‘heart’; Orël 2003:170 Proto-Germanic **xertōn*; Feist 1939:234—235; Lehmann 1986:171 **k̂erd-*; De Vries 1977:232 **k̂erd-* (beside **ĝhr̥d-* in Indo-Iranian); Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:293—294; Onions 1966:433 **kĕrd-*, **kr̥d-*; Klein 1971:338; Hoad 1986:212; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:306 **k̂ĕrd-* (**k̂r̥d-*); Kluge—Seebold 1989:307 **ḱerd-*; Vercoullie 1898:105 **kerd*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:417—423 **k̂ḗr*, **k̂r̥d-*.

Buck 1949:4.44 heart.

431. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰas-* (~ **kʰəs-*):
(vb.) **kʰas-* ‘to cut or break off, to divide, to separate’;
(n.) **kʰas-a* ‘cut, separation, division, break; cutting, clipping, fragment, piece, bit’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k[a]s-* ‘to cut or break off, to divide, to separate’: Proto-Semitic **kas-am-* ‘to cut’ > Hebrew *kāsam* [כָּסַם] ‘to shear, to clip’; Ugaritic *ksm* ‘portion’ (?); Akkadian *kasāmu* ‘to cut in pieces’. Murtonen 1989:236; Klein 1987:282. Proto-Semitic **kas-aḥ-* ‘to cut off, to cut away, to remove’ > Hebrew *kāsaḥ* [כָּסַח] ‘to cut off, to cut away’; Aramaic *kəsaḥ* ‘to cut off, to cut into pieces’; Syriac *kəsaḥ* ‘to prune’; Arabic *kasaḥa* ‘to sweep, to clean’. Murtonen 1989:236; Klein 1987:281. Proto-Semitic **kas-as-* ‘to cut into pieces, to cut up, to divide’ > Hebrew *kāsas* [כָּסַס] ‘to compute’ (< ‘to cut up, to divide’) also ‘to grind, to chew, to gnaw’; Aramaic *kəsas* ‘to break into small pieces, to chew, to munch’; Akkadian *kasāsu* ‘to cut up, to chew up’, *kissatu* ‘fodder’; Arabic *kassa* ‘to grind or pound to powder, to pulverize’, (reduplicated) *kaskasa* ‘to pound, to grind, to pulverize’; Amharic (reduplicated) *käsäkkäsä* ‘to break up (the clods of earth)’; Gurage (reduplicated) *kəsäkäsä* ‘to break a stone or clod of earth, to prickle the gum with a needle and a colored substance, to hit a burning piece of wood on the ground in order to extinguish it, to throw to the ground and break into pieces’. Klein 1987:282; Leslau 1979:353. Proto-Semitic **kas-ab-* ‘to cut’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kasaba* [ከሰበ] ‘to circumcise’; Tigre *käšba* ‘to circumcise’; Tigrinya (with augmented *n*) *känšäbä*, *känsäbä* ‘to circumcise’; Gurage *(a)kässäbä* ‘to pound the shell of grain’. Leslau 1979:352—353 and 1987:295. Proto-Semitic **kas-ay-* ‘to cut, to separate, to divide’ > Geez / Ethiopic *kʷasaya* [ኰሰየ] ‘to separate, to divide, to invalidate, to abrogate, to rescind, to repel, to abolish, to destroy, to dissolve, to decompose, to belittle, to disprove, to refute’; Tigrinya *kʷäsäyä* ‘to break to pieces’. Leslau 1987:296—297. Proto-Semitic **kas-ap-* ‘to cut, to trim, to break’ > Akkadian *kasāpu* ‘to chip, to break off a piece, to trim; to be cut, to be broken’; Arabic *kasafa* ‘to cut up’; Śḥeri /

Jibbāli *ksɔf* ‘to make something smaller’, *ekósf* ‘to humiliate’. Zammit 2002:354. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:324, no. 1485, **kos-* ‘to pierce, to cut’.]

B. Dravidian: Kuṛux *kaccnā* ‘to divide (soft material) by force, to break by pulling, to pull to pieces, to break off, to bite off; to finish, to do thoroughly, definitely, or finally’, *kacrnā* ‘to be pulled off, to break short’; Malto *qace* ‘to break (as a cord), to cure an illness by exorcism, to end, to finish’, *qacre* ‘to be broken, to be done, to be over’, *qacro* ‘broken, torn cloth’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:103, no. 1100.

C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰes-*, **kʰas-* ‘to cut’: Sanskrit *śásati* ‘to cut down, to kill, to slaughter’; Greek κεάζω ‘to split, to cleave’; Latin *castrō* ‘to castrate’; Middle Irish *cess* ‘spear’; Old Church Slavic *kosa* ‘scythe’; Russian *kosá* [кoca] ‘scythe’; Czech *kosa* ‘scythe’; Polish *kosa* ‘scythe’; Serbo-Croatian *kòsa* ‘scythe’; Bulgarian *kosá* ‘scythe’. Rix 1998a:293 **k̂es-* ‘to cut (off)’; Watkins 1985:30 **kes-* (variant **kas-*) and 2000:41 **kes-* (variant **kas-*) ‘to cut’; Pokorny 1959:586 **k̂es-* ‘to cut’; Walde 1927—1932.I:448—449 **k̂es-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:336 (?) **k̂os-trom* ~ **k̂os-dhrom* ‘cutting instrument, knife’, **k̂es-* ‘to cut’; Mann 1984—1987:494 **kesō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to cut, to chop’, 614 **k̂es-* ‘to cut, to stab’; Hofmann 1966:137 **k̂es-*; Boisacq 1950:424—425; Frisk 1970—1973.I:806 **k̂es-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:507—508 **kes-*; Beekes 2010.I:661—662 **ḱes-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:104; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:179—180; De Vaan 2008:97; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:319; Derksen 2008:238 **ḱos-*.

D. Proto-Altaic **kʰăsi-* ‘(vb.) to cut; (n.) piece’: Proto-Tungus **(χ)asu-* ‘to chop, to cut off; to bite’ > Manchu *asiχiya-* ‘to trim off, to pare off, to prune’; Evenki *asu-* ‘to bite’. Proto-Mongolian **kasu-* ‘to cut off pieces, to adze, to diminish’ > Written Mongolian *qasu-* ‘to diminish, to decrease, to abbreviate; to take away from, to cut down, to curtail; to shorten; to exclude, to eliminate; to subtract, to deduct; to delete’, *qasuγdal* ‘deduction, diminution, decrease’, *qasulta* ‘reduction, diminution, decrease; deduction, exclusion’, *qasulγ-a* ‘deduction, subtraction’; Khalkha *χas-* ‘to cut off pieces, to adze, to diminish’; Buriat *χaha-* ‘to cut off pieces, to adze, to diminish’; Kalmyk *χas-* ‘to cut off pieces, to adze, to diminish’; Ordos *ɢasu-* ‘to cut off pieces, to adze, to diminish’. Proto-Turkic **kes-* ‘to cut’ > Old Turkic (Yenisei) *kes-* ‘to cut’; Karakhanide Turkic *kes-* ‘to cut’; Turkish *kes-* ‘to cut, to cut off; to interrupt, to intercept; to cut down, to diminish; to determine, to decide, to agree upon; to cut the throat of, to kill; to castrate’, *kesim* ‘the act of cutting, slaughter; cut, shape, form; make, fashion’, *kesinti* ‘clipping, cutting; chip; deduction (from a sum)’, *keskin* ‘sharp, keen; pungent, severe; decided; peremptory; edge (of a cutting instrument)’, *kesme* ‘cut, that can be cut; decided, definite; shears’; Azerbaijani *käs-* ‘to cut’; Turkmenian *kes-* ‘to cut’; Uzbek *kes-* ‘to cut’; Uighur *kes-* ‘to cut’; Tatar *kis-* ‘to cut’; Bashkir *kiθ-* ‘to cut’; Kirghiz *kes-* ‘to cut’; Kazakh *kes-* ‘to cut’; Chuvash *kas-* ‘to cut’;

Yakut *kehē-* ‘to cut’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:769—770 **k‘ăsi* ‘to cut; piece’.

Buck 1949:9.22 cut (vb.); 9.27 split (vb. tr.). Brunner 1969:36, no. 142; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:405—406, no. 243.

432. Proto-Nostratic root **k$^{h}$at$^{h}$-* (~ **k$^{h}$ət$^{h}$-*):
(vb.) **k$^{h}$at$^{h}$-* ‘to plait, to weave, to twist’;
(n.) **k$^{h}$at$^{h}$-a* ‘that which is plaited, woven, twisted: mat, net, knot’
Derivative:
(n.) **k$^{h}$at$^{h}$-a* ‘rag, cloth’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kat-* ‘to plait, to weave, to twist’: Proto-Semitic **kat-ap-* ‘to tie, to bind’ > Arabic *katafa* ‘to fetter, to shackle, to tie up’; Soqoṭri *kátof* ‘to tie (to the top of the back)’; Geez / Ethiopic *katafa* [**ከተፈ**] ‘to bind firmly, to tie up’, *kətuf* [**ክቱፍ**] ‘bound firmly, tied up’; Amharic *kutfat-ä əd* ‘hands bound behind the back’; metathesis in: Hebrew *kāφaθ* [כָּפַת] ‘to tie, to bind’, *keφeθ* [כֶּפֶת] ‘knot, tie’; Mandaic *kpt* ‘to tie, to bind’; Aramaic *kəφaθ* ‘to tie, to bind’; Syriac *kəφaθ* ‘to tie into a knot’. Klein 1987:285; Murtonen 1989:237; Leslau 1987:297.
B. Dravidian: Gondi *kattĭ*, *ketti* ‘mat’, (?) *kaṭṭī* ‘palmleaf mat’; Konḍa *kati* ‘wall’; Kuwi *katti* ‘mat-wall’, *kati* ‘wall’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:113, no. 1205.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **ket-*/**kt-* ‘to twist, to turn’: Mingrelian *rt-* ‘to turn, to turn into’; Laz *kt-* ‘to twist, to turn’; Svan *kešd-* : *kšd-* ‘to turn’. Klimov 1998:214 **ket-* : **kt-* ‘to turn’; Fähnrich 2007:459 **ket-*/**kt-*.
D. Proto-Indo-European **k$^{h}$at$^{h}$-* ‘to plait, to weave, to twist’: Latin *catēna* ‘chain, fetter’, *cassēs* ‘a hunter’s net, snare, trap’; (?) Old Icelandic *hadda* ‘pot hook, pot handle’; Old English *heaðor* ‘restraint, confinement’, *heaðorian* ‘to shut in, to restrain, to control’; Old Church Slavic *kotьcь* ‘pen, coop’. Pokorny 1959:534 **kat-* ‘to plait’; Walde 1927—1932.I:338 **qat-*; Mann 1984—1987:478—479 **kat-* (**kāt-*) ‘to hold, to keep; hold, holder, handle, pen, keep’; De Vaan 2008:97 and 98; Ernout—Meillet 1979:103 and 105; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:177—178 **qat-*; De Vries 1977:200.

Buck 1949:6.33 weave; 9.75 plait (vb.). Dolgopolsky 1998:30—31, no. 22, **ḳadV* ‘to wicker, to wattle’ (‘wall, building’) and 2008, no. 1006, **ḳadV* ‘wickerwork, wattle’; Bomhard 1999a:55.

433. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k$^{h}$at$^{h}$-a* ‘rag, cloth’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **k$^{h}$at$^{h}$-* ‘to plait, to weave, to twist’;
(n.) **k$^{h}$at$^{h}$-a* ‘that which is plaited, woven, twisted: mat, net, knot’

A. Dravidian: Tuḷu *kadale* ‘(n.) a rag; (adj.) ragged, tattered’; Gondi *gatla*, *getli*, *getla*, *gette*, *gete*, *gende* ‘cloth’; Manḍa *kediya*, *kidiya* ‘cloth’; Pengo *kadiya*, *kediya* ‘waistcloth, cloth’. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:112, no. 1190.
B. Indo-European: Proto-Germanic **χaθrō* ‘patch, rag’ > Old High German *hadara* ‘patch, rag’ (New High German *Hader*). Middle High German *hader*, also *hadel*, ‘rag, tatter’; Old Saxon *hađilīn* ‘rag, tatter’. Kluge—Mitzka 1967:280; Kluge—Seebold 1989:285.

Buck 1949:6.21 cloth.

434. Proto-Nostratic root **k$^{h}$at$^{h}$-*:
(vb.) **k$^{h}$at$^{h}$-* ‘to fall down, to set down, to drop down’;
(n.) **k$^{h}$at$^{h}$-a* ‘lower part, lower place, lower thing’; (adj.) ‘lower, inferior’;
(particle) **k$^{h}$at$^{h}$-* ‘down’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Akkadian *katātu* ‘to be low or short; to suffer physical collapse; to descend to the horizon’.
B. Proto-Indo-European **k$^{h}$at$^{h}$-* ‘down, below, under, beneath; along, downwards’: Hittite *kat-ta*, *ka-at-ta*, *kat-ta-an* (adverb and preverb) ‘down, below, under; along; down the line, subsequently’, (postposition with dat.-loc. or gen.) ‘beneath, below, under, down (along), alongside, by, (along) with, on the side of’, (with abl.) ‘(from) beneath; down from’, *kat-ta-an-da* ‘downwards, along’, (adj.) *kat-te-ra*, *kat-te-ir-ra* ‘lower, inferior; nether, infernal; along, close(r)’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *kata* ‘down, under’, *katanta* ‘below’; Lydian (preverb) *kat-*, *κατ-*; Greek κατά, κάτα ‘down, along, according to, against’, (Homeric) κάταντα ‘downhill’; Tocharian B *kätk-* ‘to lower, to set (down)’, *kätkare* ‘(adj.) deep, far (of height); (adv.) deep, far’. Pokorny 1959:612—613 **kom*; Walde 1927—1932.I:458—459 *kom*; Mann 1984—1987:516 **km̥t-* (**km̥tm̥*, **km̥tō*, **km̥ti*) ‘together, combined, total’; Watkins 1985:27 **kat-* ‘something thrown down; offspring’ and 2000:37 **kat-* ‘down’; Mallory—Adams 1997:169 **kat-h$_a$e* ‘down’ and 2006:290, 292 **kat-h$_a$e* ‘down’; Puhvel 1984— .4:125—130 and 4:131—133; Kloekhorst 2008b:463—464 and 465; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:504—505; Frisk 1970—1973.I:800; Boisacq 1950:420—421; Hofmann 1966:135 **km̥ta*; Beekes 2010.I:656 **kmt-*; Adams 1999:159 — according to Adams, Tocharian B *kätk-* ‘to lower, to set (down)’ is based upon a Proto-Indo-European verb stem **kat-ske/o-*, built on the preposition **kat-a* ‘down(ward)’. Note: In view of the Tocharian cognate proposed by Adams, the traditional comparison of the Anatolian and Greek forms cited above with Old Irish (preposition) *cét-* ‘with’, Old Welsh *cant* ‘with’, and Latin *cum* ‘with’ is to be abandoned (so also Puhvel 1984— .4:130).
C. Proto-Eskimo **kataɣ-* ‘to fall or drop’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kataɣ-* ‘to dump or pour out, to fall’; Central Alaskan Yupik *kataɣ-* ‘to fall out or off, to drop’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *katə-*, *kataXtuʀ-* ‘to pour out, to drop, to

fall out'; Central Siberian Yupik *kataɣ-* 'to dump, to empty'; Sirenik *katəɣ-* 'to drop, to pour out'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *katak-* 'to fall, to drop'; North Alaskan Inuit *katak-* 'to fall, to drop'; Western Canadian Inuit *katak-* 'to fall, to drop'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *katak-* 'to fall, to drop, to go downwards'; Greenlandic Inuit *kataɣ-* 'to drop, to fall, to shed hair (animal), to be loosened'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:160.

Buck 1949:10.23 fall (vb.). Greenberg 2002:53, no. 107.

435. Proto-Nostratic root *$k^hat^h$-:
(vb.) *$k^hat^h$- 'to make a harsh, shrill screech or sound: to cackle, to caw, to screech, to cry, to yelp';
(n.) *$k^hat^h$-*a* 'cackling, cawing, screeching, crying, yelping'; (adj.) 'harsh, shrill, sharp, piercing (of sounds)'

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *katkūt* 'chicken, chick'.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kattu* (*katti-*) '(vb.) to caw, to screech, to chatter, to yelp, to growl, to bray, to bleat, to croak, to cry, to scream, to babble, to roar; (n.) crying, brawling, chattering'; Kannaḍa *kattu* 'to cry, to croak, to caw, to bray, etc.'. Burrow—Emeneau 1964:113, no. 1206.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **kat-* 'hen': Georgian *kat-am-i* 'hen'; Laz *kot-um-e* 'hen'; Mingrelian *kot-om-i* 'hen'; Svan *kat-al* 'hen'. Klimov 1964:195—196 **katam-* and 1998:211—212 **katam-* 'hen'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:369—370 **kat-*; Fähnrich 2007:455 **kat-*; Schmidt 1962:137.
D. Proto-Indo-European *$k^hat^h$-o-s* 'harsh, shrill, sharp, piercing (of sounds)': Latin *catus* 'sharp to the hearing, clear-sounding, shrill', transferred to intellectual objects in a good and bad sense: (a) good sense: 'clear-sighted, intelligent, sagacious, wise'; (b) bad sense: 'sly, crafty, cunning, artful'. Of dialectal origin (Sabine). Thus, not related to Latin *cōs* 'any hard stone, flintstone'. Same semantic development in Middle Irish *cath* 'wise; a sage'. Pokorny 1959:541—542; Walde 1927—1932.I:454—455; Mann 1984—1987:479 **katos* 'shrewd'; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I183—184; Ernout—Meillet 1979:106; Lindsay 1894:541; De Vaan 2008:99. Note: Mann stands alone in reconstructing a separate Proto-Indo-European form, preserved only in Latin and Middle Irish.

Buck 1949:3.51 hen, chicken (generic); 3.54 hen. Note: The words for 'hen, chicken' (Semitic and Kartvelian) may be Wanderwörter.

436. Proto-Nostratic root *$k^haw$- (~ *$k^həw$-):
(vb.) *$k^haw$- 'to swell, to expand, to inflate, to grow, to increase';
(n.) *$k^haw$-*a* 'accumulation, inflation, expansion, growth; heap, pile; height'

A. Proto-Afrasian **k[a]w-* ‘to swell, to expand, to inflate, to grow, to increase’: Proto-Semitic **kaw-* (**kaw-am-*, **kaw-ad-*, **kaw-ar-*, **kaw-as-*) ‘to swell, to expand, to inflate, to grow, to increase’ > Arabic *kawwama* ‘to heap, to stack up, to pile up, to accumulate’, *kawm* ‘heap, pile, hill’, *kūm* ‘heap, dung-hill, dung-pit’, *kāda* ‘to heap up, to pile up’, *kawda* ‘heap, pile’, *kāra* ‘to heap up’, *kawr* ‘plenty’, *kūs* ‘heaped-up sand-hill’; Geez / Ethiopic *kawama* [ከወመ] ‘to burst’; Tigre *kom* ‘heap’. Leslau 1987:299.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kō* ‘mountain’; Telugu *kōdu*, *kōduvā̆ḍu* ‘a Khond, a man of a certain hill tribe’, *kōya* name of a certain tribe of mountaineers; Kui *kui* ‘above, aloft, over, atop, upon’, *kuiki* ‘to the place above’, *kuiti* ‘from the place above’; Kuwi *kui* ‘up, above, west’. Krishnamurti 2003:7 and 11 **kō*/**kō-n-t̪u* ‘king, god’ (also ‘mountain’); Burrow—Emeneau 1984:196, no. 2178.

C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰew-*/**kʰow-*/**kʰu-* ‘to swell, to expand, to inflate, to grow, to increase’: Gothic *hūhjan* ‘to heap up, to store up’, *hiuhma* ‘heap, multitude’, *hauhs* ‘high’, *hauhei* ‘height’; Old Icelandic *hár* ‘high’, *haugr* ‘grave-mound’; Faroese *háur* ‘high’; Norwegian *høi* ‘high’; Swedish *hög* ‘high’; Danish *høg* ‘high’; Old English *hēah* ‘high’, *hīehþo*, *hīehð(u)* ‘height; above’; Old Frisian *hāch* ‘high’; Old Saxon *hōh* ‘high’; Dutch *hoog* ‘high’; Old High German *houc* ‘hill’, *hōh* ‘high’ (New High German *hoch*); Lithuanian *kaũkas* ‘swelling, boil’, *kaukarà* ‘hill’, *káugė* ‘large stack of hay’; Tocharian (adv.) A *koc*, B *kauc* ‘high, up, above’. Pokorny 1959:588—592 **keu-*, **keu̯ə-* ‘to bend’; Walde 1927—1932.I:370—376 **qeu-*; Mann 1984—1987:282 **kūk̑i̯ō* ‘to swell, to inflate’; Watkins 1985:30—31 **keu-* base of various loosely related derivatives with assumed basic meaning ‘to bend’, whence ‘a round or hollow object’ and 2000:41 **keuə-* ‘to swell; vault, hole’; Mallory—Adams 1997:62 **keu-k-* ‘curve’; Orël 2003:165 Proto-Germanic **xauǯaz* ~ **xauǯan*, 166 **xauxaz*, 166 **xauxiþō*, 166 **xauxīn*, 166 **xauxjanan*; Kroonen 2013:215 Proto-Germanic **hauha-* ‘high’; Lehmann 1986:179 **kew-* ‘to bend’, **kew-k-* ‘bend, curve’ and 185 **kew-H-* ‘to bend’; Feist 1939:249 **keu̯k-* and 258—259; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:321; De Vries 1977:210 **keu-* ‘to bend’, **k̂eu-* ‘to swell’; Onions 1966:440 **koukos*; Klein 1971:347 **qeu-q-*, enlargement of **qeu-* ‘to bend’; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:146—147; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:312 **koukó-s* ‘hill’, **keu-* ‘to bend’; Kluge—Seebold 1989:312; Adams 1999:209; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:228 **qou-d-* parallel to **qou-q-* found in Gothic *hauhs* ‘high’; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:229, I:229—230, and I:230; Smoczyński 2007.1:265.

D. Yukaghir *kuwémoj* ‘to grow’, *-kúwoj* ‘big’. Nikolaeva 2005:230.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kæwæ* ‘hill or bump’ (?) > Chukchi *ke(w)eqej* ‘unevenness, hill’, *keere-cʔən* ‘unevenness’, *kewekej* ‘hill’, *ɣe-kewe-lin* ‘hilly’; Kerek *kawaaŋa* ‘rough (place ?)’, *a-kaawa-kəlʁan* ‘smooth’; Koryak *kavet*, *kavat* ‘hills, bumps’; Alyutor (Palana) *kewetteɣən* ‘edge of mountain seen from sea side’. Fortescue 2005:135.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain, hill; 12.31 high. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:410—411, no. 250.

437. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$k^h$*ay-a* ‘solitude, loneliness, separateness’; (adj.) ‘alone’:
Extended form (Afrasian and Indo-European):
(n.) *$k^h$*ay-w-a* ‘solitude, loneliness, separateness’; (adj.) ‘alone’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kayw-* ‘alone’: Proto-East Cushitic **kaww-* (< **kayw-*) ‘alone’ > Somali *kaw* ‘one’; Konso *xaww-aa* ‘alone, separate, different’; Gidole *haww* ‘alone’; Rendille *kow* ‘one’. Sasse 1979:44.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaimmai* ‘widowhood, widow, lovelorn condition’, *kaintalai*, *kayiṉi*, *kaiṉi* ‘widow’, *kai-kkilai* ‘unreciprocated love’; Tuḷu *kai-poṇjavu* ‘a single woman’ (*poṇjavu*, *poṇjevu* ‘a female in general, a grown-up woman’); Parji *kētal*, (NE.) *kēṭal* ‘widow’, *kētub* ‘widower’, *kētub cind* ‘orphan’; Gadba (Ollari) *kēṭal* ‘widow’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:183, no. 2028.
C. Proto-Indo-European *$k^h$*ay-* (extended form *$k^h$*ay-wo-*) ‘alone’: Latin *caelebs* ‘unmarried, single’; Sanskrit *kévala-ḥ* ‘exclusively one’s own, alone’; Old Church Slavic *cě-glъ* ‘alone’; Latvian *kaîls* ‘barren, childless’. Pokorny 1959:519 **kai-*, **kai-u̯o-*, **kai-u̯elo-* ‘alone’; Walde 1927—1932.I:326 **qai-*; Mann 1984—1987:459 **kai-* ‘alone, separate, only’, 460 **kailos* ‘single, alone, deprived’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:267 **kaiwelo-*; Mallory—Adams 1997:12 **kai-u̯elos* ‘alone’; De Vaan 2008:80; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:130 **qaiu̯elo-*, **qai-u̯o-*, **qai-lo-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:83.

Buck 1949:13.33 alone, only. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:411—412, no. 252; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1950, **q̇aywE(-LV)* ‘exclusively one’s own’ (→ ‘alone’, ‘entire’).

438. Proto-Nostratic root *$k^h$*ay-* (~ *$k^h$*əy-*):
(vb.) *$k^h$*ay-* ‘to put, to place, to set, to lay; to be placed, to lie’;
(n.) *$k^h$*ay-a* ‘resting place, abode, dwelling; cot, bed’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Southern Cushitic **kaay-* ‘to put, to set, to lay’ > Ma’a *-ke* ‘to put, to set, to lay’; Dahalo *kaaj-* ‘to put, to set, to lay’. Ehret 1980:243.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *cē* ‘to dwell, to lie, to remain, to sleep’, *cēppu* (*cēppi-*) ‘to abide, to remain’, *cēkkai* ‘cot, bed, roost, dwelling place, nest’; Kannaḍa *kē* (*kēd-*) ‘to lie down, to repose, to copulate with’, *kēvu*, *kendu* ‘copulation’; Tuḷu *kedoṇuni* ‘to lie down, to rest’, *kēlu̯* ‘abode of a pariah’; Kolami *ke꞉p-* (*ke꞉pt-*) ‘to make (child) to sleep’; Malto *kíde* ‘to lay down’; Kuṛux *kīdnā*, *kīdʔānā* ‘to allow or invite one to lie down to rest or sleep, to put to bed (child), to lay in the grave’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:181, no. 1990.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$k^h$*ey-*/*$k^h$*oy-*/*$k^h$*i-* ‘to lie, to be placed’: Sanskrit *śéte* ‘to lie, to lie down, to recline, to rest, to repose’, (causative) *śāyayati* ‘to cause to lie down, to lay down, to put, to throw, to fix on or in’; Avestan *saēte* ‘to lie down, to recline’; Greek κεῖται ‘to lie, to be placed’, κοίτη, κοῖτος ‘the marriage-bed’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. mid.) *ki-it-ta(-ri)* ‘to lie, to be placed’; Palaic (3rd sg. pres. mid.) *ki-i-ta-ar* ‘to lie’. Rix 1998a:284 *$\hat{k}e\underline{i}$- ‘to lie, to rest, to repose’; Pokorny 1959:539—540 *$\hat{k}ei$- ‘to lie, to camp’; Walde 1927—1932.I:358—360 *$\hat{k}ei$-; Mann 1984—1987:606 *$\hat{k}ei$- (*$\hat{k}ei\underline{i}$-, *$\hat{k}\bar{i}$-) ‘to lie, to fall’; Watkins 1985:27—28 *kei- and 2000:38 *kei- ‘to lie; bed, couch; beloved, dear’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:295 *$\hat{k}$[$^h$]$e\underline{i}$- and 1995.I:256 *$\hat{k}^h ei$- ‘to lie’; Mallory—Adams 1997:352 *$\hat{k}ei$- ‘to lie’; Boisacq 1950:426 *$\hat{k}ei$-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:809—810; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:509—510; Hofmann 1966:37 *$\hat{k}ei$-; Beekes 2010.I:663—664 *$\acute{k}ei$-; Puhvel 1984— .4:169—173 *$\hat{k}ey$-; Kloekhorst 2008b:473—475 *$\acute{k}\acute{e}i$-*to*, *$\acute{k}\acute{e}$*into*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III: 303—304.

D. (?) Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian *kuyз- ‘to lie’ > Cheremis / Mari *ki(j)e-* ‘to lie’; Votyak / Udmurt *kyll'y-* (< *kyjly-*) ‘to lie, to be lazy’; Zyrian / Komi *kujly-* ‘to lie’; Vogul / Mansi *kuj-* ‘to lie, to sleep’; Ostyak / Xanty (North Obdorsk) *hoj-* ‘to lie’. Collinder 1955:89 and 1977:105; Rédei 1986—1988:197 *kuyз-.

Buck 1949:12.12 put (place, set, lay); 12.14 lie. Koskinen 1980:22, no. 64; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:416—417, no. 259.

439. Proto-Nostratic root *$k^h$*ay-* (~ *$k^h$*əy-*):
(vb.) *$k^h$*ay-* ‘to be or become warm or hot; to make warm, to heat’;
(n.) *$k^h$*ay-a* ‘heat’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kāy* ‘to grow hot, to burn, to be warm (as body), to wither, to parch, to be dried up, to begin to heal (sore, wound, boil), to shine, to be indignant, to be angry, to be prejudiced, to hate’; Malayalam *kāyuka* ‘to be hot, heated, feverish; to shine; to grow dry; to warm oneself’; Kota *ka·y-* (*ka·c-*) ‘to become hot, to warm oneself, to bask in the sun’; Kannaḍa *kāy* (*kāyd-*, *kād-*) ‘to grow hot, to grow red-hot, to burn with passion, to be angry’; Koḍagu *ka·y-* (*ka·yuv-*, *ka·ñj-*) ‘to be hot, to boil, to bask in the sun’; Tuḷu *kāyuni* ‘to be hot, to burn, to be feverish, to be angry’; Telugu *kã̄ka* ‘warmth, heat, anger’; Naiki (of Chanda) *kāy-* ‘to be hot’; Kuwi *kaiyali* ‘to become hot’, *kaiyi* ‘hot’; Gadba (Ollari) *kāyp-* (*kāyt-*) ‘to boil’, *kāykir* ‘fever’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:135—136, no. 1458; Krishnamurti 2003:130 *kāy* ‘to grow hot’, and 181 *kā-y-/*kā-.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$k^h$*ay-* ‘(vb.) to heat; (n.) heat’: Gothic *hais* ‘torch’, *heitō* ‘fever’; Old Icelandic *heita* ‘to heat’, *heitr* ‘hot, burning’, *hiti* ‘heat, warmth’; Swedish *het* ‘hot’, *hetta* ‘heat’; Old English *hāt* ‘hot’, *hætan* ‘to

heat', *hæte* 'heat, inflammation', *hæto* 'heat'; Old Frisian *hēt* 'hot', *hete* 'heat'; Old Saxon *hēt* 'hot', *hittia* 'heat'; Dutch *heet* 'hot', *hitte* 'heat'; Old High German *heiz* 'hot' (New High German *heiß*), *hizz(e)a* 'heat' (New High German *Hitze*), *heizen* 'to heat' (New High German *heizen*); Lithuanian *kaistù*, *kaitaũ*, *kaĩsti* 'to become heated, to get warm'. Pokorny 1959:519 **kăi-*, **kĭ-* 'heat'; Walde 1927—1932.I:326—327 **qăi-*, **qĭ-*; Mann 1984—1987:460 **kaist-* 'to burn, to purge, to purify, to refine', 461 **kait-*; Watkins 1985:26 **kai-* and 2000:36 **kai-* 'heat' (extended form **kaid-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:264 **keh$_x$i-* 'hot'; Feist 1939:235—236 **kă̯i-* and 253 **kă̯i-*; Lehmann 1986:171 **kă̆y-* and 181 **kă̆y-*, **kĭ-*; Orël 2003:153 Proto-Germanic **xaitaz*, 153 **xaitjanan*; Kroonen 2013:202 Proto-Germanic **haita-* 'hot'; De Vries 1977:220 **kai-*, **kī-* and 229; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:168—169; Onions 1966:433 and 449; Klein 1971:338 and 354 **qāi-* 'heat'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:301 **kăi-*, **kĭ-*, 302, and 311; Kluge—Seebold 1989:302 **kai-* and 312; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:204; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:204; Smoczyński 2007.1:244—245.

C. Proto-Uralic **keye-* 'to cook, to boil': Finnish *keittä-* 'to cook, to boil'; Estonian *kee-* 'to boil (intr.)', *keeta-* 'to boil (tr.)'; Lapp / Saami (Kola) *gyp'te-* 'to boil'; Cheremis / Mari *küä-*, *küja-* 'to boil (intr.), to ripen (intr.)', *kükte-*, *küjükte-* 'to boil (tr.), to ripen (tr.)'; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *kuu-* 'to ripen (of berries)'. Collinder 1955:23 and 1977:44; Rédei 1986—1988:143—144 Proto-Finno-Ugrian **keje-*; Décsy 1990:100 **kejä* 'to cook; well done, ripe'.

Buck 1949:5.21 cook (vb.); 5.22 boil; 5.23 roast, fry; 5.24 bake; 15.85 hot, warm. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:419—420, no. 262; Hakola 2000:63, no. 242.

440. Proto-Nostratic root **k$^h$ay-*:
(vb.) **k$^h$ay-* 'to scoop out';
(n.) **k$^h$ay-a* 'spoon, ladle'
Extended form:
(vb.) **k$^h$ay-V-w-* 'to dig';
(n.) **k$^h$ay-w-a* 'cave, pit, hollow'

A. Dravidian: Malayalam *kayyil* 'ladle, spoon'; Betta Kuruba *kīlɨ̄* 'ladle'; Tuḷu *kailu̯* 'ladle, spoon'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:117, no. 1257.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k$^h$ay-wr̥-t$^h$*, **k$^h$ay-wn̥-t$^h$* 'cave, hollow': Sanskrit *kévaṭa-ḥ* 'cave, hollow'; Greek καιάδᾱς 'pit or underground cavern', καιετός 'fissure produced by an earthquake'. Pokorny 1959:521 **kaiu̯r̥-t*, **kaiu̯n̥-t*; Walde 1927—1932.I:327 **kaiu̯r̥-t* 'cleft, hollow'; Mallory—Adams 1997:96 (?) **káiu̯r̥(t)* 'cave, fissure'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:267 **kaiwr̥-t*, **kaiwn̥-t*; Boisacq 1950:390 **qəiu̯r̥t-*; Hofmann 1966:128; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:479 **kai-wr̥/n̥-t-*; Beekes 2010.I:615; Frisk 1970—1973.I:753 **qaiu̯r̥-t-*; Benveniste 1935:111 **kai-wr̥-t*, alongside

**kai-wn̥-t* in Greek (Hesychius) (pl.) καίατα· ὀρύγματα. Note: According to Joki (1973:130), the Indo-European forms are loans from Uralic.

C. Proto-Uralic **kayɜ* ‘spoon, ladle, shovel’: (?) Livonian *kǫǫi*, *kååi* ‘spoon, ladle’; (?) Votyak / Udmurt *kuj* ‘shovel, winnowing-shovel’; Zyrian / Komi *koj-* ‘to shovel (snow)’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *huu* ‘spoon, ladle’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *kụi* ‘spoon, ladle’; (?) Selkup Samoyed *kujak* ‘spoon, ladle’; (?) Kamassian *kaigu* ‘spoon, ladle’. Rédei 1986—1988:117—118 **kajɜ* (**kojɜ*); Décsy 1990:99 [**kaja*] ‘spoon’; Janhunen 1977b:76 **kuj*. Proto-Finno-Permian **koywa-* ‘to dig’ > Finnish *kaivos* ‘mine, pit’, *kaiva-* ‘to dig, to delve, to burrow, to dig out’; Estonian *kaeva-* ‘to dig’; Cheremis / Mari *koe-* ‘to dig, to shovel’. Joki 1973:130; Rédei 1986—1988:117—118 and 170—171 **kojwa-*; Décsy 1990:100 Proto-Uralic [**kojva*] ‘to dig, to burrow, to scoop’.

Buck 1949:5.37 spoon; 8.22 dig; 12.72 hollow. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I: 333—334, no. 209, **Ḳajwʌ* ‘to dig’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:427—428, no. 271; Hakola 2000:48, no. 168; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 969, **koyV* ~ **kayV* ‘to draw; scoop, spoon’ and, no. 1241, **Ḳay[i]wa* ‘to dig’.

441. Proto-Nostratic root **k$^{h}$il-* (~ **k$^{h}$el-*):
(vb.) **k$^{h}$il-* ‘to make a sound or a noise; to say, to speak, to talk’;
(n.) **k$^{h}$il-a* ‘sound, noise; tongue, speech, language’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kiḷa* ‘to express clearly, to make special mention of, to state specifically’, *kiḷattu* (*kiḷatti-*) ‘to express clearly’, *kiḷappu* ‘speech, utterance’, *kiḷavu* ‘word, speech, language’; Kannaḍa *kiḷir̲*, *kiḷir* ‘to sound, to neigh’, *keḷar* ‘to cry out, to roar’; Gondi *kel-*, *kell-* ‘to tell’; Koṇḍa *kēṛ-* ‘(cock) to crow’; Pengo *kṛe-* ‘(cock) to crow’; Kui *klāpa* (*klāt-*) ‘(vb.) to crow, to coo, to lament; (n.) call of a male bird, to lament’, *kelpa* (*kelpi-*) ‘(vb.) to invoke, to petition a deity, to repeat incantations; (n.) incantation, invocation’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:182, no. 2017(b). Tamil *cilai* ‘(vb.) to sound, to resound, to roar, to twang; to rage, to be angry; (n.) sound, roar, bellow, twang’, *cil* ‘sound, noise’, *cilampu* (*cilampi-*) ‘(vb.) to sound, to make a tinkling noise, to echo; (n.) sound, noise, resonance; tinkling anklets’, (reduplicated) *cilucilu* ‘to sound (as in frying), to talk without restraint, to make a hissing noise’, *cilumpu* (*cilumpi-*) ‘to sound’, *cilaṅke* ‘tiny bell’; Malayalam *cila*, *cilappu*, *cileppu* ‘ringing sound’, *cilekka* ‘to rattle, to tinkle, to chatter, to chirp, to bark’, *cilampu* ‘foot-trinket filled with pebbles for tinkling, worn by dancers’, *cilampuka* ‘to tinkle, to be out of tune’; Kota *kilc-* (*kilc-*) ‘to utter a shrill cry of joy’, *jelk* ‘anklet with bells’; Toda *kilk-* (*kilky-*) ‘to neigh’; Kannaḍa *kele* ‘to cry or shout with energy or for joy, to vociferate (abusively)’, *keleta* ‘abusive vociferation’, *cili* an imitative sound, *sele* ‘sound, noise, echo’; Tuḷu *kilevuni*, *kilēvuni* ‘to whistle, to resound’, *kelepuni*, *kilepuni* ‘to crow’; Koraga *kelappu* ‘to cry’;

Telugu *celãgu* ‘to sound’, *kelayu* ‘to rage’, *kilārincu*, *kilārucu* ‘to make a noise, to shout’; Gondi *kiliyānā* ‘to shout’, *kilīyānā* ‘to weep loudly, to cry out, to scream’, *killītānā* ‘to chirp, to cry out’, *kīlitānā* ‘to roar (as a tiger)’, *kil-*/*kill-* ‘to weep, (owl) to hoot, (animals) to cry’, *kil(i)-* ‘to scream, (child) to cry’, *kilānā* ‘to weep’; Kui *klāpa* (*klāt-*) ‘(vb.) to crow, to coo, to lament; (n.) call of a male bird, lament’, *klīri klīri ṛīva* ‘to shriek with fear’, *klīsi klīsi ṛīva* ‘to shout with vehemence’; Kuwi *kileri-kīali* ‘to shout, to yell’, *kileḍi kīnai* ‘to shout’, *klīrinai*, *klīri innai* ‘to yell’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:144, no. 1574; Krishnamurti 2003:109 and 129 **kil-* ‘sound, noise’.

B. Proto-Uralic **kele* ‘tongue, speech, language’: Finnish *kieli* ‘tongue, speech, language’; Lapp / Saami *kiella* ‘language’ (Fennic loan); Mordvin *kel′* ‘tongue, speech, language’; Votyak / Udmurt *kyl* ‘tongue, language, speech, word’; Zyrian / Komi *kyl* ‘tongue, language, speech, word’; Vogul / Mansi *kelä* ‘word, report’; Ostyak / Xanty *köl* ‘word, speech, news’. Collinder 1955:25, 1965:139, and 1977:45; Rédei 1986—1988:144—145 **kele* (**kēle*); Décsy 1990:100 **kelä* ‘tongue, language’.

C. Proto-Altaic **k*$^{h}$*i̯ăli* ‘tongue’: Proto-Tungus **χilŋü* ‘tongue’ > Manchu *ileŋgu* ‘tongue’; Evenki *inńi* ‘tongue’; Lamut / Even *ienŋъ* ‘tongue’; Negidal *ińŋi* ‘tongue’; Ulch *sińu* ‘tongue’; Orok *sinu* ‘tongue’; Nanay / Gold *śirmu*, *siŋmu* ‘tongue’; Oroch *iŋi* ‘tongue’; Udihe *iŋi* ‘tongue’; Solon *iŋi* ‘tongue’. Proto-Mongolian **kele-* ‘(vb.) to say; (n.) tongue, language’ > Mongolian *kele-* ‘to utter words, to express in words; to say, to speak, to tell, to narrate’, *kelelče-* ‘to speak, to talk, to converse, to discuss together’, *kelen* ‘tongue, language, dialect, speech’, *kelele-* ‘to speak’; Khalkha *χele-* ‘to say’, *χel* ‘tongue, language’; Buriat *χele-* ‘to say’, *χele(n)* ‘tongue, language’; Kalmyk *kelə-* ‘to say’, *kelŋ* ‘tongue, language’; Ordos *kele-* ‘to say’, *kele* ‘tongue, language’; Moghol *kelä-* ‘to say’, *kelän* ‘tongue, language’; Dagur *χele-* ‘to say’, *χeli*, *χeĺ* ‘tongue, language’; Monguor *kile-* ‘to say’, *kile* ‘tongue, language’. Poppe 1955:142. Proto-Turkic **kele-* ‘(vb.) to speak; (n.) talk, conversation’ > Old Turkic *kele-čü* ‘talk, conversation’; Turkish (dial.) [*keleẑi*] ‘talk, conversation’; Chuvash *kala-* ‘to say’; Kirghiz *keleč-söz* ‘talk, conversation’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:796—797 **k‘î̯ăli* ‘tongue’.

D. (?) Proto-Eskimo **qiluɣ-* ‘to bark’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qiluɣ-* ‘to bark’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qiluɣ-* ‘to bark’; Central Siberian Yupik *qiluɣ-* ‘to bark’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qiluk-* ‘to bark’; North Alaskan Inuit *qil$^{y}$uk-* ‘to bark’; Western Canadian Inuit *qiluk-* ‘to bark’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qiluk-* ‘to bark’; Greenlandic Inuit *qiluɣ-* ‘to bark’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:305.

Buck 1949:4.26 tongue; 18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say; 18.24 language; 18.26 word. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:346—347, no. 221, **Ķä/lH/ä* ‘language, speech’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:407, no. 245; Hakola 2000:67—68, no. 267.

442. Proto-Nostratic root *$k^hil^y$- (~ *$k^hel^y$-):
(vb.) *$k^hil^y$- ‘to rise, to ascend, to lift up’;
(n.) *$k^hil^y$-*a* ‘hill, height’; (adj.) ‘raised, high’

A. Proto-Afrasian *kil- ‘to lift, to raise, to ascend’: Egyptian (*kil- > *$k^yil$- > *$t^yil$- >) *ṯnỉ*, *ṯny* ‘to lift up, to raise’. Hannig 1995:956; Faulkner 1962:305; Erman—Grapow 1921:209 and 1926—1963.5:374—375. Highland East Cushitic: Gedeo / Darasa *kiil-* (< *kilo- ?) ‘to weigh’. Hudson 1989:165 and 249.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kiḷar* ‘to rise, to ascend, to emerge, to shoot up, to increase, to shine, to be conspicuous, to be exalted, to be aroused’, *kiḷarttu* (*kiḷartti-*) ‘to raise up, to fill’; Malayalam *kiḷaruka* ‘to rise, to grow high, to burst’, *kiḷarttuka* ‘to raise, to make high’, *kiḷukka* ‘to grow up, to sprout’; Kannaḍa *keḷar* ‘to gape, to open, to expand, to extend, to blossom, to appear, to rise’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:145, no. 1583.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$k^hel$-/*$k^hl̥$- (secondary *o*-grade form: *$k^hol$-) ‘(vb.) to lift, to raise, to elevate; (n.) hill’: Greek κολωνός ‘hill’; Latin *celsus* ‘raised up, high, lofty’, *collis* ‘hill’, *columen* ‘that which is raised on high; a height, summit, ridge’, *-cellō* in: *antecellō* ‘to be outstanding, to excel’, *excellō* ‘to stand out, to excel, to be distinguished, to be eminent’, *praecellō* ‘to surpass, to excel’; Old English *hyll* ‘hill’; Frisian *hel* ‘hill’; Low German *hul* ‘hill’; Old Saxon *holm* ‘hill’; Middle Dutch *hille*, *hil*, *hul* ‘hill’; Lithuanian *keliù*, *kélti* ‘to lift, to raise’, *kálnas* ‘hill, mound’. Rix 1998a:312 *kelH- ‘to rise up, to tower up’; Pokorny 1959:544 *kel-, *kelə- ‘to tower up, to lift’; Walde 1927—1932.I:433—434 *qel-; Mann 1984—1987:486 *kelō, -i̯ō ‘to lift, to bear, to bring’, 485 *kelesə ‘heights’, 527 *kolnos, -is, -us ‘hill’; Watkins 1984:28 *kel- and 2000:39 *kel- ‘to be prominent; hill’; Mallory—Adams 1997:270 *$kolh_x$-ōn ~ *$kl̥h_x$-n-ós ‘hill’ and 352 *$kel(h_1)$- ‘to lift, to raise up’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:669 *k[ʰ]el- and 1995.I:577 *$k^hel$- ‘mountain; heights, high place’; Beekes 2010.I:741—742 *kolH-n-; Hofmann 1966:153 *qol-ō(u)n-, *qol-nis; Frisk 1970—1973.I:906—907 *qol-(e)n-, *$ql̥$-n-; Boisacq 1950:487—488 *qele-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:559; De Vaan 2008:105, 124, and 127; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:197—198 *qel(e)-, I:245 *$ql̥$-nis, *qolen-, *qol-ō(u)n-, and I:249—250 *qel-; Ernout—Meillet 1979:111 *keldō, 132 *kolən-, and 134; Orël 2003:191 Proto-Germanic *xulmaz, 191—192 *xulniz; Onions 1966:441 *$kl̥$-, *kel-, *kol-; Klein 1971:347 *qel-; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:237—238; Smoczyński 2007.1:249 and 1:274 *kelH-; Derksen 2015:221 *kolH-n- and 236 *kelH-.

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *kilej-* ‘to fly or leap up high’. Nikolaeva 2006:210.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain; hill; 10.22 raise, lift. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:460—461, no. 305.

443. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *$k^h$ir-a* ‘uppermost part (of anything): horn, head, skull, crown of head; tip, top, summit, peak’:

A. Proto-Afrasian *k[i]r- ‘uppermost part (of anything): horn, head, skull, crown of head’: Egyptian *krty* (f. dual) ‘horns (on the crown of Amun)’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:134; Hannig 1995:885. Berber: Tuareg *takərkort* ‘skull, cranium’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *takərkurt* ‘cock’s comb’. Cushitic: Bilin (reduplicated) *kirkirtá* ‘skull, crown of head’. Reinisch 1887:226. Chadic: Margi *$k^h$ár/kár* ‘head’; Nzangi *kırre/kre/krę* ‘head’; Sukur *$k^h$ur/kxər* ‘head’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:182—183.

B. Dravidian: Parji *kipra* ‘a snail’s shell’; Pengo *kipri* ‘shell (of snail, etc.), skull’; Manḍa *kirpi* ‘shell’; Kuwi *kirpā*, *girpa* ‘skull’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:143, no. 1555. Metathesis in Parji and Pengo.

C. Proto-Indo-European *$k^h$er-/*$k^h$r̥- (secondary *o*-grade form: *$k^h$or-*), *$k^h$erH-/*$k^h$r̥H- ‘uppermost part (of anything): horn, head, skull, crown of head; tip, top, summit, peak; horned animal’: Sanskrit *śíras-* (< *$k^h$r̥Hes-*) ‘head, skull’, *śr̥ṅga-m* ‘the horn of an animal; the tusk of an elephant; the top or summit of a mountain, peak; the highest part of a building, pinnacle, turret; any peak or projection or lofty object, elevation, point, end, extremity’, *śīrṣá-ḥ* ‘the head, skull; the upper part, tip, top (of anything)’, *śīrṣán-* (< *$k^h$r̥Hsen-*) ‘the head’; Avestan *sarah-* ‘head’, *srū-*, *srvā-* ‘horn’; Greek κέρας ‘the horn of an animal’, κάρᾱ (Ionic κάρη) ‘the head; the head or top of anything’, κεραός (< *κεραϝός) ‘horned’, κρᾱνίον ‘the upper part of the head, the skull’, κόρυμβος ‘the uppermost point, head, end’, κορυφή ‘the head, top, highest point; the crown or top of the head; the top or peak of a mountain’; Armenian *sar* ‘top, summit, peak’; Latin *cornū* ‘a horn’, *cerebrum* ‘the brain’, *cervus* ‘deer’; Gothic *haurn* ‘horn’; Old Icelandic *horn* ‘horn’, *hjarsi* ‘the crown of the head’, *hjarni* ‘brain’, *hjörtr* ‘hart, stag’; Norwegian *horn* ‘horn’, *hjerne* ‘brain’; Swedish *horn* ‘horn’, *hjärna* ‘brain’; Danish *horn* ‘horn’, *hjerne* ‘brain’; Old English *horn* ‘horn’, *heor(o)t* ‘stag’; Old Frisian *horn* ‘horn’, *hert* ‘hart, stag’; Old Saxon *horn* ‘horn’, *hirot* ‘hart, stag’; Dutch *hert* ‘hart, stag’, *hoorn* ‘horn’; Old High German *horn* ‘horn’ (New High German *Horn*), *hirni* ‘brain’ (New High German *Hirn*), *hir(u)z* ‘stag, hart’ (New High German *Hirsch*); Hittite (nom.-acc. sg./pl.) *ka-ra-a-wa-ar* ‘horn(s), antler(s)’. Pokorny 1959:574—577 **k̂er-*, **k̂erə-* : **k̂rā-*, **k̂erei-*, **k̂ereu-* ‘uppermost part of the body: head, horn’; Walde 1927—1932.I:403—408 **k̂er-*; Mann 1984—1987:609—610 **k̂er-* (*e*-grade of type **k̂r̥-*, **k̂ər-*) ‘head’, 611 **k̂erəd-* (**k̂erd-*) ‘horned animal’, 611 **k̂erəsr̥-* ‘head, crown of head, brain’, 611 **k̂erə̯uos* ‘horned; horn, horned beast’, 612 **k̂ern-* ‘bone, horn’, 612 **k̂ern̥t-* ‘horn, horned animal’, 613 **k̂ēros*, *-om*, *-ā*, 614 (**k̂eru̯os* ‘horned beast’), 616 **k̂ər-* ‘head, top, peak’, 638 **k̂r̥n-*, **k̂r̥̄n-* radical element of (1) ‘head’, (2) ‘horn, horny substance’, 638 **k̂r̥nət-*, **k̂r̥nt-*, **k̂r̥nit̯io-* (1) ‘head, headed’, (2) ‘horn, horned’, 638—639 **k̂r̥n-*

*gom* (?) ‘horn, horniness, horny growth’, 639 **k̂ḷrn̥iom* (**k̂ḷrniio-*), **k̂ḷrn̥ios* ‘head, skull, horn, tip’, 639 **k̂ḷrnom* (**k̂ḷrnu*) ‘horn, tip, corner’, 639 **k̂ḷros*, *-es-* ‘head, tip, top’, 640 **k̂ḷu̯os*, *-is* ‘horn’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:876 **k̂ḷ[ʰ]er-*, **k̂ḷ[ʰ]ṛn-* and 1995.I:149 and I:773 **k̂ʰer-* ‘head, horn’, **k̂ʰerH-* ‘head’, **k̂ʰṛn-* ‘horn’, I:97 **k̂ʰerw-* ‘horned animal’; Watkins 1985:29 **ker-* and 2000:40 **ker-* ‘horn, head’; Mallory—Adams 1997:260 **k̂ḷrr̥éh₂* ‘head’; (sg.) **k̂órh₂sṛ*, (collective) **k̂érh₂or* ‘head’; 272—273 **k̂ḷrnom* ‘horn’, **k̂érh₂(s)* ‘horn’, **k̂érh₂sṛ* ‘horn’, **k̂eru* ‘horn’; Lehmann 1986:180; Burrow 1973:87 **k̂ḷrHsen-* : **k̂ḷrHes-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:341 and III:369—370; Boisacq 1950:410—411, 437 **k̂erəu̯ó-s*, 438—439 **k̂er-əs-*, 498, 499, and 508; Frisk 1970—1973.I:784—785 **k̂ḷro-* (> Armenian *sar*), I:825—826 **k̂erəu̯-o-*, I:826—827, I:924—925, I:927—927, and II:6—7; Hofmann 1966:133, 140 **k̂ereu̯os*, 140 **k̂er-əs-*, 155, 156 **k̂oru-bho-*, and 158; Beekes 2010.I:641 **ḱrh₂-(e)s-n-*. I:676 **ḱerh₂*, I:676—677 **ḱerh₂-s-*, I:756, and I:770 **ḱerh₂-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:495—496, I:496 **kreə̯₂-*, **kᵒrə̯₂-*, I:517, I:517—518 **ker-ə̯₂-s-*, I:569, I:569—570, and I:577; De Vaan 2008:136—137; Ernout—Meillet 1979:114—115, 117, and 143 **kḷw-n-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:203—204 **k̂er-*, **k̂erāˢ-*, **k̂er-s-*, **k̂er-n-*, etc., I:208 **k̂er-*, I:276 **k̂er(-n-* etc.) ; Kloekhorst 2008b:446—447 **ḱr-ó-ur*, **ḱr-ó-un-*; Puhvel 1984— .4:77—79 **ker-(H₁-)* ‘head, horn, summit’; Orël 2003:170 Proto-Germanic **xersnōn* ~ **xersnan*, 171 **xerutuz* ~ **xerutaz*, 195 **xurnan*; Kroonen 2013:221 Proto-Germanic **hersan-* ~ **herzan-* ‘brain’ and 259 **hurna-* ‘horn’; Feist 1939:251 **k̂ḷrno-* (> Gothic *haurn*), **k̂er-*; Lehmann 1986:180 **k̂er-* ‘tip, head, horn’; De Vries 1977:231—232 **k̂er-*, 232, 234, and 249 **kor-* (gen. **kernés*); Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:299—300; Onions 1966:429 and 448; Klein 1971:335 **k̂er-* ‘the uppermost part of the body, head, horn, top, summit’ and 353 **k̂er-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:310 and 317; Kluge—Seebold 1989:311 and 316.

D. Altaic: Proto-Mongolian **kira* ‘edge, ridge’ > Written Mongolian *kira* ‘summit or ridge of a mountain, small mountain chain; foothills; slope; a strip (usually of horn) attached to the front and rear edges of a saddle’; Khalkha *χ́ar* ‘edge, ridge’; Buriat *χ́ara* ‘crest’; Kalmyk *kirə* ‘mountain pasture’; Ordos *kirā* ‘edge, ridge’; Dagur *χarɢaɢ*, *kira* ‘mound’. The following Tungus forms are Mongolian loans: Evenki *kira* ‘side’; Nanay / Gold *ḱerá* ‘edge, border, river-bank’. Proto-Turkic **Kïr* ‘isolated mountain; mountain top, ridge; steppe, desert, level ground; edge’ > Karakhanide Turkic *qïr* ‘isolated mountain; rising ground’; Turkish *kır* ‘country (as opposed to town or city), uncultivated land, wilderness’; Gagauz *qïr* ‘steppe, desert, level ground’; Turkmenian *ɢïr* ‘steppe, desert, level ground’; Uzbek *qir* ‘mountain top, ridge’; Uighur *qir* ‘steppe, desert, level ground; edge’; Tatar *qïr* ‘steppe, desert, level ground; edge’; Bashkir *qïr* ‘steppe, desert, level ground; edge’; Kirghiz *qïr* ‘mountain top, ridge; steppe, desert, level ground’; Kazakh *qïr* ‘mountain top, ridge; edge’;

Noghay *qïr* ‘steppe, desert, level ground’; Chuvash *χir* ‘steppe, desert, level ground’; Yakut *kïrtas* ‘mountain top, ridge’, *kïrdal* ‘hill’. The Turkic forms have been contaminated by derivatives of Proto-Altaic **giru* ‘shore, road’. Poppe 1960:114; Street 1974:17 **kïr* ‘mountain(side), edge’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:767—768 **kʻāre* ‘edge’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak also include Proto-Tungus **χāri-* ‘border, hem’. However, the Tungus forms are separated from the Mongolian and Turkic forms in this book and are included instead under Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k*$^{h}$*ar-a* ‘edge, side, bank’.

E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kərətkən* ‘top’: Chukchi *kərətkən* ‘top of tree, end of hair, source of river’, *kərə-kwən*, *kəcə-kwən* ‘head scarf’; Kerek *kiitn* ‘top’; Koryak *kəjətkən* ‘tip, top of tree, bud’, *kəjəckən* ‘end’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *ktxiŋ* ‘(human) head’, *ktxelxen* ‘crown of head’. Fortescue 2005:152.

(?) Sumerian *kur* ‘mountain’.

Buck 1949:1.22 mountain; hill; 4.17 horn; 4.20 head; 4.202 skull; 4.203 brain. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1157, **Ḳ̇irHV* (= **q̇[i]rʕV* ?) ‘top, summit, crown (of head)’.

444. Proto-Nostratic root **k*$^{h}$*ir-* (~ **k*$^{h}$*er-*):
(vb.) **k*$^{h}$*ir-* ‘to freeze, to be cold’;
(n.) **k*$^{h}$*ir-a* ‘frost, cold’

A. Dravidian: Parji (reduplicated) *girgira* ‘cold’; Gadba *girgira* ‘cold’; Gondi *kiriŋ-*, *kirŋg-*, *kiḍāng-* ‘to be cold’, *kirŋ-* ‘to become cool’; Kuṛux *kīrnā* ‘to be cold, to feel cool’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:144, no. 1568.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **kirsl-* ‘to snow’: Georgian *kirsl-* ‘to snow in tiny flakes’; Svan (Upper Bal) *kəs-e* ‘snow raised by wind’. Fähnrich 2007:467 **kirsl-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k*$^{h}$*r-ew-*/**k*$^{h}$*r-ow-*/**k*$^{h}$*r-u-* ‘(vb.) to freeze, to form a crust; (n.) crust; coating of ice, frost’: Greek κρύος (< *κρύσος or *κρύϝος) ‘icy cold, chill, frost’, κρυερός ‘icy, chilling’, κρῡμός ‘icy cold, frost’, κρυόεις ‘chilling; icy cold’, κρύσταλλος ‘clear ice, ice’; Latin *crusta* ‘crust, rind, shell, bark of any substance; coating of ice’; Old Icelandic *hrjósa* ‘to shake, to shudder’, *hrúðr* ‘crust, scab on a sore’; Old English *hrūse* ‘earth, ground’; Old High German *(h)roso* ‘ice, crust’; Latvian *kruvesis*, *kruesis* ‘rough frozen dung in the road’; Tocharian A (acc. sg.) *krośśäṁ*, B *krośce* (adj.) ‘cold’. Pokorny 1959:622; Walde 1927—1932.I:479; Watkins 1985:33 **kreus-* and 2000:44 **kreus-* ‘to begin to freeze, to form a crust’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:682 and 1995.I:589; Mallory—Adams 1997:117—118 **k*$^{w}$*rustḗn* ‘(freezing) cold’; Boisacq 1950:522; Frisk 1970—1973.II:28—29 **qru-s-*, **qruu̯-es-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:588—589 **qrus-*, **qreus-*; Hofmann 1966:162;

Beekes 2010.I:786 **kreus-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:153; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:295—296 **qru-s-*, **qreu-*; De Vaan 2008:147; Orël 2003:189 Proto-Germanic **xrusōn*, 190 **xrūþaz* ~ **xrūþōn*; Kroonen 2013:251 Proto-Germanic **hrusōn-* 'crust'; De Vries 1977:258 and 261 **kreu-*; Adams 1999:218—219 **kʷrus-* and 2013:236; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:236.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kerte* (**kirte*) 'ice, hoarfrost' > Finnish *kirsi*/*kirte-* 'frost on the ground', *kerte* 'thin snow-crust'; Estonian *kirs* 'ice layer, ice deep down in moist places'; Livonian *kiŕt* 'thin ice, which does not bear'; (?) Cheremis / Mari *kərt* 'ice-crust on the snow'; (?) Ostyak / Xanty (Tremyugan) *kærtəh*, (Southern) *kærtəm* 'thin crust (on the snow)'. Collinder 1955:89 and 1977:105; Rédei 1986—1988:150 **kerte* (**kirte*). Dolgopolsky (1998:23) also cites Ostyak / Xanty (Eastern) *kir*, (Northern) *ker* 'snow-crust'.

E. Proto-Altaic **kʰĭrma* (~ *-u*, *-o*) 'snow, hoarfrost': Proto-Tungus **χima-ŋsa* (< **χirma-*) 'snow' > Manchu *nimaŋgi* 'snow', *nimaŋgi labsan* 'snowflake', *nimaŋgi ilχa* 'snowflake, snow crystal', *nimara-* 'to snow'; Evenki *imana* 'snow'; Lamut / Even *įmъnrъ* 'snow'; Negidal *įmana* 'snow'; Ulch *sįmana*, *sįmata* 'snow'; Orok *sįmana*, *sįmata* 'snow'; Nanay / Gold *sįmana*, *sįmata* 'snow'; Oroch *imasa* 'snow'; Udihe *imaha* 'snow'; Solon *imanda* 'snow'. Proto-Mongolian **kirmag* 'first snow, new-fallen snow' > Written Mongolian *kirmaγ* 'fine or fluffy snow; first snow, new-fallen snow'; Khalkha *χarmag* 'first snow'; Buriat *χarmag*, *χirmag* 'first snow'; Kalmyk *kirmъg* 'first snow'; Ordos *kirmaɢ* 'light snow that barely covers the ground'; Dagur *kiarəmsən* 'first snow'. Written Mongolian *kiraγu* 'hoarfrost' and similar forms in other Mongolian languages are Turkic loans. Proto-Turkic **Kïr-* 'hoarfrost, thin snow' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qïraγu* 'hoarfrost'; Karakhanide Turkic *qïraγu* 'hoarfrost'; Turkish *kırağı* 'hoarfrost'; Gagauz *qrā* 'hoarfrost'; Azerbaijani *ɢïrow* 'hoarfrost'; Turkmenian *ɢïraw* 'hoarfrost', *ɢïrpaq* 'thin snow'; Uzbek *qirɔw* 'hoarfrost'; Uighur *qiya*, *qira*, *qiro* 'hoarfrost'; Karaim *qïraw*, *qoruw* 'hoarfrost'; Tatar *qïraw* 'hoarfrost', *qïrpaq* 'thin snow'; Bashkir *qïraw* 'hoarfrost', *qïrpaq* 'thin snow'; Kirghiz *qïrō* 'hoarfrost'; Kazakh *qïraw* 'hoarfrost', *qïrpaq* 'thin snow'; Noghay *qïraw* 'hoarfrost', *qïrpaq* 'thin snow'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *quru* 'hoarfrost'; Tuva *χïrā* 'hoarfrost'; Chuvash *χərbəχ* 'thin snow'; Yakut *kïrïa* 'hoarfrost', *kĭ̄rpaχ*, *kïrpay* 'thin snow'; Dolgan *kïrïa* 'hoarfrost'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:793 **kʻĭrma* (~ *-u*, *-o*) 'snow, hoarfrost'.

F. Proto-Eskimo **qiʁu* (or **qiqu*) 'to freeze' (the second form could be contaminated with **qikə-* 'to crunch snow underfoot'): Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qəXcu-* 'to get frostbitten', *qəXcunəq* 'frostbite'; Central Alaskan Yupik *qəXcua-* 'to get frostbitten'; Sirenik *qiʁəʁ-* 'to shiver, to freeze'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qiʁit-* 'to freeze', (Imaq) *qəʁəɬəq* 'thin ice'; North Alaskan Inuit *qiqi-* 'to be frozen', *qiqit-* 'to freeze'; Western Canadian

Inuit *qiqi* ‘the cold’, *qiqit-* ‘to freeze’, (Caribou ?) *qiqi-* ‘to be frozen’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qiqi-* ‘to be frozen’; Greenlandic Inuit *qiʁi-* ‘to be frozen stiff’, *qiʁit-* ‘to freeze’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:308. Proto-Inuit **qiʁətəq-* (or **qiqətəq-*) ‘to get frostbitten’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *qiʁitiq-* ‘to get frostbitten’; North Alaskan Inuit *qiqitɨq-* ‘to get frostbitten’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qiqitiq-* ‘to have frostbitten feet, chilblains’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:308. Proto-Inuit **qiʁətʁaʁ-* (or **qiqətʁaʁ-*) ‘to form hard crust (snow)’ > Alutiiq Alaskan Inuit *XətXaʁ-* ‘to get hard crust (snow)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qətXaʁ-* ‘to form hard ice crust’; Central Siberian Yupik *aXqətXaq* ‘frozen crust on snow, frozen ground in spring’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:308. Proto-Eskimo **qiʁu-* ‘to freeze to death’: Central Alaskan Yupik *qəXu-* ‘to freeze to death’; Central Siberian Yupik *Xuu-* ‘to freeze (to death)’; Sirenik *qiʁə-* ‘to freeze to death’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qiu-* ‘to freeze to death’; North Alaskan Inuit *qi<ɣ>u-* ‘to freeze to death’, *qiunŋu-* ‘to shiver from illness’, *qiʁuviak* ‘refrozen slush’; Western Canadian Inuit *qiu-* ‘to freeze to death’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qiu-* ‘to freeze to death’; Greenlandic Inuit *qiu-* ‘to freeze to death’, *qiunŋuyuuʁ-* ‘to be freezing cold’, *qiʁut-* ‘to get frostbite, frost sores’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:309. Proto-Yupik **qiʁutə-* ‘to feel cold’ > Central Alaskan Yupik *qəXutə-* ‘to feel cold’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *Xutə-* ‘to shiver from cold, to freeze’; Central Siberian Yupik *Xuutə-* ‘to feel cold’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:309. Proto-Eskimo **qiʁuya-* ‘to feel cold’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Kodiak) *quyaXtə-* ‘to be cold (person)’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qəXuyanaXqə-* ‘to be cold (weather)’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *Xuyanaq* ‘chill’; North Alaskan Inuit *qiiya-* ‘to feel cold’, *qiiyanaq-* ‘to be cold (weather)’; Eastern Canadian Inuit (Iglulik) *qiiya-* ‘to feel cold’; Greenlandic Inuit *qiia-* ‘to freeze (of person)’, *qiianaʁ-* ‘to be cold (weather)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:309.

Buck 1949:1.77 ice; 15.86 cold. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:353—354, no. 230, **Ḳirʌ* ‘hoarfrost’; Dolgopolsky 1998:23—24, no. 10, **ḳir[u]qa* ‘ice, hoarfrost; to freeze’ and 2008, no. 1158, **ḳir[U]qa* ‘ice, hoarfrost; to freeze’; Bomhard 1999a:54; Hakola 2000:70—71, no. 282.

445. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **kʰiw-a* ‘stone’:

A. Proto-Kartvelian **kwa-* ‘stone’: Georgian *kva-* ‘stone’; Mingrelian *kua-* ‘stone’; Laz *(n)kva-*, *mkva-* ‘stone’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:375—376 **kwa-*; Fähnrich 2007:463 **kwa-*; Klimov 1964:197 **kwa-* and 1998:215—216 **kwa-* ‘stone’.
B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kiwe* ‘stone’ > Finnish *kivi* ‘stone’; Estonian *kivi* ‘stone’; Mordvin (Erza) *kev* ‘stone’; Cheremis / Mari *kü*, *küj* ‘stone’; Votyak / Udmurt *kö*, *kõ* ‘millstone’; Zyrian / Komi *iz-ki* ‘millstone’; Vogul

/ Mansi *küü*, *käw* ‘stone’; Ostyak / Xanty *köh*/*kög-*, (Obdorsk) *kew* ‘stone’; Hungarian *kő*/*köve-* ‘stone’. Collinder 1955:89 and 1977:106; Rédei 1986—1988:163—164 **kiwe*; Sammallahti 1988:543 **kiwi* ‘stone’.

Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:298, no. 166, **kiwi* ‘stone’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:409—410, no. 349; Hakola 2000:72, no. 288; Dolgopolsky 1998:67, no. 83, **kiw[V]ħE* ‘stone’ and 2008, no. 968, **kiw[V]ħ[ê]* ‘stone’.

446. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰolʸ-*:
(vb.) **kʰolʸ-* ‘to tie, bind, fasten, fit, combine, or join two things together; to couple, to pair’;
(n.) **kʰolʸ-a* ‘any combination of two things: couple, pair’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **kalʔ-*, **kilʔ-* ‘two, both’ > Ugaritic *klảt* ‘both’, *klảt ydh* ‘both his hands’; Hebrew *kilʾayim* [כִּלְאַיִם] ‘of two kinds, both, junction of two’; Akkadian *kilallān*, (f.) *kilattān* ‘both’; Arabic *kilā*, (f.) *kiltā* ‘both of’; Sabaean *klʾ* ‘two, both’; Mehri *kəlō(h)*, (f.) *kəláyt* ‘both’, (followed by dual personal suffix, thus) *kəlōhi* ‘both of them’; Ḥarsūsi *kelō*, (f.) *keláyt* ‘both’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *kɔ́llɔ́(h)* ‘both of’; Geez / Ethiopic *kallaʾa* [ከልኣ], *kallaʿa* [ከልዐ] (denominative) ‘to make two, to make another; to change, to alter’, *kəlʾe* [ክልኤ] ‘two, both, double, twofold’, (f.) *kəlʾettu* [ክልኤቱ] ‘two (with m. and f. nouns), both, double’, *kālaʾ* [ካልኣ], (f.) *kālaʾt* [ካልኣት] ‘other, another, anyone else, second, successor, companion, friend, neighbor’; Tigrinya *kələtte* ‘two’; Tigre *kəlʾot* ‘two’; Harari *koʾot*, *kōt* ‘two, both; pair’; Gafat *ələttä* ‘two’; Argobba *ket* ‘two’; Amharic *hulätt* ‘two’, *hulätte* ‘twice’, *hulättum* ‘both’; Gurage (Gogot) *kʷett*, *hʷett*, (Soddo) *kitt*, (Ennemor, Muher) *xʷett*, (Chaha, Gyeto, Masqan) *xʷet*, (Wolane, Zway) *hoyt* ‘two’. Murtonen 1989:232; Leslau 1963:90, 1979:356, and 1987:282; Klein 1987:276; Zammit 2002:358.

B. Proto-Dravidian **koḷ-*/**koṇṭ-* (< **koḷ-nt-*) ‘to take, to seize, to receive, to hold; to hook, to clasp, to fasten, to buckle’: Tamil *koḷ* (*koḷv-*, *koṇṭ-*) ‘to seize, to receive, to buy, to acquire, to marry, to abduct, to contain; to learn, to think, to regard, to esteem’, *koḷkai* ‘accepting, taking; opinion, doctrine’, *koḷvōn* ‘buyer, student’, *koḷḷunar* ‘buyers, learners’, *koḷḷai* ‘robbery, plunder’, *koḷuttu* (*koḷutti-*) ‘(vb.) to cause to hold, apply, explain, teach; (n.) clasp of a jewel, joint of the body’, *koḷuvu* (*koḷuvi-*) ‘to cause to hold, to clasp, to buckle up, to hook up’, *koḷuvi*, *koḷukki* ‘hook, clasp’, *koḷai* ‘hold (as a string in a bow); determination’, *koṇṭal* ‘receiving, taking’, *koṇṭi* ‘getting possession of, theft, plunder; corner pin of a door on which it swings, clamp, cleat of a doorlock, the pin that holds the share to the plow’, *kōḷ* ‘taking, receiving, accepting, holding; opinion, tenet, decision’, *kōḷi* ‘receiver’; Malayalam *koḷka* (*koṇṭ-*) ‘to hold, to contain, to receive, to acquire, to marry; aux. with reflexive meaning’, *koḷḷikka* ‘to make to hold or receive’, *koḷuttuka* ‘to make to hold, to hook, to clasp, to

fasten a rope to a load', *koḷuttu* 'that which holds: hook, link, stitch', *koḷḷa*, *koṇṭi* 'plunder', *kōḷ* 'holding, taking, purchase'; Kota *koḷ-*/*koṇ-* (*koḍ-*) 'to marry (wife), to buy (cattle), to begin (funeral)', *koḷ* 'robbery, state of being robbed', *koḷ gaḷ* 'thief'; Toda *kwïḷ-* (*kwïḍ-*) 'to carry (corpse), to wear (bell); aux. with continuative-durative meaning', *kwïḷ-* (only in negative) 'not to want, not to heed', *kwïḷy* 'loot' (in songs); Kannaḍa *koḷ*, *koḷu*, *koḷḷu* (*koṇḍ-*) 'to seize, to take away, to take, to accept, to obtain, to buy, to undertake; aux. with reflexive meaning', *koḷ*, *koḷuha*, *koḷḷuvike* 'seizing, preying, taking', *koḷi* 'holding, seizure', *koḷisu*, *koḷḷisu* 'to cause to seize, etc.', *koḷḷe* 'pillage, plunder', *koḷike*, *kolike*, *kulike* 'a clasp, hook', *koṇḍi* 'hook projecting from a wall, semicircular link of a padlock', *kōḷ* 'seizure, pillage, plunder'; Koḍagu *koḷḷ-* (*kovv-*, *koṇḍ-*) 'to take', *koḷït-* (*koḷïti-*) 'to fasten (rope on horn, loop on shoulder)', *koṇḍa-* (*koṇḍap-*, *ko·nd-*) 'to bring'; Tuḷu *koṇuni* (*koṇḍ-*) 'to take, to hold, to keep; aux. with reflexive meaning', *kolikè* 'a clasp, hook and eye', *kolavè*, *kolāyi*, *koltaḷè*, *koltulè* 'a clasp', *koṇḍi* 'hook, staple that holds the latch of a door, clasp of a bracelet'; Telugu *konu* (*koṇt-*) 'to buy, to take, to hold, to take up, to rob, to care for (advice); to consider, to suppose; aux. with reflexive meaning', (inscr.) *koṇ* 'to take', *koṇḍi* 'a hook, catch', *koliki*, *kolki* 'hook or clasp of a necklace', *kolla* 'plunder, pillage', *kollari* 'bandit, plunderer', *kolupu* 'to cause to do, to prompt, to set on; to be agreeable, (ideas) suggest themselves, to be inclined', *koluvu* 'an assembly; service, employment'; Kolami *kor-*/*ko-* (*kott-*) 'to bring', *kos-* (*kost-*) 'to carry away, to take', *kosi-* (*kosit-*) 'to take and give (to someone)'; Naikṛi *koy-* (*kor-*) 'to bring', *kos-* 'to take'; Naiki (of Chanda) *kor-*/*ko-* (*kott-*) 'to bring'; Parji *konṭub* 'a hook'; Konḍa *koṛ-* (*koṇ-*, *koṭ-*) 'to purchase', (dial.) *kol-* (*koṭ-*) 'to take'; Pengo *koṛ-* 'to buy'; Manḍa *kṛag-* (*kṛakt-*) 'to buy'; Kui *koḍa-* (*koḍi-*) '(vb.) to buy, to take away, to take off, to pull off, to pull up, to pluck; (n.) buying, taking, plucking'; Kuwi *kōdali*, *koḍḍinai* 'to take, to buy', *koḍ-* 'to buy, to bring; reflexive auxiliary. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:194, no. 2151; Krishnamurti 2003:9 and 95 **koḷ-*/**koṇṭ-* (< **koḷ-nt-*) 'to receive, to seize, to buy'. Semantic development as in Gothic *fāhan* 'to capture, to seize' < Proto-Indo-European **$p^hă̈k^h$-* 'to join, to fit, to fasten' (cf. Pokorny 1959: 787—788 **pă̈k̂-* and **pă̈ĝ-*).

C. Proto-Altaic **$k^hŏl^yba$* '(vb.) to tie, bind, or join together; to couple, to combine; (n.) couple, pair': Proto-Tungus **χulbü-* 'to bind, to arrange' > Evenki *ulbu-* 'to bind, to arrange'; Lamut / Even *ulbъ-* 'to bind, to arrange'; Negidal *ulbul-* 'to move in tandem'; Orok *ulbumǯi* 'in tandem'; Nanay / Gold *χuelbi-* 'to bind together, to wrap'; Oroch *ubbuna-* 'to bind, to arrange'. Proto-Mongolian **kolbu-* 'to tie, bind, or join together; to couple, to combine, to unite; to connect, to link to; to incorporate' > Middle Mongolian *qulba-* 'to couple, to bind together'; Written Mongolian *qolbu-* 'to unite, to combine, to connect, to incorporate; to link to, to join in marriage', *qolbuγa(n)* 'tie, link, combination, contact, connection;

union, junction; federation, association; alliterative words or phrases; double, pair', *qolbuγda-* 'to be united, connected, tied; to have relation to; to depend on; to be mixed up in another's affairs; to be involved in an affair', *qolbuγdal* 'connection, relation'; Khalka *χolbo-* 'to join, to tie, to bind; to unite, to connect, to link to; to combine; to incorporate; to alliterate'; Buriat *χolbo-* 'to couple, to bind together'; Kalmyk *χolwə-* 'to couple, to bind together'; Dagur *χolbo-*, *χolbu-*; *holebe-* 'to couple, to bind together'; Ordos *χolbo-* 'to couple, to bind together'; Shira-Yughur *χolbo-* 'to couple, to bind together'; Monguor *χulō-* 'to couple, to bind together'. Proto-Turkic **Kol$^{y}$-* '(vb.) to join, to unite; (n.) couple, pair, one of a couple' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Karakhanide Turkic *qoš* 'couple, pair, one of a couple', *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Turkish *koş-* 'to harness', *koş* 'pair of horses', *koşum* 'act of harnessing, harness'; Gagauz *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Azerbaijani *ɢoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Tukmenian *ɢoš* 'a pair of oxen or horses for plowing', *ɢoša* 'pair, two; double'; Uzbek *qo̦š* 'couple, pair, twin', *qo̦š-* 'to join, to unite'; Uighur *qoš* 'couple, pair, one of a couple', *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Karaim *qoš* 'pair', *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Tatar *quš* 'couple, pair, one of a couple', *quš-* 'to join, to unite'; Bashkir *qïwïš* 'double', *quš-* 'to join, to unite'; Kazakh *qos* 'couple, pair, one of a couple', *qos-* 'to join, to unite'; Noghay *qos* 'pair', *qos-* 'to join, to unite'; Sary-Uighur *qos* 'couple, pair, one of a couple'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Tuva *qoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Chuvash *χoš-* 'to join, to unite'; Yakut *χos* 'double, again', *χohuy-* 'to join, to unite'; Dolgan *kohān* 'poem'. Poppe 1960:138; Street 1974:17 **kol²ï-* 'to add, to mix (in)'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:836 **k'ŏĺba* '(n.) couple; (vb.) to couple, to combine'.

Buck 1949:9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 12.22 join, unite. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 879, **koĺ?V* 'pair, one of a pair'.

447. Proto-Nostratic roots **k$^{h}$on-k'-*, **k$^{h}$ok'-*:
(vb.) **k$^{h}$on-V-k'-*, **k$^{h}$ok'-* 'to be bent, curved, crooked';
(n.) **k$^{h}$on-k'-a*, **k$^{h}$ok'-a* 'hook, clasp'; (adj.) 'bent, curved, crooked'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kokki* 'hook, clasp (as of a necklace or earring)'; Malayalam *kokka* 'clasp, hook, crook (as for plucking fruits), neck-clasp'; Kannaḍa *kokki*, *kokke* 'crookedness, perverseness, a crook, bend, hook', *koṅki* 'a hook, fish-hook, angle', *koṅku* 'to be bent; to get crooked, curved, distorted, deformed, or curled; to become perverse, untrue'; Koḍagu *kokke* 'crook, hook, anything bent', *kokk-* (*kokki-*) 'to be bent'; Telugu *kokki*, *koṅki* 'a hook'; Kuwi *koṅkaṭā* 'crooked, bent'; Tuḷu *kokkè* 'a hook, clasp', *koṅkè*, *kuṅkè* 'a hook, crookedness'; Malto *qonqe* 'to indent, to notch, to bend the knees slightly in dancing'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:184, no. 2032.

B. Proto-Indo-European *$k^h$*onk'*- (secondary *e*-grade form: *$k^h$*enk'*-) ‘hook’: Farsi *čang* ‘claw, fist’; Middle Irish *ail-cheng* ‘rack for hanging up arms’; Old Icelandic *hanki* ‘hasp or clasp’, *hönk* (gen. *hankar*, pl. *henkr*) ‘hank, coil, loop, ring’, *sterkar henkr* ‘strong clasps’; Old High German *hank* ‘handle’; Lithuanian *kėngė* ‘hook, clasp, latch’. Pokorny 1959:537—538 **keg*-, **keng*- ‘to dangle’; Walde 1927—1932.I:382—383 **keg*-, **keng*-; Mann 1984—1987:488 **keng*- ‘to seize, to grip, to hold; hold, hook, grapple, hobble’; Mallory—Adams 1997:272 **ko(n)gos* ‘hook’; Orël 2003:161 Proto-Germanic **xankō*; De Vries 1977:208—209 and 281; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:239.

C. Proto-Altaic *$k^h$*ōki* ‘hinge, hook’: Proto-Tungus **kūkta* ‘rowlock’ > Evenki *kūkta* ‘rowlock’; Lamut / Even *kukte* ‘rowlock’. Proto-Mongolian **kögene* ‘a string with a loop for binding animals’ > Written Mongolian *kögene*, *kögüne* ‘rope with ends attached to a stake driven in the ground to which lambs and kids are tied’; Khalkha *χögnö* ‘rope for tying lambs or kids’; Ordos *kögönö* ‘a string with a loop for binding animals’. Proto-Turkic **kök*, **köken* ‘hinge, nail, peg, clasp; tether’ > Karakhanide Turkic *kök* ‘belt for fixing the saddle’, *kögen* ‘rope for tethering calves, foals during milking’; Turkish *kök* ‘tuning-key of a stringed instrument’, (dial.) *köken* ‘tether’; Turkmenian *köken* ‘tether’; Middle Turkic *kök* ‘nail’; Uzbek *kukan* ‘tether’; Tatar *kügɛn* ‘hinge, nail, peg, clasp’; Bashkir *kügɛn* ‘hinge, nail, peg, clasp’; Kirghiz *kögön* ‘tether’; Kazakh *kögen* ‘tether’; Chuvash *kъ$^w$*gan* ‘loop’, (*alъk*) *kъkə* ‘prop of a door hinge’; Yakut *kögön* ‘tether’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:833—834 **k'ōki* ‘hinge, hook’.

Buck 1949:12.75 hook. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:418—419, no. 261.

448. Proto-Nostratic root *$k^h$*ul-* (~ *$k^h$*ol-*):
(vb.) *$k^h$*ul-* ‘to hear, to listen’;
(n.) *$k^h$*ul-a* ‘renown, fame; ear’
Possible derivative:
(vb.) *$k^h$*ul-* ‘to tell’;
(n.) *$k^h$*ul-a* ‘story, tale’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kul*- ‘to hear’: Chadic: Sura *kəliŋ* ‘to hear’; Tal *k$^w$*āl* ‘to hear’; Yiwon *kāl* ‘to hear’; Geruma *kùláa* ‘to hear’; Kirfi *kwálú-wò* ‘to hear’; Bata *klọ* ‘to hear’; Bachama *kúlò* ‘to hear’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:184—185.

B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *kēḷ* (*kēṭp*-, *kēṭṭ*-) ‘to hear, to listen, to learn, to ask, to inquire, to question, to investigate, to require, to request, to be informed of, to obey, to be heard’, *kēḷvi*, *kēṭpu* ‘hearing, question, learning, sound, word, rumor, ear’; Malayalam *kēḷkka* ‘to hear, to perceive, to listen, to obey, to ask’, *kēḷvi*, *kēḷi* ‘hearing, obeying, report’; Kota *ke·ḷ*- (*ke·ṭ*-) ‘to hear, (noise) is heard’; Kannaḍa *kēḷ* (*kēḷd*-), *kēḷu* (*kēḷi*-) ‘to hear, to listen

to, to heed, to ask, to beg, to demand', *kēḷike*, *kēḷuvike*, *kēḷvike*, *kēḷuha* 'hearing, hearsay, asking'; Koḍagu *kë·ḷ-* (*kë·p-*, *ke·ṭ-*) 'to hear, to ask', *kë·ḷi* 'fame, renown (in songs)'; Tuḷu *kēṇuni* 'to hear, to be attentive to, to obey, to ask, to inquire, to request'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:182, no. 2017; Krishnamurti 2003:15 and 95 **kēḷ-* 'to ask, to hear'.

C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰl-ew-/*kʰl-ow-/*kʰl-u-* 'to hear', **kʰl-ew-os* 'fame, glory, renown': Sanskrit *śṛṇóti* (< **kʰl̥-new-*) 'to hear', *śrutá-ḥ* 'heard', *śrávas-* 'praise, fame, glory'; Avestan *surunaoiti* 'to hear'; Armenian *lsem* 'to hear, to listen', *lu* 'heard, news, fame'; Greek κλύω 'to hear', κλέω 'to make famous, to celebrate', κλέος (< *κλέϝος) 'report, fame, glory', κλυτός 'heard'; Latin *cluō*, *clueō* 'to be called, to be famous'; Old Irish *clú* 'fame, renown', *clúas*, 'ear', *cloth* 'fame'; Gothic *hliuma* 'hearing', **hliuþ* 'silence' (only in dat. sg. *in hliuþa* 'in silence'); Old Icelandic *hljóð* 'silence, hearing; sound', *hljóða* 'to sound', *hljóðan* 'sound, tune', *hljóðr* 'silent', *hlómr* 'sound, tune', *hlust* 'ear', *hlusta* 'to listen', *hler*, *hlør* 'listening', *hlyða* 'to listen'; Old English *hlūd* 'loud, noisy', *hlēoðor* 'noise, sound', *hlosnian* 'to listen for; to listen in suspense, to be astonished', *hlystan* 'to hear, to listen', *hlyst* 'sense of hearing; listening, attention', *hlysnan* 'to listen', *hlysnere* 'hearer'; Old Frisian *hlūd* 'loud'; Old Saxon *hlust* 'hearing', *hlūd* 'loud'; Dutch *luisteren* 'to listen', *luid* 'loud'; Old High German *hlosēn* 'to listen' (New High German [dial.] *losen* 'to listen, to overhear, to eavesdrop', [standard] *lauschen*), *hlūt* 'loud' (New High German *laut*), *hliumunt* 'fame, reputation' (New High German *Leumund*); Lithuanian *klausaũ*, *klausýti* 'to listen'; Latvian *klàusît* 'to listen'; Old Prussian *klausīton* 'to hear'; Old Church Slavic *slovǫ*, *sluti* 'to be renowned', *slovo* 'word'; Russian *slúšat'* [слушать] 'to listen', *slóvo* [слово] 'word'; Slovenian *slúšati* 'to listen'; Tocharian A *klyoṣ-*, B *klyauṣ-* 'to listen, to hear', A *klyw-*, B *kälywe* 'reputation, renown', A *klots*, B *klautso* 'ear', A *klāw-*, B *klāw-* 'to be called, to be named', B *klāwi* 'fame'. Rix 1998a:297—298 **ĥleu̯-* 'to hear'; Pokorny 1959:605—607 **ĥleu-*, **ĥleu̯ə-* : **ĥlu-* (root **ĥel-*) 'to hear'; Walde 1927—1932.I:494—495 **ĥleu-*; Mann 1984—1987:624 **ĥleumn-*, **ĥleumn̥t-* 'hearing, report, reputation', 624 **ĥleus-* 'to hear', 624 **ĥleutos* (**ĥleutro-*) 'heard, famous' (variants **ĥlĕu̯ətos*, **ĥlutos*), 625 **ĥlĕu̯ō*, *-i̯ō* 'noise abroad; to be heard, to be known', 625 **ĥleu̯os*, *-es-* 'noise, sound, word, rumor, fame', 627—628 **ĥlousos*, *-i̯os* 'hearing; obedient; obedience', 628 **ĥlout-* (**ĥleut-*) 'hearing', 628 **ĥlōu̯ā*, *-i̯os*, *-i̯ə* 'fame, rumor, glory', 628—629 **ĥlus-* (**ĥlusō*, *-i̯ō*, *-ēi̯ō*; **ĥlūsĥō*; **ĥlusn-*) 'to hear, to be heard', 629 **ĥlŭ̄sos*, *-us* 'hearing; report, rumor', 629 **ĥlustis* 'hearing; listening, ear', 629 **ĥlŭ̄tos* 'heard, famous; report, rumor, noise'; Watkins 1985:31 **kleu-* and 2000:42 **kleu-* 'to hear'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:834 **ĥ[ʰ]leu̯o-* and 1995.I:33 **Kʰleu-* 'to hear', I:96 **kʰleu-s-/*ĥʰleu-s-* 'to listen', I:732—733 **ĥʰlewo-* 'glory'; Mallory—Adams 1997:192 **ĥléu̯es-* 'fame', 262 **ĥleu-* 'to hear', **ĥleus-* 'to hear'; Boisacq 1950:467 **ĥleu̯os*,

**k̂leu̯es-* and 468—469 **k̂leu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:869—870 and I:877—878; Hofmann 1966:147 **k̂leu̯os* and 147—148 **k̂leu-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:541; Beekes 2010.I:719 **ḱleu-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:237—239 **kleu-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:129 **kleu-*; De Vaan 2008:122—123; Orël 2003:176 Proto-Germanic **xleumōn* ~ **xleumaz*, 176 **xleumunđaz*, 176 **xleuƀan*, 176 **xleuƀran*, 176 **xlewaz*, 176 **xlewеđaz*, 178 **xluđaz*, 178 **xlūđaz*, 178 **xlūđjanan*; Kroonen 2013:230 **hleuƀa-* 'listening' and 231—232 **hlūda-* 'loud'; Feist 1939:264 **k̂leu̯-*; Lehmann 1986:188 **k̂lew-* 'to hear'; De Vries 1977:238 **k̂leu-*, **kleu-* and 241; Klein 1971:425 **k̂leu-*, **k̂leu-s-* and 430 **klŭ-to-s*; Onions 1966:531 **klus-*, **klu-* and 538 **kleu-*, **klu-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:427, 427—428 **k̂leu-*, 438, and 447; Kluge—Seebold 1989:431 **ḱleu-*, 440 **ḱlewos*, and 448 **ḱleu-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:372—374 and III:389—390; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:221—222, I:223, and I:224; Adams 1999:222, 230, and 232—233; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:265—266; Smoczyński 2007.1:293—294; Derksen 2008:453 **ḱlēu-*, 454 **ḱleu-os-*, 454—455, 455 **ḱlous-o-*, and 2015:249 **ḱlous-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:425—432 **k̂leu̯-* and 432—434 **k̂leu̯s-*.

D. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kule-* 'to hear' > Finnish *kuule-* 'to hear'; Lapp / Saami *gullâ-*/*gulâ-* 'to hear'; Mordvin *kule-* 'to hear'; Cheremis / Mari *kola-* 'to hear'; Votyak / Udmurt *kyl-* 'to hear'; Zyrian / Komi *kyl-* 'to hear'; Vogul / Mansi *hool-* 'to hear'; Ostyak / Xanty *kol-* 'to hear'. Collinder 1955:93 and 1977:109; Rédei 1986—1988:197—198 **kule-*; Décsy 1990:101 Proto-Uralic **kula* 'to hear'; Sammallahti 1988:544 **kuuli-* 'to hear'.

E. Proto-Altaic **kʰūylu-* (~ *-o-*) '(vb.) to hear; (n.) ear': Proto-Tungus **χūl-* 'to sound, to resound' > Evenki *ūl-ta-* 'to sound, to resound'; Lamut / Even *ụ̄l-dẹ-* 'to sound, to resound'; Negidal *ol-bụn-* 'to sound, to resound'; Ulch *χol-dị-* 'to sound, to resound'; Orok *χụl-bụn-* 'to sound, to resound'; Nanay / Gold *χōl-ǯị-* 'to sound, to resound'. Proto-Mongolian **kulki* 'earwax; middle ear' > Written Mongolian *qulki* 'earwax; middle ear'; Ordos *χuluɢu(n)* 'earwax'; Khalkha *χulχi*, *χulga* 'earwax; middle ear'; Buriat *χulχa*, *χulχi* 'earwax'; Kalmyk *χulχə*, *χuĺχə* 'earwax'; Dagur *χoĺgi* 'earwax; middle ear'; Monguor *χoŋgo* 'earwax; middle ear'. Poppe 1955:156. Proto-Turkic **Kul-kak* 'ear' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qulqaq* 'ear'; Turkish *kulak* 'ear'; Gagauz *qulaq* 'ear'; Azerbaijani *ɢulaɢ* 'ear'; Turkmenian *ɢulaq* 'ear'; Uzbek *quloq* 'ear'; Uighur *qulaq* 'ear'; Karaim *qulaχ* 'ear'; Tatar *qolaq* 'ear'; Bashkir *qolaq* 'ear'; Kirghiz *qulaq* 'ear'; Kazakh *qulaq* 'ear'; Tuva *qulaq* 'ear'; Noghay *qulaq* 'ear'; Chuvash *χъʷlya* 'ear'; Yakut *kulgāk* 'ear'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qulaq* 'ear'. Poppe 1960:18, 75, and 86; Street 1974:19 **kulk-* 'ear, earwax'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:847 **kʻūjlu* (~ *-o-*) 'ear; to hear'.

F. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kakvel* ‘ear wax’ > Chukchi *kakwel* ‘ear wax, external ear’; Koryak *kakvel* ‘ear wax’. Fortescue 2005:126.

Buck 1949:4.22 ear; 15.41 hear; 18.26 word. Caldwell 1913:593 and 618; Koskinen 1980:17, no. 41; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:417—418, no. 260; Hakola 2000:86—87, no. 359; Fortescue 1998:154.

449. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰul-* (~ **kʰol-*):
(vb.) **kʰul-* ‘to tell’;
(n.) **kʰul-a* ‘story, tale’
Perhaps a derivative of:
(vb.) **kʰul-* ‘to hear, to listen’;
(n.) **kʰul-a* ‘renown, fame; ear’

Assuming semantic development as in Greek κλέω ‘to tell of, to make famous, to celebrate’; or Pāḷi (causative) *sāvēti* (also *suṇāpēti*) ‘to cause to hear, to tell, to declare, to announce’ (*suṇāti* ‘to hear’); or Romany (Palestinian) *snaúăr* ‘to inform’ — all ultimately from Proto-Indo-European **kʰl-ew-*/**kʰl-ow-*/**kʰl-u-* ‘to hear’.

A. Afrasian: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **kul-* ‘to tell’ > Gedeo / Darasa *kul-* ‘to tell’; Hadiyya *kur-* ‘to tell’; Kambata *kul-* ‘to tell’; Sidamo *kul-* ‘to tell’. Hudson 1989:149—150.
B. Proto-Eskimo **quliʁaʁ-* ‘to tell about’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *quliʁaʁ-* ‘to tell about’; Central Alaskan Yupik *quliʁaq* ‘story, legend’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *quliʁamsuk* ‘story, account’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *quliaq-* ‘to tell about’; North Alaskan Inuit *quliaq-* ‘to tell about’, *quliaqtuaq* ‘story, life experience’; Western Canadian Inuit *quliaq-* ‘story, especially a true one’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:315.

Buck 1949:18.21 speak, talk; 18.22 say.

450. Proto-Nostratic root **kʰum-*:
(vb.) **kʰum-* ‘to heap up, to pile up, to accumulate’;
(n.) **kʰum-a* ‘large amount, accumulation, heap; crowd, multitude’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kum-* ‘to heap up, to pile up, to accumulate’: Proto-Semitic **kam-ar-* ‘to heap up, to pile up, to accumulate’ > Akkadian *kamāru* ‘to pile up’; Ugaritic *kmr* ‘pile’; Geez / Ethiopic *kamara* [ከመረ] ‘to heap, to accumulate’; Tigrinya *kʷämmärä* ‘to pile up’; Tigre *kämmära* ‘to pile up’; Amharic *kämmärä* ‘to pile up, to accumulate’; Gafat *kimmärä* ‘to pile up, to accumulate’; Argobba *kemmära* ‘to pile up, to accumulate’; Gurage *kämärä* ‘to pile up, to heap up’. Leslau 1979:343 and 1987:286.

Egyptian *km* ‘to total up, to amount to, to complete’, *kmt* ‘completion, final account’, *kmyt* ‘conclusion’. Hannig 1995:883; Gardiner 1957:597; Faulkner 1962:286; Erman—Grapow 1921:195 and 1926—1963.5:128—130. Proto-East Cushitic **kum-* ‘thousand’ > Burji *kúm-a* ‘thousand’; Somali *kun* (pl. *kum-an*) ‘thousand’; Sidamo *kum-e* ‘thousand’; Gedeo / Darasa *kum-a* ‘thousand’; Galla / Oromo *kum-a* ‘thousand’; Konso *kum-a* ‘thousand’; Hadiyya *kum-a* ‘thousand’; Kambata *kumi-ta* ‘thousand’. Sasse 1979:12, 25 and 1982:120; Hudson 1989:153—154. Proto-Southern Cushitic **kum-* ‘to expand, to spread’ > Iraqw *kumit-* ‘to continue, to progress’; Dahalo *kum-* ‘to puff out the cheeks (as with water)’. Ehret 1980:246. Proto-Southern Cushitic **kuma* ‘thousand’ > Iraqw *kuma* ‘thousand’. Ehret 1980:246. Proto-Southern Cushitic **kumura-* ‘many’ > K’wadza *kolombayo* (< **kombolayo*) ‘hundred’; Ma’a *-kumúre* ‘many’. Ehret 1980:246. (Ehret suggests that **kum-* ‘to expand, to spread’, may ultimately be the source of **kuma* ‘thousand’ and **kumura* ‘many’ — “but if so this derivation lies far back in Cushitic history”.) North Omotic **kum-* ‘to increase in volume’ > Ometo *kum-* ‘to fill’; Koyra *kum-* ‘to fill’. Ehret 1995:198, no. 322, **kum-* ‘to add together’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kumi* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to be heaped up, to accumulate, to crowd’, *kumi* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to heap up, to accumulate, to gather’, *kumiyal* ‘pile’, *kumpu* ‘crowd, collection, group’, *kumpal* ‘crowd, collection, group, heap, clump, cluster’, *kumpam*, *kumpi* ‘heap’; Kannaḍa *gumi*, *gummi*, *gummu*, *gumme*, *gumpu* ‘heap, crowd, multitude’; Tuḷu (reduplicated) *gumugumu* ‘noise of a multitude’, *gumpu* ‘flock, crowd, multitude, heap’; Telugu *gumi* ‘crowd, multitude’, *gumpu* ‘crowd, multitude, group’; Malayalam *kumi* ‘heap (as of rice), stack, pile’, *kumiyuka* ‘to be heaped together’, *kumikka*, *kumekka* ‘to heap up’, *kūmpal* ‘a heap’, *kūmpikka* ‘to heap’; Kolami *gum* ‘assembly’; Parji *kum-* ‘to heap on to’; Kuwi *kumbra* ‘clump of trees’, *gumomi*, *gombu* ‘heap’; Konḍa *kumba* ‘a small heap conical in shape’, *kuma* ‘a heap’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:158—159, no. 1741.

Buck 1949:13.15 much; many; 13.19 multitude, crowd. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:413—414, no. 255.

451. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k$^{h}$um-a* ‘man, male; penis’:

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *kumurr* ‘having a large penis’, *kumurra-t*, *kamara-t* ‘penis’.
B. Dravidian: Malayalam *kumpi* ‘penis’; Tuḷu *kumbi* ‘penis’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:159, no. 1749.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **kmar-* ‘husband’: Georgian *kmar-* ‘husband’; Laz *komoǯ-*, *komonǯ-*, *kimoǯ-* ‘husband’; Mingrelian *komonǯ-*, *komoǯ-* (< **kmoǯ-* < **kmor-*) ‘husband’. Klimov 1964:198 **kmar-* and 1998:218

**kmar-* ‘husband’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:379 **kmar-*; Fähnrich 1994:221 and 2007:468—469 **kmar-*.

Buck 1949:2.1 man (human being); 2.21 man (vs. woman); 2.31 husband; 4.492 penis. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 888, **kümâ* (or **küHmâ*) ‘man, person’.

452. Proto-Nostratic root **k$^{h}$um-* (~ **k$^{h}$om-*):
(vb.) **k$^{h}$um-* ‘to char, to blacken; to burn, to smolder; to be or become hot’;
(n.) **k$^{h}$um-a* ‘(hot or smoldering) ashes, embers, charcoal; heat, warmth’;
(adj.) ‘warm, hot; glowing, smoldering; black’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kum-* ‘to be black’: Egyptian *km*, *kmm* ‘to be or become black’, *km* ‘black’, *kmmt*, *km̓im̓it* ‘darkness’, *Kmt* ‘the Black Land, Egypt’; Coptic *kmom* [ⲕⲙⲟⲙ] ‘to become black’, *kame* [ⲕⲁⲙⲉ] ‘black’, *kime* [ⲕⲏⲙⲉ] ‘the Black Land, Egypt’, *kmime* [ⲕⲙⲏⲙⲉ] ‘darkness’. Hannig 1995:882—883; Faulkner 1962:286; Erman—Grapow 1921:196 and 1926—1963.5:122—124, 5:126—127, 5:128, 5:130; Gardiner 1957:597; Černý 1976:58; Vycichl 1983:81. East Cushitic: Werizoid: Gawwada *kumma* ‘black’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:326, no. 1496, **kum-* ‘to be black’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kumpu* (*kumpi-*) ‘to become charred (as food when boiled with insufficient water)’, *kumpal* ‘smell of charred rice’, *kumpi* ‘hot ashes’, *kumai* ‘to be hot, sultry’; Malayalam *kumpal* ‘inward heat’, *kummu* expression descriptive of heat, *kummal* ‘sultriness, mistiness’, *kumuṟuka*, *kumiṟuka* ‘to be hot, close’, *kumuṟal* ‘oppressive heat’; Kannaḍa *kome* ‘to begin to burn (as fire or anger)’; Tuḷu *gumulu* ‘fire burning in embers’, *gumuluni* ‘to be hot, to feel hot (as in a fit of fever)’; Telugu *kummu* ‘smoldering ashes’, *kumulu* ‘to smolder, to burn slowly underneath without flame; to be consumed inwardly, to grieve, to pine’; Gondi *kum* ‘smoke’, *kumpōḍ* ‘smoke’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:159—160, no. 1752. Dravidian loan in Prakrit *kumulī-* ‘fireplace’.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Volgaic **kūma* ‘(adj.) hot, glowing; (n.) fever’ > Finnish *kuuma* ‘hot’, *kuume* ‘fever, temperature’, *kuumoitta-* ‘to make hot or warm’, *kuumuus* ‘heat, warmth’; Estonian *kuum* ‘(adj.) hot; (n.) heat’, *kuumus* ‘heat’, *kuuma-* ‘to be hot, to radiate heat, to glow with heat’, *kuumuta-* ‘to heat, to make hot, to subject to the action of heat’, *kuumene-* ‘to become heated, to become hotter’; Mordvin (Erza) *kumoka* ‘fever’, (Erza) *kumuχa* ‘sick with fever’. Note: Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *gumes-/gubmas-* ‘redhot (of hot iron), roasting hot (of the heat of the sun)’, *gumbo-* ‘to become roasting hot (weather)’ are loans from Finnish. Rédei 1986—1988:675—676 **kūma* ‘(adj.) hot, glowing; (n.) fever’.

D. Proto-Altaic **k$^{h}$ume* (~ *-i̯u-*) ‘black; charcoal’: Proto-Turkic **kömür* ‘charcoal’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *kömür* ‘charcoal’; Karakhanide Turkic *kömür* ‘charcoal’; Turkish *kömür* ‘charcoal’; Gagauz *kömür*

‘charcoal’; Azerbaijani *kömür* ‘charcoal’; Turkmenian *kömür* ‘charcoal’; Uzbek *kụmir* ‘charcoal’; Tatar *kümer* ‘charcoal’; Bashkir *kümer* ‘charcoal’; Uighur *kömü(r)* ‘charcoal’; Kirghiz *kömür* ‘charcoal’; Kazakh *kömər* ‘charcoal’; Noghay *kömər* ‘charcoal’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *kömür* ‘charcoal’; Tuva *χömür* ‘charcoal’; Chuvash *kъʷmrъʷk* ‘charcoal’; Yakut *kömör* ‘charcoal’; Dolgan *kömör* ‘charcoal’. Perhaps also Manchu *χūmara-* ‘to have a dirty face, to be soiled’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2005:852 **k'ume* (~ *-i̯u-*) ‘black; coal’.

Sumerian *kúm(-ma)* ‘hot’, *kúm* ‘(vb.) to heat; (adj.) hot, boiling hot; (n.) heat; fever’.

Buck 1949:1.83 smoke (sb.); 1.84 ashes; 1.85 burn (vb.); 16.65 black; 15.85 hot, warm. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1966a, **Ḳ̲UmV* ‘black, dark’.

453. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **kʰur-a* ‘blood’:

A. (?) Afrasian: Egyptian *ṯr* ‘blood; red color (designation for blood)’. Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:386; Hannig 1995:959.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kuruti* ‘blood, red color’; Malayalam *kuruti* ‘blood’; Kannaḍa *kurudi* ‘colored red water’; Tuḷu *kurdi*, *kurudi* ‘red liquid prepared by mixing turmeric and lime, used for auspicious purposes’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:162, no. 1788.
C. Proto-Indo-European **kʰr-ew-H-*/**kʰr-ow-H-*/**kʰr-u-H-* (> **kʰr-ū-*) ‘blood, gore’: Sanskrit *kravíṣ-* ‘flesh’, *krūrá-ḥ* ‘wounded, raw, blood’; Greek κρέας (< *κρέϝας) ‘flesh, meat’; Latin *cruor* ‘the blood that flows from a wound, gore’, *cruentus* ‘bloody’, *crūdus* ‘bleeding, uncooked, raw’; Old Irish *crú* ‘blood’; Old Icelandic *hrár* ‘raw’; Faroese *ráur* ‘raw’; Norwegian *raa* ‘raw’; Swedish *rå* ‘raw’; Danish *raa* ‘raw’; Old English *hrēaw* ‘uncooked, raw’; Old Saxon *hrāo* ‘raw’; Dutch *rauw* ‘raw’; Old High German *(h)rao* ‘raw’ (New High German *roh*); Lithuanian *kraũjas* ‘blood’, *krùvinas* ‘bloody’; Old Church Slavic *krъvь* ‘blood’; Russian *krov'* [кровь] ‘blood’. Pokorny 1959:621—622 **kreu-*, **kreu̯ə-*, **krū-* ‘thick (clotting) blood’; Walde 1927—1932.I:478—480 **qreu-*, **qreu̯ə-*; Mann 1984—1987:551 **kreu̯os* (**krəu̯os*, **kruu̯os*) ‘raw flesh, gore, blood’, 551 **kreu̯n̥t-*, 559 **krouu̯-*, 562—563 **kruu̯n̥t-* ‘bloody’, 563 **kruu̯os* ‘blood’; Watkins 1985:32 **kreuə-* and 2000:44 **kreuə-* ‘raw flesh’ (oldest form **kreuə̯₂-*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:698 **k[ʰ]reuH-*/**k[ʰ]ruH-* and 1995.I:604 **kʰreuH-*/**kʰruH-* ‘raw meat’; Mallory—Adams 1997:71 (nom.-acc.) **kréuh$_a$* ‘blood (outside the body), gore’ (gen. **kruh$_a$ós*), **kréuh$_a$-s*, **kréuh$_a$-i̯o-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:277 and 280; Frisk 1970—1973.II:11—12 **qreu̯əs-*; Boisacq 1950:512—513 **qreu̯əs-*; Beekes 2010.I:774 **kreuh$_2$-*; Hofmann 1966:159 **qreu̯əs-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:580 **qrewəs-*; De Vaan 2008:146—

147; Ernout—Meillet 1979:152; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:294—295 **qreu̯-os*; Orël 2003:185 Proto-Germanic **xrawaz*; Kroonen 2013:244 **hrawa-* ‘raw’; De Vries 1977:251 **kreu-*; Onions 1966:742 **krowos*; Klein 1971:619 **qrewə-*, **qreu-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:605 **krou̯o-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:604; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.II:84—85 Germanic stem **hrăwa-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:290; Smoczyński 2007.1:308—309; Derksen 2008:253 **kruh$_2$-*, 254 **kruh$_2$-s*, **kreuh$_2$-*, and 2015:255 **kruh$_2$-s*, **kreuh$_2$-*, 262 **kruh$_2$-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008: 444—448 **kreu̯h$_2$-*.

Sumerian *gu-ru-un*, *guru$_{11}$-un*, *kurin* ‘blood’.

Buck 1949:4.15 blood. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:422—423, no. 265; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:360—361, no. 237, (?) **Ḳurʌ* ‘blood’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1163, **Ḳur[Xû]* ‘blood’.

454. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k$^{h}$uwan-a* or **k$^{h}$un-a* originally a generic term meaning ‘young (especially of animals)’; later specialized as ‘young dog, puppy’ (as in Kannaḍa and Kolami within Dravidian [see below]) and then simply ‘dog’:

Note: This term may be an early borrowing.

A. Proto-Afrasian **kuwan-* ~ **kun-* ‘dog’: East Chadic (**kuwán-* > **kwán-* >) **kanya-* ‘dog’ > Dangla *kanya* ‘dog’; Jegu *kany-* ‘dog’. Omotic (**kuwán-* > **kwán-* >) **kan-* ‘dog’ > Ome *kana*, *kanaa* ‘dog’; Mao *kano* ‘dog’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:311, no. 1425, **kan-* ‘dog’. Berber **kun-* ‘dog’ > Guanche *cuna* ‘dog’. Omotic **kunan-* ‘dog’ > Kefa *kunano* ‘dog’; Mocha *kunano* ‘dog’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:327, no. 1498, **kun-* ‘dog’. West Chadic (**kuwan-* > **kuwen-* >) **kuHen-* ‘dog’ > Mogogodo *kwehen* ‘dog’; Fyer *k$^{w}$eeŋ* ‘dog’. Omotic (**kuwan-* > **kuwen-* > **kuHen-* >) **keHen-* ‘dog’ > Dime *keenu* ‘dog’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:329, no. 1511, **küHen-* ‘dog’. Omotic: Yemsa / Janjero *kana* ‘dog’; Bench / Gimira *kyan* ‘dog’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kuñci* ‘anything small; young bird, chicken’, *kuñcu* ‘young of birds and various animals’; Malayalam *kuññu*, *kuñcu* ‘young, small, infant’, *kuññan* ‘boy; also endearingly of girls’, *kuññi* = *kuññu*, *kuññan*; Kota *kunj* ‘children as given by god, men as children of god’, *kun* ‘small’; Kannaḍa *kunni* ‘young of an animal, especially a young dog’, *gunna* ‘smallness’, *kuññi* ‘a young one’; Koḍagu *kuññi* ‘child’; Tuḷu *kundu* ‘young of pariahs’, *kuññi*, *kuṇṇi* ‘small’; Telugu *gunna* ‘young of an animal’, *kunna*, *kūna* ‘infant, young of an animal’, *kunnāḍu* ‘boy, lad’, *kunnulu* (pl.) ‘sucklings, children’; Kolami *ku·na* ‘puppy’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:150, no. 1646.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k$^{h}$(u)wŏn-*/**k$^{h}$un-* ‘dog’: Sanskrit *śván-* (nom. sg. *śvā́*, *śuvā́* gen. sg. *śúnaḥ*) ‘dog’; Avestan *span-* ‘dog’; Greek κύων (gen.

sg. κυνός) ‘dog’; Armenian *šun* ‘dog’ (oblique *šan-*); Latin *canis* ‘dog’; Old Irish *cú* (gen. sg. *con*) ‘dog’; Welsh *ci* ‘dog’; Cornish *cȳ* ‘dog’; Breton *kī* ‘dog’; Gothic *hunds* ‘dog’; Old Icelandic *hundr* ‘dog’; Norwegian *hund* ‘dog’; Swedish *hund* ‘dog’; Danish *hund* ‘dog’; Old English *hund* ‘dog’; Old Frisian *hund* ‘dog’; Old Saxon *hund* ‘dog’; Dutch *hond* ‘dog’; Old High German *hunt* ‘dog’ (New High German *Hund*); Lithuanian *šuõ* (gen. sg. *šuñs*) ‘dog’; Tocharian A *ku* (oblique *kon*) ‘dog’; Hittite *kuwan-* ‘dog’; Hieroglyphic Luwian *zú-wa/i-n(i)-* ‘dog’ (this may be a loan from Indo-Aryan [cf. Kronasser 1956:229, §208]). Pokorny 1959:632—633 **ḱu̯on-*, **ḱun-* ‘dog’; Walde 1927—1932.I:465—466 **ḱu̯on-*; Mann 1984—1987:653—654 **ḱu̯ō* (**ḱuu̯ōn*), obl. **ḱun-*; variant **ḱunis* ‘dog’; Watkins 1985:34 **kwon-* and 2000:46 **kwon-* ‘dog’; Mallory—Adams 1997:168 **ḱ(u)u̯ón-* (gen. **ḱunós*) ‘dog’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:184 **ḱ[ʰ]u̯on-s* > **ḱ[ʰ]u̯ōn-Ø* and 1995.I:158 **ḱʰwon-s* > **ḱʰwōn-Ø* ‘dog’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:403; Beekes 2010.I:811 **ḱuon-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:604; Boisacq 1950:540—542 **ḱuu̯on-*, **ḱu̯on-*; Frisk 1970—1973.II:58—59 **ḱúu̯ō(n)*, **ḱun-ós* (*-és*); Hofmann 1966:167—168 **ḱuu̯on-*, **ḱu̯on-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:92; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:152—153 **ḱu̯ōn*; De Vaan 2008:87; Kroonen 2013:256 Proto-Germanic **hunda-* ‘dog’; Orël 2003:193 Proto-Germanic **xunđaz*; Feist 1939:276—277 Pre-Germanic base-form **ḱ(u)u̯ṇ-tó-*; Lehmann 1986:195 **ḱwon-*, **ḱun-*; De Vries 1977:267; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:307—308; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:184; Onions 1966:449 Common Germanic **χundaz* < **kwn̥tós*; Klein 1971:354 **ḱwon-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:320—321 **ḱu̯on-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:320; Kloekhorst 2008b:505—506; Puhvel 1984— .4:305 **ḱ(u)wōn(s)*; Melchert 1994a:234 and 252 Proto-Anatolian **ḱwon-* ‘dog’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:402—403; Adams 1999:179 **kúwōn*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:238—239 **ḱu̯on-*, **ḱun-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1033—1035; Smoczyński 2007.1:652—653 **ḱu̯ōn*; Derksen 2015:455 **ḱuōn-* (gen. **ḱun-ós*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:436—440 **ḱ(u)u̯ón-*, **ḱun-*, **ḱu̯n̥-*.

D. Uralic: Finno-Ugrian: Mordvin *kŭjon* ‘wolf’; Cheremis / Mari *kejin* ‘wolf’; Zyrian / Komi *kõjin*, *kõin* ‘wolf’; Votyak / Udmurt *kion*, *kijon*, *kyjon* ‘wolf’. Notes: (1) Illič-Svityč (1971—1984.I:361—362, no. 238) also cites Lapp / Saami *gâidne* ‘wolf’. (2) Napolskikh’s [Напольских] (2001:370—371) suggestion that the Uralic forms were borrowed from Tocharian is highly improbable, though borrowing from an unknown source cannot be ruled out. (3) Finally, it may be noted that several Finno-Ugrian languages have borrowed from Indo-European at different times and places: Estonian *hunt* ‘wolf’ (cf. Swedish *hund* ‘dog’); North Lapp / Saami *šīwon* ‘good (alert) dog’ (< Pre-Baltic **śu̯on(i)-* [cf. Lithuanian *šuõ* ‘dog’]).

Buck 1949:3.61 dog. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:361—362, no. 238, **Ḳ̈ujnA* ‘wolf, dog’; Bomhard 1996a:233, no. 652; Blažek 1989b:208—209.

| | | | | Eurasiatic | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Proto-Nostratic | Proto-Afrasian | Proto-Dravid. | Proto-Kartvel. | Proto-IE | Proto-Uralic | Proto-Altaic | Proto-Eskimo |
| k’- | k’- | k- | k’- | k’- | k- | k- | k- q- |
| -k’- | -k’- | -k(k)- | -k’- | -k’- | -k- | -k- | -k- -q- |

455. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ab-* (~ **k’əb-*):
(vb.) **k’ab-* ‘to seize, to take hold of; to seize with the teeth, to bite’;
(n.) **k’ab-a* ‘seizure, grasp, grip, hold; bite’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’ab-* ‘to seize, to take hold of’: Proto-Semitic **k’ab-atɬ’-* ‘to seize, to take, to grab, to grasp, to take hold of’ > Arabic *ḳabaḍa* ‘to seize, to take, to grab, to grasp, to grip, to clutch, to take hold of, to take possession, to hold; to apprehend, to arrest; to receive, to collect’, *ḳabḍ* ‘seizing, gripping, grasping, seizure, holding; taking possession, appropriation; apprehension, arrest’; Sabaean *ḳbḍ* ‘seizers’ (branch of the military forces); Hebrew *ḳāβaṣ* [קָבַץ] ‘to gather, to collect’; Syriac *ḳəβaṣ* ‘to harvest’. Klein 1987:561; Zammit 2002:332. Proto-Semitic **k’ab-aʕ-* ‘to rob’ > Hebrew *ḳāβaʿ* [קָבַע] ‘to rob’; Aramaic *ḳəβaʿ* ‘to rob, to defraud’. Murtonen 1989:369; Klein 1987:561. Proto-East Cushitic **k’ab-* ‘to seize, to take hold of’ > Saho *kab-* ‘to take for oneself’; Somali *qab-* ‘to catch, to seize, to hold’; Rendille *xab-* ‘to catch, to seize, to hold’; Dasenech *ǧa(b)-* ‘to catch, to seize, to hold’; Arbore *kab-* ‘to hold, to take’; Galla / Oromo *k’ab-* ‘to possess, to take hold of’; Konso *qap-* ‘to possess, to take hold of’; Gidole *k’ap-* ‘to possess, to take hold of’; Dullay *qap-* ‘to possess, to take hold of’; Burji *k’af-* ‘to have’. Sasse 1979:14, 48 and 1982:122—123; Hudson 1989:77. Proto-Southern Cushitic **k’ab-* ‘to restrain’ > Burunge *qab-* ‘to keep quiet’. Ehret 1980:331. Ehret 1995:233, no. 409, **k’ab-* ‘to take hold of’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kappu* (*kappi-*) ‘to gorge, to cram into the mouth’, *kavvu* (*kavvi-*), *kauvu* (*kauvi-*) ‘(vb.) to seize with the mouth, to grasp with eagerness; (n.) bite, seizing by the mouth (as dog), eating’; Malayalam *kauvuka* ‘to seize with the mouth, to bite’, *kappuka*, *kammuka* ‘to snap at, to eat as a dog or a madman’; Koḍagu *kabb-* (*kabbi-*) ‘to seize with wide-open mouth (of dogs, tigers, etc.)’; Tuḷu *kappuni* ‘to eat greedily’; Telugu *kavvu* ‘to seize by the mouth’; Pengo *kap-* ‘to bite’; Manḍa *kap-* ‘to bite’; Kui *kappa* (*kapt-*) ‘to swallow liquid hastily, to gulp, to drink’; Kuṛux *xappnā* ‘to swallow, to drink’, *habkaʔānā* ‘to bite’, *habkā* ‘a bite’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:114, no. 1222.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **k’b-en-*, **k’b-in-* ‘to bite’: Georgian *k’b-en-/k’b-in-* ‘to bite’, *k’benil-* ‘a bite’; Mingrelian *k’ib-ir-* ‘to bite’ (reshaped after *k’ibir-* ‘tooth’); Laz *k’ib-in-* ‘to bite’. Klimov 1964:106—107 **ḳb-in-* and

1998:87 **ḳb-* ‘to bite’, **ḳb-en-* : **ḳb-in-* ‘to bite’; Schmidt 1962:118; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:186—187 **ḳb-*; Fähnrich 2007:225 **ḳb-*. Proto-Kartvelian **k’b-il-* ‘tooth’: Georgian *k’b-il-* ‘tooth’ (dialect forms: Ajarian *k’ibil-* and Tushian *k’mil-*); Mingrelian *k’ib-ir-*, *k’əb-ir-* ‘tooth’; Laz *k’ibi(r)-*, *k’ibr-*, *k’irb-*, *č’ibr-* ‘tooth’. Klimov 1964:107 **ḳb-il-* and 1998:87 **ḳb-il-* ‘tooth’.

Buck 1949:4.207 jaw; 4.24 mouth; 4.58 bite (vb.). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I: 313—315, no. 190, **ḳaba*/**ḳapʿa* ‘to seize’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 987, **ḳäbʔâ* ‘to bite’ (→ ‘to eat’); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:443—444, no. 288.

456. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ac$^{h}$-* (~ **k’əc$^{h}$-*):
(vb.) **k’ac$^{h}$-* ‘to labor, to strain; to become fatigued, exhausted, wearied (from straining, laboring)’;
(n.) **k’ac$^{h}$-a* ‘trouble, difficulty, pain, strain’

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *qsn* ‘troubled, difficult, painful’, *qsn* ‘pain’, *qsnt* ‘trouble, misfortune’; (?) Coptic *čons* [ϭⲟⲛⲥ] (assuming metathesis from **čosn*) ‘might, violence’. Hannig 1995:866; Faulkner 1962:281; Erman—Grapow 1921:192 and 1926—1963.5:69—71; Gardiner 1957:596; Vycichl 1983:342; Černý 1976:332. Note: The Coptic form may be derived from Egyptian *gns* ‘violence, injustice’ instead.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kāci* ‘difficulty, straits’ (Telugu loan); Kannaḍa *kāsi*, *ghāsi* ‘trouble, fatigue, pain’; Tuḷu *gāsi* ‘trouble, fatigue, pain’; Telugu *gāsi* ‘trouble, fatigue, pain’, *gāsincu* ‘to harass, to vex, to fatigue, to exhaust’, *gāsil(l)u* ‘to labor, to be wearied, to be harassed’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:133, no. 1430.
C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kæcæt-* ‘to strain (dog on leash)’: Chukchi *kecet-* ‘to strain (dog on leash)’; (?) Alyutor *kasat-* ‘to get covered in mud or scabs’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *kse-kas* ‘to strain, to pull away (dog from chain)’. Fortescue 2005:129.

Buck 1949:9.97 difficult; 16.31 pain, suffering.

457. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ač$^{h}$-* (~ **k’əč$^{h}$-*):
(vb.) **k’ač$^{h}$-* ‘to put, join, fasten, wrap, fold, or tie together’;
(n.) **k’ač$^{h}$-a* ‘tie, band, knot, fastening, wrapping’

A. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *kaccu* ‘to join’; Tuḷu *kaccuni* ‘to be joined fast’, *kaccāvuni* ‘to join fast’, *gajipuni* ‘to fasten, to strengthen’; Gondi *kah-* ‘to tie, to fasten up, to secure’, *kācānā* ‘to be tied tight (e.g., clothes)’; Pengo *gac-* ‘to tie, to bind’; Maṇḍa *geh-*, *gehpa-* ‘to bind’; Kui *gaspa* (*gast-*) ‘(vb.) to tie a knot, to hang, to suspend; (n.) hanging, suspension, suicide by hanging’, *gah-* (*gast-*) ‘to tie’; Kuwi *gah-* ‘to bind’, *gahpo* ‘fastening,

tying’; Kuṛux *xājnā* ‘to tether, to bind the feet’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:103, no. 1099.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **k’ečˇ-* ‘to put together’: Georgian *k’ec-* ‘to put together’; Mingrelian *k’ičˇ-*, *k’əčˇ-* ‘to put together, to fold; to roll’, *k’ičˇua-*, *k’ičˇil-* ‘folded, wrapped’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:191—192 **ḳec*$_1$-; Fähnrich 2007:231 **ḳec*$_1$-; Klimov 1964:108 **ḳec*$_1$- and 1998:90 **ḳec*$_1$- ‘to put together’.

C. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kəðtæl* ‘braid, plait’: Chukchi *kəttəl* ‘braid, plait’, *kəttəl-et-* ‘to braid, to plait’; Kerek *kəci-kkun* ‘braid, plait’; Koryak *kijtalat* ‘braid, plait’; Alyutor *kəttalat* ‘braid’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *t’k’lom* (pl. *t’k’loˀn*) ‘braid’ (with metathesis ?), *ktqaziin*, *qtklatknan* ‘to braid’, (Western) *tkodi* ‘string’, (Eastern) *xalelcac*, *xlelkat*, *kotelxc* ‘to weave’, (Southern) *tkoaduru* ‘topknot’. Fortescue 2005:143.

Buck 1949:9.15 fold (vb. tr.); 9.16 bind (vb. tr.).

458. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ad-* (~ **k’əd-*):
(vb.) **k’ad-* ‘to tie, to fasten; to build, to construct’;
(n.) **k’ad-a* ‘tie, band, fastening’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’[a]d-* ‘to build, to construct’: Egyptian *qd* ‘to build, to fashion (pots)’, *qd* ‘to use the potter’s wheel’, *qd* ‘builder, potter’, *i̯qdw* ‘potter, mason, creator’; Coptic *kōt* [**ⲕⲱⲧ**] ‘to build, to form’, *ekōt* [**ⲉⲕⲱⲧ**] ‘builder, mason, potter’, *se-kōt* [**ⲥⲉ-ⲕⲱⲧ**] ‘potter’s workshop’. Hannig 1995:108 and 867; Faulkner 1962:32, 281, and 282; Gardiner 1957:596; Erman—Grapow 1921:19, 192 and 1926—1963.5:72—75; Vycichl 1983:89—90; Černý 1976:64 and 65.

B. [Dravidian: Tamil *kaṭṭu* (*kaṭṭi-*) ‘(vb.) to tie, to fasten, to build, to wear, to put on, to bind by spells, to marry, to shut up, to store, to hug, to compare with, to be equal; (n.) tie, band, fastening, regulations, custom, building, marriage, bundle, packet, dam, causeway’, *kaṭṭaṭam* ‘building, binding of a book, setting of a jewel’, *kaṭṭaṇam* ‘building’, *kaṭṭaḷai* ‘code, rule, regulations’, *kaṭṭai* ‘dam’; Malayalam *keṭṭuka* ‘to tie, to build, to clasp, to yoke, to dress, to marry, to make into a bundle, to stop, to restrain, to become entangled, to clot’, *keṭṭikka* ‘to cause to tie, to make to wear, to give in marriage’, *keṭṭu* ‘tie, bundle, band, connection (as of marriage), restraint, dam, bank, building’, *keṭṭakam* ‘house’, *kaṭṭu* ‘tie, bundle’; Kota *kaṭ-* (*kac-*) ‘to tie, to build, to manage (house), to be equal’, *kaṭ* ‘knot, caste custom, case of which a decision has been given’, *kaṭaṛm* (obl. *kaṭaṛt-*) ‘wall of brick or stone’, *kaṭaṇ* ‘caste custom, individual’s habit’; Toda *koṭ-* (*koty-*) ‘to tie, to build, to kill by witchcraft, to obstruct, to hug, to manage (a house)’, *koṭ* ‘knot, bundle, amulet’, *koṭaz̲* ‘noose’ (in song unit: *mïr xoṭaz̲* ‘[to tie] a noose on the neck’); Kannaḍa *kaṭṭu* ‘(vb.) to bind, to tie, to yoke, to build, to shut up, to stop by magic, to bewitch, to amass (wealth),

to obstruct, to shut, to dam, to be bound, to be stopped; (n.) binding, tying, checking, restraint, band, tie, bundle, something built, regulation, rule, bewitching', *kaṭṭuvike* 'tying, etc.', *kaṭṭuka* 'man who ties', *kaṭṭaḍa*, *kaṭṭaṇa*, *kaṭṇa* 'a building', *kaṭṭal* 'state of being bound, tied; building', *kaṭṭe* 'structure of earth or stones to sit upon, embankment, dam, causeway', *gaṭṭu* 'dam, embankment', *gaṭṭe* 'bale, bundle'; Koḍagu *këṭṭ-* (*këṭṭi-*) 'to tie, to build', *këṭṭï* 'knot, bundle', *kaṭṭe* 'bund of tank, platform built under a tree on village green', *kaṭṭaḍa* 'a building'; Tuḷu *kaṭṭuni* 'to tie, to bind, to build, to amass (wealth)', *kaṭṭāvuni* 'to cause to bind or tie, to have a house built', *kaṭṭụ* 'band, tie, bundle, regulation, bond', *kaṭṭaṇa*, *kaṭṭalme* 'building', *kaṭṭa* 'a dam', *kaṭṭaḷe* 'custom, rule', *kaṭṭāṇi* 'necklace'; Telugu *kaṭṭu* '(vb.) to tie, to bind, to wear (clothes), to build, to bewitch, to obstruct; (n.) tie, bond, knot, band, wearing of a garment, restraint, rule or regulation', *kaṭṭincu* 'to get built, to cause to be bound or tied', *kaṭṭa* 'dam, embankment', *kaṭṭaḍa*, *kaṭṭaḍi* 'rule, law, fashion, manner', *kaṭṭaḍamu* 'building', *kaṭṭanamu* 'a tie', *gaṭṭu* 'dam, embankment'; Kolami *kaṭ-* (*kaṭṭ-*) 'to tie, to build', *kaṭṭā* 'platform', *kaṭṭa* 'bund of field'; Naikṛi *kaṭṭ-* 'to tie, to build', *kaṭṭa* 'bund of field, dam, dike', *kaṭṭe* 'necklace'; Naiki (of Chanda) *kaṭ-*/*kaṭṭ-* 'to bind, to tie hair, to build, to attach bowstring'; Parji *kaṭṭ-* 'to tie, to build', *kaḍk-* 'to tie, to fasten, to bind', *kaṭṭa* 'bund of field'; Gadba (Ollari) *kaṭ-* 'to tie, to build', (Salur) *kaṭṭ-* 'to bind', *gaṭṭu* 'bank'; Gondi *kaṭṭānā* 'to be shut (of door), to close or come to grips (of two men fighting); to shut, to close (door)', *kaṭṭitānā* 'to adhere or be attached to', *kaṭṭā* 'a dam in the river for catching fish', *kaṭṭa* 'bund, embankment', *kaṭ* 'bank of a river'; Konḍa *kaṭa* 'bundle (of hay, etc.)', *gaṭu* 'bund, bank (of river, tank, etc.)', *kaṭis-* 'to yoke (plow)'; Pengo *kaṭa* 'bank of a river'; Kui *kāṭ-* 'to fix, to fasten, to secure'; Kuwi *gaṭṭu* 'bund of a field', *gaṭu* 'boundary, beach, shore; end of a table, field, etc.'; Malto *gaṭa* 'rope, cord'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:108, no. 1147; Krishnamurti 2003:199 **kaṭ-*/**kaṭṭ-* 'to tie, to bind', **kaṭṭ-ay* 'a dam'.] These forms may belong under Proto-Nostratic **kʰad-* (~ **kʰəd-*) '(vb.) to tie, to bind; (n.) tie, band, fastening' instead.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'ed-*/**k'd-* 'to build, to construct': Georgian [*k'ed-*] 'to build, to construct'; Mingrelian *k'id-* 'to partition off'; Laz *k'id-*, *k'od-* 'to build, to construct', *mk'idale-* 'constructor'. Klimov 1964:107 **ḳed-* and 1998:87—88 **ḳed-* : **ḳd-* 'to build, to construct'; Fähnrich 2007:217—218 **ḳad-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:181—182 **ḳad-*. Proto-Kartvelian **k'ed-el-* 'wall': Georgian *k'edel-* 'wall'; Mingrelian *k'ida(la)-*, *k'ədala-* 'wall'; Laz *k'ida-*, *k'oda-* 'wall'. Klimov 1964:107—108 **ḳedel-* and 1998:88 **ḳ(e)d-el-* 'wall'.

D. Proto-Altaic **kadu* 'a kind of harness (bridle)': Proto-Tungus **kada-la*, **kada-ra* 'bridle' > Manchu *χadala* 'horse's bridle'; Nanay / Gold *qadara*, *χadara* 'bridle'; Solon *χadal*, *kadala* 'bridle'. Proto-Mongolian **kada-* 'bridle' > Written Mongolian *qaǯaγar* 'bridle'; Khalkha *χaʒār* 'bridle';

Buriat *χazār* ‘bridle’; Kalmyk *χazār* ‘bridle’; Ordos *χaǯār* ‘bridle’; Moghol *qadār* ‘bridle’; Dagur *χadāl* ‘bridle’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:629 **kadu* ‘a kind of harness (bridle)’.

Buck 1949:7.27 wall; 9.44 build. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:316—317, no. 192, **ķadʌ* ‘to weave, to plait (with twigs)’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:496—497, no. 344; Dolgopolsky 1998:30—31, no. 22, **ķadV* ‘to wicker, to wattle’ (‘wall, building’) and 2008, no. 1006, **ķadV* ‘wickerwork, wattle’.

459. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ak’-* (onomatopoeic):
(vb.) **k’ak’-* ‘to cackle, to chatter’;
(n.) **k’ak’-a* ‘crackling sound’
Derivative:
(n.) **k’ak’-a* (onomatopoeic bird name) ‘partridge’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’ak’-* ‘to cackle, to make a noise’: Proto-Semitic **k’a/wa/k’-*, **k’ak’-aw-* ‘to cackle, to make a noise’ > Arabic *ķāķa* ‘to cackle, to cluck’; Syriac *ķawķī* ‘to strike or sound a bell’; Geez / Ethiopic *ķoķẖa* [ቆቅሐ] ‘to cackle, to neigh’, *ʔasķoķawa* [አስቆቀወ] ‘to howl, to lament, to wail, to sing a dirge’; Tigrinya *ķäķäwä* ‘to cackle’. Leslau 1987:439.
B. Dravidian: Kui *kapka* (< **kak-p-*, *kakt-*) ‘to laugh, to laugh at, to ridicule’; Kuwi *kak-* ‘to laugh’, *kakpinai* ‘to joke’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:102, no. 1080.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **k’ak’a-n-* ‘to cackle’: Georgian *k’ak’an-* ‘to cackle’; Laz *k’ark’al-* ‘to cackle’; Mingrelian *k’ark’al-* ‘to cackle’; Svan *k’ark’ac-* ‘to cackle’. Klimov 1964:105—106 **ķaķa-n-*.
D. Proto-Indo-European **k’ak’-* ‘to cackle, to chatter’: Armenian *kakaçem* ‘to cackle’, *kakazem* ‘to stammer, to jabber, to lisp’; Middle High German *kachezen* ‘to guffaw’; Dutch *kakelen* ‘to cackle’; Old English *ceahhetan* ‘to laugh loudly’; Lithuanian *gagù*, *gagěti* ‘to cackle’; Russian *gogotát'* [гоготать] ‘to cackle’, *gógot* [гогот] ‘cackle, loud laughter’. Pokorny 1959:407 **gha gha* ‘to chatter’; Walde 1927—1932.I:526 **gha gha*; Mann 1984—1987:261 **gagədi̯ō* (**gəgədi̯ō*) ‘to chatter’, 261—262 **gagəti̯ō* (**gəgəti̯ō*), 262—263 **gagō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to cackle, to chatter’; Mallory—Adams 1997:345 **gag-* ‘to cackle’; Onions 1966:133; Klein 1971:103; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:127—128.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:445—446, no. 291.

460. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’ak’-a* (onomatopoeic bird name) ‘partridge’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **k’ak’-* ‘to cackle, to chatter’;
(n.) **k’ak’-a* ‘crackling sound’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ak'-* 'partridge': Proto-Semitic **k'a/wa/k'-* 'partridge' > Syriac *ḳūḳānā* 'partridge'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳoḳāh* [ቆቃህ], *ḳoḳəh* [ቆቅህ], *ḳoḳāḥ* [ቆቃሕ], *ḳoḳəḥ* [ቆቅሕ] 'francolin'; Tigrinya *ḳoḳaḥ* 'partridge'; Tigre *ḳoḳaḥ* 'partridge'; Amharic *ḳoḳ* 'partridge'; Gurage *ḳoḳ* 'partridge'. Leslau 1979:492 and 1987:438. (?) Akkadian *ḳaḳānu*, *ḳaḳū*, *ḳaḳḳullu* 'a bird'. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:335, no. 1539, **ḳaḳ-*/**ḳuḳ-* 'cuckoo, hen'.]
B. Dravidian: Kolami *kakkare* 'partridge'; Parji *kākral* 'partridge'; Gondi *kakrā̆nj* 'partridge'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:101, no. 1078.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'ak'ab-* 'partridge': Georgian *k'ak'ab-* 'partridge'; Mingrelian *k'ok'obe-* 'partridge'. Schmidt 1962:117; Klimov 1964:105 **ḳaḳab-* and 1998:85 **ḳaḳab-* 'partridge'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:183 **ḳaḳab-*; Fähnrich 2007:219 **ḳaḳab-*.
D. Altaic: Proto-Turkic **käkälik* 'partridge' > Turkish *keklik* 'red-legged partridge'. Décsy 1998:89.
E. Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan **kakac(o)* 'a kind of bird': Chukchi *kakac(o)* 'a kind of bird'; Alyutor *kakas* (Palana *notakakac*, *kakacon*) 'a kind of bird', (Palana) *kakac* 'magpie' (?); Kamchadal / Itelmen *kakac* 'a kind of bird', (Sedanka) *qaqac* 'a kind of jay'. Fortescue 2005:126.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:446, no. 292. Loanwords in Indo-European: Hittite *kakkapa-* onomatopoeic bird name; Greek κακκάβη 'partridge' (cf. Akkadian *kakkabānu* name of a bird).

461. Proto-Nostratic root **k'al-* (~ **k'əl-*):
(vb.) **k'al-* 'to feed, to nourish';
(n.) **k'al-a* 'nourishment, sustenance, nutriment'

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'[a]l-* 'to feed, nourish': Proto-Semitic **k'al-ab-* 'to feed, to nourish' > Geez / Ethiopic *ḳalaba* [ቀለበ] 'to nourish' (Amharic loan); Tigrinya *ḳälläbä* 'to feed'; Amharic *ḳälläbä* 'to feed (oxen), to provide support, to nourish', *ḳälläb* 'food, supplies, rations, stipend'; Argobba *ḳälläbä* 'to feed'; Gurage *ḳälläbä* 'to support by providing food, *to feed', *ḳälläb* 'feeding, subsistence'. Leslau 1979:475 and 1987:427. Ethiopian Semitic loans in Cushitic: Qabenna *k'allabbo* 'to feed'; Galla / Oromo *k'alabo* 'rations'.
B. Proto-Indo-European **k'al-* 'to (breast-)feed, to nourish, to satisfy', **k'(a)lak$^{h}$t$^{h}$-* 'nourishment, milk': (?) Sanskrit *jálāṣa-ḥ* 'appeasing, healing'; Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *kal(l)aktar*, *galaktar* 'soothing substance, balm, nutriment', *kala(n)k-*, *gala(n)k-* 'to soothe, to satiate, to satisfy'; Greek γάλα 'milk', (gen. sg. γάλακτος); Latin *lac* 'milk'; Middle Irish *lacht* 'milk' (Latin loan); Welsh *llaeth* 'milk' (Latin loan). Pokorny 1959:400—401 **glag-* or **glak-* 'milk'; Walde 1927—1932.I:659 **glag-* or **glak-*; Mann 1984—1987:387—388 **ĝalakt-* (**ĝəlakt-*, **ĝələ*) 'milk'; Watkins 1985:41 **g(a)lag-*, **g(a)lakt-* 'milk' and 2000:54 (under **melg-*

‘to rub off’ also ‘to milk’) *g(a)lag-, *g(a)lakt- ‘milk’; Mallory—Adams 1997:381—382 *ĝ(ļ)lákt- (gen. *ĝlaktós) ‘milk’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:148, II:568 and 1995.I:127, I:485; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:423; Puhvel 1984— .4:18—20; Hofmann 1966:41; Boisacq 1950:139; Frisk 1970—1983.I:283—284 *glakt-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:206—207; Beekes 2010.I:256 *glkt(-); Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:741—742; Ernout—Meillet 1979:335; De Vaan 2008:320. Note: Different etymology in Kloekhorst 2008b:428—429.

Buck 1949:5.86 milk (sb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:438—439, no. 283.

462. Proto-Nostratic (n.) *k’al-a ‘stone, rock’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kal* (*kaṟ-*, *kaṉ-*) ‘stone, pebble, boulder, precious stone, milestone’; Malayalam *kal*, *kallu* ‘stone, rock, precious stone’, *kalla* ‘glass beads’, *kallan* ‘mason; hard-hearted’; Kolami *kal* ‘stone, milestone’; Toda *kal* ‘milestone, bead’, *kalïr* ‘round river stone’; Kannaḍa *kal*, *kalu*, *kallu* ‘stone; hard, stiff state of mind’; Koḍagu *kallï* ‘stone’; Tuḷu *kallu̯* ‘stone’; Telugu *kallu* ‘stone’; Naikṛi *khalbada* ‘stone slab for pounding’; Parji *kel* ‘stone’; Gondi *kal*, *kall(i)*, *kalu* ‘stone’; Konḍa *kalu* ‘stone’; Pengo *kal* ‘stone’; Brahui *xal* ‘stone, boulder’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:121, no. 1298; Krishnamurti 2003:92, 118, 179, and 196 *kal- ‘stone’.
B. Proto-Kartvelian *k’ļde- ‘rock, cliff’: Georgian *k’lde* ‘rock, cliff’; Mingrelian *k’irde*, *k’ərde*, *k’irda*, *k’ərda* ‘rock, cliff’; (?) Svan *k’oǯ-* (< *k’óde < *k’ļdé) ‘rock, cliff’. Klimov 1964:113 *ḳ̆ļde- and 1998:97 *ḳ̆lde- ‘rock’; Fähnrich 2007:248 *ḳ̆lde-; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:204—205 *ḳ̆lde-.
C. Proto-Indo-European *k’(e)l- ‘rock, stone’: Old Icelandic *klé* ‘one of the stones used to keep the warp straight in the old upright loom’, *klettr* ‘rock, crag’, *kleif* ‘ridge, cliff’, *klif* ‘cliff’, *klettr* ‘rock, cliff’; Old English *clif* ‘cliff, rock, promontory, steep slope’, *clūd* ‘rock, hill’; Old Saxon *klif* ‘cliff’; Dutch *klip* ‘cliff’; Low German *klint* ‘rock, cliff’; Old High German *klep* ‘cliff, crag, rock’ (New High German *Klippe* [< Middle Dutch *klippe*]); Polish *głaz* ‘stone’ (according to Shevelov 1964:148, < *gloĝno-). Pokorny 1959:357—363 *gel- ‘to form into a ball’; Walde 1927—1932.I:612—621 *gel-; Mann 1984—1987:279 *glōĝh- ‘spike, tip, crag’; Watkins 1985:18—19 *gel- ‘to form into a ball’; Orël 2003:216 Proto-Germanic *klifan; Kroonen 2013:292 Proto-Germanic *kliba- ‘cliff’; De Vries 1977:315 and 316 *gel-d-; Klein 1971:142; Onions 1966:182 Proto-Germanic *kliƀam, *kliƀn-; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:378; Kluge—Seebold 1989:377 and 378.
D. (?) Uralic: Finnish *kallio* ‘rock’, *rantakallio* ‘cliff’; Estonian *kalju* ‘rock, boulder’, *rannakalju* ‘cliff, crag’, *kaljune* ‘rocky’; Lapp / Saami *kallo* ‘rock’. These forms are usually considered to be loans from Germanic (cf.

Gothic *hallus* ‘rock’; Old Icelandic *hallr* ‘big stone’, *hella* ‘flat stone, slab of rock’; Old English *heall* ‘rock’) (cf. Feist 1939:241; Lehmann 1986:174—175; Joki 1973:21).

E. Proto-Eskimo **qaluʁ* ‘rock’: Naukan Siberian Yupik *qa(a)luq* ‘stone’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qaluq* ‘round rock or pebble on shore’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:280.

Buck 1949:1.44 stone; rock. Hakola 2000:50—51, no. 179; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1044, **ḳalʕV* ‘rock, hill, stone’.

463. Proto-Nostratic root **k’al-* (~ **k’əl-*):
(vb.) **k’al-* ‘to take away, to remove, to deprive of; to decrease, to diminish, to reduce; to be or become reduced or diminished’;
(n.) **k’al-a* ‘littleness, small quantity, scarcity; few things; lack, want, poverty, deficiency, insufficiency’; (adj.) ‘little, scanty, sparse, meager, insufficient, lacking, short of, wanting, needy’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’al-* ‘to take away, to remove, to deprive of; to decrease, to diminish, to reduce; to be or become reduced or diminished’: Proto-Semitic **k’al-al-* ‘to take away, to remove, to deprive of; to decrease, to diminish; to be or become little, small, few, meager’ > Arabic *ḳalla* ‘to decrease, to diminish; to be or become little, small, few (in number or quantity), trifling, insignificant, inconsiderable, scant, scanty, sparse, spare, meager; to be second, to be inferior; to pick up, to lift, to raise, to carry (off), to remove’, *ḳill*, *ḳull* ‘small number or quantity, little; scarcity, rarity’, *ḳilla* (pl. *ḳilal*) ‘littleness, small quantity, scarcity; few things; lack, want, poverty, deficiency, insufficiency’; Hebrew *ḳālal* [קָלַל] ‘to be small, insignificant, of little account’; Akkadian *ḳalālu* ‘to be or become light (in weight), few, little, small’, *ḳallu* ‘light; of low standing, of little value; small, few, young’, *ḳallalu* ‘small, little; of inferior quality’, *ḳullulu* ‘to make an inferior-quality product, to reduce, to diminish’, *ḳalmu* ‘small’; Sabaean *ḳll* ‘a little, a small quantity’; Ḥarsūsi *ḳel* ‘to be little, insufficient’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳell* ‘to become little’; Mehri *ḳətlōl* ‘to be little’, *ḳəl* ‘sparseness’; Soqoṭri *ḳel* ‘to be small’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳalla* [ቀለ], *ḳalala* [ቀለለ] ‘to be light (in weight), easy, slight, swift, rapid’, *ʔaḳlala* [አቅለለ] ‘to lighten, to diminish a burden’, *ḳalil* [ቀሊል] (f. *ḳallāl* [ቀለል]) ‘light (in weight), easy, swift, rapid, small, minor, of small value’; Harari *ḳäläla* ‘to be thin (object)’; Gurage *ḳälälä* ‘to be light (in weight)’, *ḳäl* ‘small, little, a bit, a little bit’; Gafat *ḳälliyä* ‘light’. Murtonen 1989:376; Klein 1987:580; Zammit 2002:344; Leslau 1963:124, 1979: 476—477, and 1987:428. Berber: Tuareg *γələlət* ‘to be scrawny (person or animal)’, *aγələla* ‘a scrawny person or animal’, *taγələlat* ‘a stalk of sorghum, corn, and similar plants’; Ghadames *γalal* ‘stalk of grain’; Tamazight *iγəll* ‘culm, stems remaining after the harvest, long straw’;

Kabyle *iγlil* ‘to be covered with culm’, *iγləl* ‘culm’; Mzab *iγəlləl* ‘long straw’ (archaic); Riff *iγəll* ‘culm’. Proto-East Cushitic **k’all-* or **k’alʔ-* ‘to be thin’ > Burji *k’all-*, *k’alʔ-* ‘to be thin, narrow’, (vb. mid.) *k’alʔ-add-* ‘to become thin’; Konso *qallaʔ-* ‘thin’; Galla / Oromo *k’all-aa* ‘subtle, thin, meager’; Gidole *k’allaʔ-* ‘narrow’. Sasse 1979:22, 48 and 1982:124. West Chadic **k’al-* ‘small’ > Dera *kalla* ‘small’. East Chadic **kal-* ‘small’ > Kabalay *kaale* ‘small’. Diakonoff 1992:24 **ḳal-* ‘petty, light’; Orël—Stolbova 1995:336, no. 1542, **ḳal-*/**ḳil-* ‘to be small’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **k’el-*/**k’l-* ‘to lack, to be short of’: Georgian *k’el-*/*k’l-* (Xevsurian *k’al-*/*k’l-*) ‘to lack, to be short of’; Mingrelian *k’al-* ‘to come away empty-handed’, *go-k’al-ip-er-i* ‘empty-handed’; Svan *k’l-* ‘to lack’. Schmidt 1962:119; Klimov 1998:85 **ḳal-*/**ḳl-* ‘to lack, to be short of’ and 89 **ḳel-*/**ḳl-* ‘to lack, to be short of’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:189 **ḳel-*/**ḳl-*; Fähnrich 2007:228 **ḳel-*/**ḳl-*. Proto-Kartvelian (Georgian-Zan) **m-k’l-e-* ‘missing, deprived’: Georgian *mok’le-* (Xevsurian *mk’le-*) ‘short’; Mingrelian [*k’ule-*] ‘deprived’; Laz *mk’ule-* ‘short’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:241—242 **mḳle-*; Fähnrich 2007:292—293 **mḳle-*; Klimov 1998:123 **m-ḳl-e-* ‘missing, deprived’; Schmidt 1962:124—125.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kelke-* ‘to be necessary; must, ought to’ > Lapp / Saami *gâl'gâ-*/*gâlgâ-* ‘shall, must, have to; (especially in prohibitions) ought, must be, be needed, ought to do’; Mordvin *kel'ge-* ‘shall, must, ought to’; Cheremis / Mari (3rd sg.) *keleš*, *küleš* ‘it is necessary, (I, you, etc.) must’; Votyak / Udmurt *kul-* ‘to be necessary’; Zyrian / Komi *kol-* ‘to be necessary; must, ought to’; Hungarian *kell(e)-* ‘to be needed, to be wanting’, *kell* ‘(I, you, etc.) must’, *kellék* ‘(pre)requisite, requirement, (pl.) necessaries’. Collinder 1955:87 and 1977:103; Rédei 1986—1988:145 **kelke-*; Sammallahti 1988:543 **kelki-* ‘must’.

Buck 1949:9.93 need, necessity; 9.94 ought, must (3rd sg.); 12.56 small, little; 12.62 narrow; 12.65 thin (in dimension); 12.66 thin (in density). Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:323, no. 198, **ḳelʌ* ‘to be insufficient’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:452, no. 297; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1027, **Ḳelv̄V* (or **Ḳeɬ̄V*) ‘to lack, to be insufficient’ and, no. 1057, **Ḳa[ĺ]V* ‘(to be) few, (to be) too small/thin/light’.

464. Proto-Nostratic root **k’al-* (~ **k’əl-*):
(vb.) **k’al-* ‘to burn, to warm, to cook, to roast’;
(n.) **k’al-a* ‘cooking, roasting, baking; glowing embers’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’[a]l-* ‘to burn, to roast’: Proto-Semitic **k’al-ay/w-* ‘to burn, to roast’ > Akkadian *ḳalū* (Assyrian *ḳalāʾu*) ‘to burn’; Hebrew *ḳālāh* [קָלָה] ‘to roast, to parch’; Aramaic *ḳəlā* ‘to burn’; Mandaic *ḳla* ‘to burn, to roast’; Arabic *ḳalā* ‘to fry, to bake, to roast’; Soqoṭri *ḳaleʾ* ‘to roast (grain)’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳélé* ‘to fry’; Mehri *ḳəlō* ‘to cook, to fry’; Geez /

Ethiopic *ḳalawa* [ቀለወ] ‘to roast, to parch’; Tigrinya *ḳäläwä* ‘to roast’; Tigre *ḳäla* ‘to roast’; Amharic *ḳʷälla* ‘to parch grain, to roast’; Gafat *ḳollä* ‘to roast’; Harari *ḳala* ‘to roast’; Argobba *ḳʷälla* ‘to roast’; Gurage *ḳollä* ‘to roast grain or coffee, to parch grain or coffee’. Murtonen 1989:376; Klein 1987:578; Leslau 1963:123, 1979:475, and 1987:431; Militarëv 2010:56 Proto-Semitic **ḳlw-*. Central Chadic **kwalu-* ‘hotness’ > Bachama *kwul-* ‘hotness’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:344, no. 1584, **ḳol-* ‘to be hot, to burn’; Ehret 1995:236, no. 419, **k’al-* ‘to burn (tr.)’.

B. Dravidian: Malayalam *kāḷuka* ‘to burn, to flame’, *kāḷal* ‘high flame, love-fever’; Telugu *kālu* ‘to burn; to be burnt, scalded, scorched, baked’, *kālupu* ‘burning, setting on fire, roasting, baking’, *kālcu* ‘to burn (tr.), to set fire to, to scald, to singe, to scorch, to char, to bake’; Parji *kāl-* ‘to smart’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:139, no. 1500; Krishnamurti 2003:181 **kā-ḷ* ‘(vb.) to burn; (n.) flame’.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k’el(H)-/*k’ol(H)-/*k’l̥(H)-* ‘to burn, to scorch, to char’: Common Germanic **kulan* ‘coal, charcoal’ > Old Icelandic *kol* ‘coals, charcoal’, *kola* ‘a small flat open lamp’; Swedish (dial.) *kola* ‘to burn slowly’; Old English *col* ‘(live) coal, piece of charcoal’; Old Frisian *kole* ‘coal’; Middle Low German *kol(e)* ‘coal’; Dutch *kool* ‘coal’; Old High German *kol*, *kolo* ‘coal’ (New High German *Kohle*); Alemannic *chollen* ‘to glimmer, to glow, to smolder’. Orël 2003:223 Proto-Germanic **kulan*; Kroonen 2013:309 Proto-Germanic **kula-* ‘coal, charcoal’; De Vries 1977:324; Onions 1966:185; Klein 1971:144; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:388; Kluge—Seebold 1989:388. Not, according to Walde (1927—1932.I:563), related to Sanskrit *jválati* ‘to burn brightly, to blaze, to glow, to shine’, *jvárati* ‘to be feverish’, which are assumed to be from a Proto-Indo-European **gu̯er-* (see also Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:450, who notes that the outside connections of *jvárati* are uncertain). Problematic, from a phonological standpoint, is the comparison with Old Irish *gúal* ‘coal’, which is usually taken to be from **goulo-* or **geulo-*, and Welsh *glo* ‘coal’, which, according to Morris Jones (1913:108), stands for **gu̯loe* < Brit. **gu̯lāu̯is* < **gu̯el(āˣ)-*. However, these may be brought in as well if the Old Irish form is derived from a reduplicated **go-gl-o-* (< **k’o-k’l-o-*) or the like, with the Welsh representing unreduplicated **gl-o-* (< **k’l-o-*).

D. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *qaal'e-* ‘to get burnt’, *qaal'es-* ‘to fry’, *qaal'idere* ‘coal’, *qaal'e* ‘partly burnt place’. Nikolaeva 2006:375.

Buck 1949:1.85 burn (vb.); 15.85 hot, warm. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:332—333, no. 208, **Ḳajla* ‘hot; to burn’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:453—454, no. 299.

465. Proto-Nostratic root **k’al-* (~ **k’əl-*):
(vb.) **k’al-* ‘to move, to tremble, to shake, to agitate, to stir, to mix’;
(n.) **k’al-a* ‘agitation, trembling, perturbation, distress, confusion, uneasiness, disturbance’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’[a]l-* ‘to move, to tremble, to shake, to agitate, to stir, to mix’: Proto-Semitic **k’al-aḳ-* ‘to totter, to be unsteady; to be uneasy, disquieted, apprehensive, anxious, agitated, upset, disturbed, perturbed, troubled; to be restless, sleepless’ > Arabic *ḳaliḳa* ‘to totter, to be unsteady; to be uneasy, disquieted, apprehensive, anxious, agitated, upset, disturbed, perturbed, troubled; to be restless, sleepless’. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **k’al-k’al-* ‘to move, to tremble, to shake, to agitate’ > Arabic *ḳalḳala* ‘to move, to shake, to convulse’; Hebrew *ḳilḳēl* [קִלְקֵל] ‘to shake’; Geez / Ethiopic *ʔanḳalḳala* [**አንቀልቀለ**] ‘to move, to shake, to swing, to quake, to agitate, to make tremble, to vacillate, to totter, to stagger’, *ḳʷalḳʷala* [**ቋልቋለ**] ‘to brandish, to agitate, to shake, to vibrate, to throw (a spear)’; Tigre *ʔanḳälḳäla* ‘to shake’; Tigrinya *ʔanḳälḳälä* ‘to tremble, to be agitated, to shake, to vibrate’; Amharic *tänḳäläḳḳälä* ‘to be restless, to roam about’; Gurage *(a)ḳläḳälä*, *anḳəläḳälä* ‘to move, to shake, to swing’. Klein 1987:581; Leslau 1979:478 and 1987:430. Proto-Semitic (reduplicated) **k’al-k’al-* ‘to stir, to mix up, to confuse’ > Syriac *ḳalḳel* ‘to throw into confusion’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳalḳala* [**ቀልቀለ**] ‘to mix up, to confuse, to blend together, to destroy, to abolish’; Amharic *ḳäläḳḳälä* ‘to mix, to stir’; Argobba *ḳälaḳḳäla* ‘to mix, to stir’; Harari *(tä)ḳlāḳäla* ‘to be mixed together, to be intermingled’; Gurage *ḳəlaḳḳäla* ‘to mix, to intermingle, to stir food, to knead dough’. Leslau 1963:124, 1979:478, and 1987:430. Berber: Tuareg *əγli* ‘to spin’; Wargla *əlli* ‘to surround, to encircle’, *əγli* ‘to embrace’; Kabyle *əγli* ‘to fall down, to collapse, to knock down’; Tamazight *əγləy* ‘to disappear, to be no longer visible, to set (sun), to drown’, *aγəlluy* ‘disappearance, setting of the sun’; Mzab *əlli* ‘to fall down, to collapse’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:352, no. 1524, **ḳVl-* ‘to spin’.

B. Dravidian: [Tamil *kalaṅku* (*kalaṅki-*) ‘to be stirred up, agitated, ruffled (as water), confused, abashed’, *kalakku* (*kalakki-*) ‘to confuse’, *kalakkam*, *kalakku* ‘being agitated (as surface of water), discomposure, distress, perplexity’, *kalāvu* (*kalāvi-*) ‘to be perturbed, confused, displeased, angry’, *kalaṅkal* ‘turbidity, muddiness, muddy water, perturbation’, *kali* ‘perturbation, discomposure, uneasiness, war, dissension, strife’; Malayalam *kalaṅṅuka* ‘to be mixed, agitated, turbid (as water), embarrassed’, *kalakkuka* ‘to mix, to confound’, *kalakku* ‘muddy water’, *kalacuka* ‘to be disturbed’; Kota *kalg-* (*kalgy-*) ‘to be mixed, confused (in relationship)’, *kalk-* (*kalky-*) ‘to mix’; Toda *kalx-* (*kalxy-*) ‘to be stirred up (water so that it becomes muddy)’, *kalk-* (*kalky-*) ‘to stir up (water so that it becomes muddy)’; Kannaḍa *kalaku*, *kalaṅku* ‘to agitate, to shake, to perturb, to make turbid, to stir up, to disturb’, *kalakisu* ‘to perturb, to stir’, *kalaḍu* ‘to be shaken or perturbed; to become turbid, muddy, unclean’; Koḍagu *kalaŋg-* (*kalaŋgi-*) ‘to be stirred up’, *kalak-* (*kalaki-*) ‘to stir up, to churn’; Tuḷu *kalaṅkuni*, *kaḷaṅkuni* ‘to be turbid’, *galjuni* ‘to confuse, to disturb’; Telugu *kalãgu* ‘to be in agitation, confusion, or trouble; to be turbid (as any liquid)’, *kalãcu* ‘to stir, to agitate, to disturb, to trouble, to

make turbid'; Kui *glahpa* (*glaht-*) 'to mix by stirring, to stir, to confuse, to perplex, to confound, to cause to be confused'; Gondi *kallih-* 'to shake (bottle, etc.)'; Kuṛux *xalaxnā* 'to disturb, to make muddy (as water)'; Malto *qalġe* 'to disturb (as water)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1303; Krishnamurti 2003:172—173 **kal-a-nku* 'to be stirred', **kal-a-nkku* 'to stir'. Tamil *kala* 'to mix, to unite in friendship, to form friendly or matrimonial alliance with, to copulate', *kalacu* (*kalaci-*) 'to mingle', *kalampakam* 'mixture, combination', *kalavu* (*kalavi-*) 'to mix', *kalaval* 'mixing, combining', *kalāvu* (*kalāvi-*) 'to mix, to join together, to unite'; Malayalam *kalaruka* 'to be mixed, united; to mix, to mingle (especially what is dry)', *kalaval* 'mixing, intermingling', *kalarcca* 'mixture'; Kota *kalv-* (*kald-*) 'to knead, to mix (solid in water)'; Kannaḍa *kali*, *kale* 'to join (intr.), to be mixed, to come together, to meet', *kalaka*, *kalka* 'mixture', *kalasu* 'to mix, to mingle'; Tuḷu *kalaḍuni* 'to be mixed, kneaded', *kalaḍāvuni* 'to mix, to knead', *kalapuni* 'to mingle, to knead'; Telugu *kalayu*, *kaliyu* 'to join, to unite, to meet, to mix, to mingle, to copulate', *kalapu* 'to mix, to join, to unite, to bring together, to reconcile', *kalavuḍu* 'to mix, to mingle'; Kolami *kalay-* (*kalayt-*) 'to be mixed (liquids)', *kalp-* (*kalapt-*) 'to mix'; Naikṛi *kalay-* 'to mix (intr.)', *kalap-* 'to mix (tr.)'; Koṇḍa *kali-* 'to meet, to come together, to be mingled', *kalp-* 'to mix'; Kuwi *kalhali*, *kalhinai* 'to be mixed, to mingle', *kal-* 'to mix together', *kalp-* 'to mix', *kalh-* 'to copulate'; Kuṛux *khalnā* 'to dilute, to mix with water or other liquid'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:121, no. 1299. Tamil *kalavaram* 'confusion of mind, perturbation', *kalavari* 'to be confused, perturbed'; Kannaḍa *kaḷakaḷa*, *kaḷavaḷike* 'agitation of mind, distress, confusion', *kaḷavaḷisu* 'to be agitated, to grieve, to be perplexed'; Koḍagu *kaḷavaḷa* 'confusion'; Tuḷu *kaḷavaḷa* 'anxiety, alarm, sorrow'; Telugu *kalavaramu* 'confusion, state of being puzzled or perplexed, anxiety', *kaḷavaḷincu* 'to be perplexed, anxious'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:122, no. 1306. Tamil *kalipali*, *kalipili* 'uproar, disturbance, quarrel, wrangle'; Kannaḍa *galabe* 'hubbub, clamor', *galabali*, *galabili*, *galibili* 'disorder, confusion'; Telugu *galibili*, *galaba* 'noise, confusion, disturbance'; Tuḷu *galibili* 'disorder, tumult, anarchy', *galabu* 'tumult, confusion, noise'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:123, no. 1310.] Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **ɢal-* (~ **ɢəl-*) '(vb.) to stir up, to agitate, to disturb; to be stirred up, agitated, disturbed; (n.) agitation, disturbance, perturbation; quarrel, fight, battle'.

Buck 1949:5.17 mix; 10.26 shake (vb. tr.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:450—452, no. 296.

466. Proto-Nostratic root **k'al-* (~ **k'əl-*):
(vb.) **k'al-* 'to come into being, to be born';
(n.) **k'al-a* 'existence, presence, appearance, birth'

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’al-* ‘to give birth, to beget’: Proto-Highland East Cushitic **k’al-* ‘to give birth, to beget’ > Burji *k’al-* ‘to give birth, to beget’, *k’al-a* ‘son, male child, young of animals’, *k’ala-go-* ‘to be pregnant’, *k’al-am-o* ‘birth’; Hadiyya *k’ar-* (< **k’al-*) ‘to give birth, to beget’; Kambata *k’al-* ‘to give birth, to beget (of animals)’, *k’alan-ca* ‘generation’; Sidamo *k’al-* ‘(of animals) to give birth, to beget’, *k’al-am-* ‘to breed, to multiply, to be pregnant (woman)’. Hudson 1989:70; Sasse 1982:123.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kala* ‘to appear, to come into being, to spread (as news)’, *kali* ‘(vb.) to grow luxuriantly, to sprout, to come into being, to appear, to increase; (n.) flourishing, prospering’; Telugu *kalugu* ‘to accrue, to happen, to occur, to be produced or caused, to be born, to be, to exist, to be able’, *kaligincu* ‘to cause, to produce, to effect, to bring about’, *kala* ‘existing, true, actual, possessing, having’, *kalimi* ‘existence, presence; possessions, wealth’; Kolami (neg.) *kal-*, *kalt-* (present-future paradigm, present-future or past in meaning) ‘possibly be, may be’, *kall-*, *kal-* ‘to do’; Konḍa *kalgi-* ‘to accrue (as prosperity), to happen’; Kuwi *kalg-* ‘to get, to become, to accrue’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:121, no. 1300. (?) Pengo *kaṛde* ‘boy, son’ (< **kaḷde* ?); Manḍa *kaṛde* ‘boy’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:127, no. 1371.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k’al-* ‘pregnant, young of animals’: Gothic *kalbō* ‘calf’; Old Icelandic *kalfr* ‘calf’; Faroese *kálvur* ‘calf’; Norwegian *kalv* ‘calf’; Swedish *kalv* ‘calf’; Danish *kalv* ‘calf’; Old English *cealf* ‘calf’; Old North Frisian *calf* ‘calf’; Old Saxon *kalf* ‘calf’; Dutch *kalf* ‘calf’; Old High German *chalb* ‘calf’ (New High German *Kalb*), *kilbur* ‘ewe-lamb’; Gallo-Latin *galba* ‘fat paunch, big belly’. Orël 2003:209 Proto-Germanic **kalƀaz*, 209 **kalƀōn* I; Kroonen 2013:278 Proto-Germanic **kalbiz-* ‘calf’; Lehmann 1986:214 **golbh-ā/os*, **gelbhes-*; Feist 1939:305—306; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:346—347; De Vries 1977:298 **geleb(h)-*; Onions 1966:136 West Germanic **kalƀam*; Klein 1971:106; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:341; Kluge—Seebold 1989:348.

D. Etruscan *clan* (pl. *clenar*) ‘son’, *clante*, *clanti*, *clanθi* ‘adoptive (?) son’; Rhaetic *kalun* ‘son’ (cf. Sverdrup 2002:107). Semantic development as in Burji *k’al-a* ‘son, male child, young of animals’ cited above.

Buck 1949:2.27 child; 2.43 child; 4.71 beget (of father); 4.72 bear (of mother); 4.73 pregnant.

467. Proto-Nostratic root **k’al$^{y}$-* (~ **k’əl$^{y}$-*):
(vb.) **k’al$^{y}$-* ‘to separate, to remove, to strip off or away: to pluck, tear, or pull off or out’;
(n.) **k’al$^{y}$-a* ‘separation, removal, stripping off or away, etc.’
Derivative:
(n.) **k’al$^{y}$-a* ‘bald spot’; (adj.) ‘bald, bare’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'al-* 'to separate, to remove, to strip off or away: to pluck, tear, or pull off or out': Proto-Semitic **k'al-aʕ-* 'to separate, to remove, to strip off or away: to pluck, tear, or pull off or out' > Arabic *ḳalaʿa* 'to pluck out, to tear out, to pull out, to weed out, to uproot (something); to root out, to exterminate, to extirpate (something); to take off (clothes)'; (?) Hebrew *ḳālaʿ* [קָלַע] 'to uproot'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳalʿa* [ቀልዐ] 'to uncover, to bare, to open, to remove, to strip, to unveil; to be torn, to tear; to lift (curtain); to undo, to pull aside'; Tigrinya *ḳälʿe* 'to disclose, to remove'; Tigre *ḳälʿa* 'to disclose, to manifest, to show, to open'; Amharic *ḳälla* 'to cut off (ears from the stalk)' > 'to open, to disclose'. Leslau 1987:426. Proto-Semitic **ḳal-ap-* 'to strip, to peel' > Akkadian *ḳalāpu* 'to peel', *ḳallupu* 'peeled', *ḳalpu* 'stripped, peeled', *ḳilpu* 'rind, skin', *ḳulpu* 'rind, bark'; Arabic *ḳalafa* 'to bark (a tree), to strip the bark (from a tree); to circumcise', *ḳilf* 'bark, rind (of a tree)', *ḳulfa* 'foreskin'; Ḥarsūsi *ḳelfēt* 'bark of certain trees'; Soqoṭri *ḳálifoh* 'bark'; Mehri *ḳəlōf* 'to peel (dry sardines)', *ḳátləf* 'to be peeled, skinned', *ḳəlēfūt* 'bark of a tree'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳɔ́lɔ́f* 'to skin, to decorticate; to skin (a dried sardine before eating it)', *eḳólf* 'to skin, to decorticate; to make someone remove bark', *ḳɔ́tləf* 'to be skinned, to have the bark removed', *ḳalfún* 'bare; husked; barkless'; Hebrew *ḳālaφ* [קָלַף] 'to peel, to shell'; Aramaic *ḳəlaφ* 'to peel, to strip'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳʷalafa* [ቈለፈ] 'to peel, to decorticate'; Gurage *ḳəlfi* 'bark of a tree'. Murtonen 1989:378; Klein 1987:381; Leslau 1979:476 and 1987:427. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:345, no. 1585, **ḳolif-* 'bark'.]

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaḷ* (*katp-*, *kaṭṭ-*) 'to weed, to pluck', *kaḷai* '(vb.) to weed, to pull up, to pluck out, to remove, to extirpate, to exterminate; (n.) weeds', *kaḷaivu* 'weeding, stripping off, extirpation', *kaḷaiña<u>n</u>* 'one who weeds'; Malayalam *kaḷa* 'weed, tares', *kaḷayuka* 'to get rid of, to abolish'; Kota *kaḷv-* (*kaḷt-*) 'to take out or scoop out (with finger, stick, beak), to flick away dirt from liquid or semi-liquid (for example, clay)', *kaḷ* 'weeds'; Toda *koḷ* 'without leaves (of a tree in winter), half dry, half green (when a tree is being killed by stripping bark'; Kannaḍa *kaḷe* '(vb.) to pull off, to remove, to destroy; (n.) weed', *kaḷacu* 'to remove, to pull off, to pull out, to let drop', *kaḷubu* 'weeds and grass standing in corn'; Koḍagu *kaḷe* 'weeds', (?) *kaḷe* 'to dig', *kaḷep* 'digging'; Tuḷu *kalepini*, *kalepuni* 'to strip off, to remove', *kalevuni* 'to be stripped'; Koraga *kaḷe*, *kale* 'to remove'; Telugu *kalupu* 'weeds', *kalvaṭam*, *kalsaḍam*, *kalsuḍu* 'the act of weeding'; Brahui *xalling* 'to uproot, to gather (vegetables, grass for fodder)'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:128, no. 1373.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'al-* 'threshing place': Georgian *k'al-o* 'threshing floor, threshing place'; Mingrelian *k'el-i* 'threshing board'. Fähnrich 2007:220 **ḳal-*.

D. Proto-Indo-European **k'l-ew-bʰ-*/**k'l-ow-bʰ-*/**k'l-u-bʰ-* 'to separate, to remove, to strip off or away: to pluck, tear, or pull off or out; to split or

tear apart’: Latin *glūbō* ‘to peel, to take off the rind or bark’; Greek γλύφω ‘to cut, to carve out with a knife’; Old Icelandic *klauf* ‘the cleft (between the toes); cloven foot’, *kljúfa* ‘to split, to cleave’, *klofi* ‘cleft, rift (in a hill); cleft stick’, *klofna* ‘to be cloven, to split’, *klyfja* ‘to split, to cleave’; Old English *clēofan* ‘to split, to cleave, to separate’, *geclyfte* ‘cloven’; Old Saxon *klioƀan* ‘to split, to cleave’; Dutch *klieven* ‘to split, to cleave’; Old High German *chliuban* ‘to split, to cleave’ (New High German *klieban*), *klūbōn* ‘to pluck, to pull out’ (New High German *klauben*). Rix 1998a:169 **gleu̯b$^{h}$*- ‘to cut off, to split, to cleave’; Pokorny 1959:401—402 **gleubh*- ‘to cut, to cleave’; Walde 1927—1932.I:661 **gleubh*-; Mann 1984—1987:276 **gleubhō*, **gloubh*- ‘to strip, to split off’, 282 **glubh*- ‘to cut open, to split’, 282 **glūbhō*, and 282 **glubhtós*; Watkins 1985:23 **gleubh*- and 2000:32 **gleubh*- ‘to tear apart, to cleave’; Mallory—Adams 1997:143 **gleubh*- ‘to cut off, to cut out’ and 2006:377 **gleubh*- ‘to cut off, to cut out’; Boisacq 1950:152 **gleubh*-; Hofmann 1966:46 **gleubh*-; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:229 **gleubh*-, **glubh*-; Frisk 1970—1973.I:315; Beekes 2010.I:278 **gleub$^{h}$*-; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:610—611 **gleubhō*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:277—278; De Vaan 2008:266; Orël 2003:216 Proto-Germanic **kleuƀanan*; Kroonen 2013:292 Proto-Germanic **kleuban*- ‘to cleave, to split’; De Vries 1977:315, 317, and 318; Onions 1966:180 **gleubh*-; Klein 1971:141; Skeat 1898:113; Barnhart 1995:130; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:374 and 377 **glŭbh*- : **gleubh*-; Kluge—Seebold 1989:375 and 377. The following may ultimately belong here as well: Old Icelandic *klippa*, *klyppa* ‘to clip, to cut; to shear sheep’ (> Middle English *clippen* ‘to clip, to shear’), *klýpa* ‘to nip, to clip, to pinch’; Faroese *klípa* ‘to nip, to clip, to pinch’; Norwegian *klippa* ‘to cut, to clip; to shear sheep’, *klypa* ‘to nip, to clip, to pinch’; Swedish *klippa* ‘to cut, to clip; to shear sheep’; Danish *klippe* ‘to cut, to clip; to shear sheep’; Low German *klippen* ‘to clip, to cut’. De Vries 1977:317 and 318; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:379; Onions 1966:82; Klein 1971:243; Barnhart 1995:132; Skeat 1898:115.

Buck 1949:8.34 thresh; 8.35 threshing-floor; 9.27 split (vb. tr.); 9.28 tear (vb. tr.); 9.33 draw, pull; 12.23 separate (vb.).

468. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **k’al$^{y}$-a* ‘bald spot’; (adj.) ‘bald, bare’:
Derivative of:
(vb.) **k’al$^{y}$*- ‘to separate, to remove, to strip off or away: to pluck, tear, or pull off or out’;
(n.) **k’al$^{y}$-a* ‘separation, removal, stripping off or away, etc.’

A. Proto-Indo-European **k’al-wo*-, **k’al-Ho*- ‘bald, bare, naked’: Old High German *kalo*, *chalo* ‘bald, bare, naked’ (New High German *kahl*); Old English *calu* ‘bald, bare’, *calwa* ‘mange’; Middle Low German *kale* ‘bald,

bare’; Dutch *kaal* ‘bald, bare’; Old Church Slavic *golъ* ‘naked’; Russian *gólyj* [голый] ‘naked, bare’, (dial.) *golotá* [голота] ‘the poor’; Polish *goły* ‘naked, bare’, (obsolete) *gołota* ‘nakedness’; Serbo-Croatian *gôl* ‘bare, naked’, *golòta* ‘nakedness’. Pokorny 1959:349—350 **gal-* ‘bald, bare, naked’; Walde 1927—1932.I537—538 **gal-* (**gol-* ?); Mann 1984—1987:1615 **gal-*, **galu̯os* ‘blank, bare, clear’; Watkins 1985:18 **gal-* and 2000:25 **gal-* ‘bald, naked’; Mallory—Adams 1997:45 **gol(hx)u̯os* ‘bare, bald’; Derksen 2008:174—175 and 176—177 **golH-o-*; Orël 2003:209 Proto-Germanic **kalwaz*; Kroonen 2013:278 Proto-Germanic **kalwa-* ‘bald’; Onions 1967:137; Klein 1971:107; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:339; Kluge—Seebold 1989:346—347. Note: Not related to words for ‘head’ (Proto-Nostratic [n.] **ɢʷal-a* ‘round object: head, skull’).

B. Proto-Altaic **kalʸ-* ‘bald-headed; white spot, blaze on the forehead of an animal’: Proto-Mongolian **kalǯa-* ‘bald-headed; blaze on the forehead of an animal’ > Written Mongolian *qalǯan*, *qalǯin* ‘bald-headed; blaze on the forehead of an animal’; Khalkha *χalʒan* ‘bald-headed; blaze on the forehead of an animal’; Buriat *χalzan* ‘bald-headed; blaze on the forehead of an animal’; Ordos *χalǯan* ‘bald-headed; blaze on the forehead of an animal’; Dagur *χalǯin* ‘bald-headed; blaze on the forehead of an animal’. Proto-Turkic **Kalʸga* ‘white spot, white blaze’ > Karakhanide Turkic *qašγa* ‘white spot, white blaze’; Turkish *kaşka* ‘white spot, white blaze’; Azerbaijani *ɢašɢa* ‘white spot, white blaze’; Uzbek *qɛšqɛ* ‘white spot, white blaze’; Uighur *qašqa* ‘white spot, white blaze’; Tatar *qašqa* ‘white spot, white blaze’; Bashkir *qašqa* ‘white spot, white blaze’; Kirghiz *qašqa*, *qačqa* ‘white spot, white blaze’; Kazakh *qasqa* ‘white spot, white blaze’; Noghay *qasqa* ‘white spot, white blaze’. The following probably belong here as well: Tuva *χaš* ‘worked thin leather’; Tofa *χaš* ‘naked, napless (skin)’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2005:660—661 **keĺžo* ‘bald; bald spot’; Poppe 1960:17 and 86; Street 1974:15 **kal²* ‘blaze on the forehead’.

Buck 1949:4.93 bald; 4.99 naked, bare. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:464—465, no. 310, **k’ʸalʸ-* ‘bald; head’; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1061, **Ḳaĺ͟ʕ͟û* ‘bare, naked’.

469. Proto-Nostratic root **k’an-* (~ **k’ən-*):
(vb.) **k’an-* ‘to get, to acquire, to create, to produce, to beget’;
(n.) **k’an-a* ‘birth, offspring, child, young, produce’; (adj.) ‘born, begotten, produced’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’an-* ‘to get, to acquire, to possess, to create, to produce’: Proto-Semitic **k’an-aw/y-* ‘to get, to acquire, to possess, to create, to produce’ > Hebrew *ḳānāh* [קָנָה] ‘to get, to acquire, to create, to produce’; Phoenician *ḳny* ‘to acquire’; Biblical Aramaic *ḳənā* ‘to acquire, to buy’; Ugaritic *ḳny* ‘to create’; Akkadian *ḳanū* ‘to gain, to acquire’; Amorite *ḳny* ‘to create, to acquire’ (basic stem, Qal *yaḳnī*); Arabic *ḳanā* ‘to get, to

acquire, to create’; Sabaean *ḳny* ‘to possess, to acquire’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳanaya* [ቀነየ] ‘to acquire, to buy, to subjugate, to dominate, to rule, to subdue, to tame, to train, to make serve, to make toil, to reduce to servitude, to bring into bondage, to force to work, to create’. Murtonen 1989:380; Klein 1987:584; Leslau 1987:437; Zammit 2002:347. Egyptian *qn*, *qnỉ* ‘to be strong, to make strong, to have power over, to possess, to overcome’. Hannig 1995:858; Faulkner 1962:279; Gardiner 1957:596; Erman—Grapow 1921:190 and 1926—1963.5:41—43. Berber: Tuareg *əγnu* ‘to be created, to be started; to originate (from)’. Diakonoff 1992:23—24 **ḳn̯* (**ḳny/w*) ‘begetting, giving birth’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kanru* ‘calf, colt, young of various animals, sapling, young tree’; Malayalam *kannu* ‘young of cattle (esp. buffalo calf), young plantain trees around the mother plant’; Kannaḍa *kanda* ‘young child’, *kandu* ‘calf, young plantain trees around the mother plant’; Telugu *kandu* ‘infant’, *kanduvu* ‘child’, *kanu* ‘to bear or bring forth, to beget’, *kanubadi* ‘produce’, *kāncu* ‘to bear, to produce, to bring forth’, *kānupu* ‘bringing forth a child’; Koṇḍa *kās-* ‘to bring forth young (of human beings), to bear children’; Kuṛux *xadd* ‘child, young animal or plant’; Malto *qade* ‘son’; Brahui *xaning* ‘to give birth to’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:131—132, no. 1411.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k’en-*/**k’on-*/**k’n̥-* ‘to beget, to produce, to create, to bring forth’: Sanskrit *jánati* ‘to beget, to produce, to create; to assign, to procure’, *jánas-* ‘race’; Avestan *zan-* ‘to beget, to bear; to be born’, *zana-* ‘people’; Greek γίγνομαι ‘to be born’, γεννάω ‘to beget, to bring forth, to bear’, γένος ‘race, stock, kin’, γέννα ‘descent, birth’; Armenian *cnanim* ‘to beget’, *cin* ‘birth’; Latin *genō*, *gignō* ‘to beget, to bear, to bring forth’, *genus* ‘class, kind; birth, descent, origin’, *gēns*, *-tis* ‘clan; offspring, descendant; people, tribe, nation’; Old Irish *·gainethar* ‘to be born’, *gein* ‘birth’; Welsh *geni* ‘to give birth’; Gothic *kuni* ‘race, generation’; Old Icelandic *kyn* ‘kin, kindred; kind, sort, species; gender’, *kind* ‘race, kind’; Old English *cynn* ‘kind, species, variety; race, progeny; sex, (grammatical) gender’, *ge-cynd*, *cynd* ‘kind, species; nature, quality, manner; gender; origin, generation; offspring; genitals’, *cennan* ‘to bear (child), to produce’; Old Frisian *kinn*, *kenn* ‘race, generation; class, kind’; Old Saxon *kunni* ‘race, generation; class, kind’; Dutch *kunne* ‘race, generation’; Old High German *chunni* ‘race, generation’, *kind* ‘child; (pl.) children, offspring’ (New High German *Kind*). Rix 1998a:144—146 **ĝenh$_1$-* ‘to produce, to beget, to procreate (offspring)’; Pokorny 1959:373—375 **ĝen-*, **ĝenə-*, **ĝnē-*, **ĝnō-* ‘to produce’; Walde 1927—1932.I:576—578 **ĝen-*, **ĝenē-*, **ĝenō-*; Mann 1984—1987:390—391 **ĝen-* ‘to beget, to be born, to happen’, 391 **ĝenətēr-* (*-tər-*, *-tōr-*) ‘parent, kinsman’, 391 **ĝenətis* (**ĝentis*) ‘birth, race’, 391—392 **ĝenətos* (**ĝentos*) ‘born, produced, begotten’, 392 **ĝenis*, 392 **ĝenitr-* (**ĝenitēr*, *-ōr*) ‘begetter, parent’, 392 **ĝenmn-* (**ĝenimn-*, **ĝenəmn-*) ‘birth, offspring, product,

yield', 392—393 **ĝenos*, *-ā*, *-is* 'creature, man, creation', 393 **ĝenos*, *-es-* 'type, race, kind, tribe', 401 **ĝnōtis* 'kinsman, acquaintance', 401—402 **ĝn-*, 402 **ĝn̥ətos* (**ĝn̥tos*) 'born', 402—403 **ĝn̥̄mos*, *-ā* 'generation, mating', 403 **ĝn̥̄tis* 'birth, race', 405 **ĝonos*, *-ā* 'child, offspring, birth'; Mallory—Adams 1997:46 **ĝenh$_1$-* 'to beget a child, to be born'; Watkins 1985:19 **genə-* (also **gen-*) and 2000:26 **genə-* (also **gen-*) 'to give birth, to beget'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:748 **k̂'en-* and 1995.I:652 **k̂'en-* 'to give birth; kin', I:674 **k̂'eno-* 'clan', I:151 **k̂'enH-* 'to give birth'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:415 and I:416; Boisacq 1950:144 and 147—148 **ĝenē-*, **ĝenō-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:296—297 and I:306—308; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:221—224; Hofmann 1966:43 and 44—45 *ĝen-*, *ĝenē-*; Beekes 2010.I:272—273 **ǵenh$_2$-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:270—273 **g'enə-*, **g'n-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:592 **ĝn̥tís*, **ĝ$_e$nətis* (**ĝn̥̄tis*) and I:597—600 **ĝen(ē)-*, **ĝenō-*; De Vaan 2008:358 and 260—261; Orël 2003:210 Proto-Germanic **kannjanan* I, 212 **kenđiz*, 212—213 **kenþan*, 224 **kunđjan*, 224 **kunjan*; Kroonen 2013:279 Proto-Germanic **kanjan-* 'to bring forth', 288 **kindi-* 'kind', 288 **kinþa-* ~ **kinda-* 'child', and 310 **kunda-* 'born'; Feist 1939:516 **ĝen-*; Lehmann 1986:222 **ĝen-* 'to beget'; De Vries 1977:309 and 340; Onions 1966:505 **gen-*, **gon-*, **gn̥-* and 506; Klein 1971:402 **ĝen-*; Skeat 1898:315; Vercoullie 1898:158; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:211; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:369 **ĝen-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:370 **ǵenə-*; Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008: 139—153 **ĝenh$_1$-*.

Sumerian *gan* 'to bear, to bring forth, to give birth to'.

Buck 1949:4.71 beget (of father); 4.72 bear (of mother). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:431—432, no. 275; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:335—336, no. 211, **Ḳanʌ* 'to give birth to, to be born'.

470. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'an-a* 'jaw, cheek':

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kannam* 'cheek, ear'; Malayalam *kannam* 'cheek, jaw'; Kannaḍa *kanna* 'the upper cheek'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:132, no. 1413.
B. Proto-Indo-European **k'en-u-* 'jaw, cheek': Sanskrit (with secondary *h-* instead of *j-*) *hánu-ḥ* 'jaw, cheek'; Avestan *zānu-* 'jaw, chin'; Greek γένυς 'jaw, cheek', γνάθος, γναθμός 'jaw'; Armenian *cnaut* 'chin, jaw'; Latin *gena* 'cheek, cheeks and chin', (pl.) *genae* 'jaws'; Old Irish *gin*, *giun* 'mouth'; Welsh *gen* 'cheek, jaw', *genau* 'mouth'; Breton *gén* 'cheek', *génu*, *genaw* 'mouth'; Gothic *kinnus* 'cheek'; Old Icelandic *kinn* 'cheek'; Faroese *kinn* 'cheek'; Norwegian *kinn* 'cheek'; Swedish *kind* 'cheek'; Danish *kind* 'cheek'; Old English *cinn* 'chin'; Old Frisian *kinn* 'jaw, chin'; Old Saxon *kinni* 'jaw, chin'; Dutch *kin* 'jaw, chin'; Old High German *kinni*, *chinne* 'jaw, chin' (New High German *Kinn*); Lithuanian *žándas*

‘jaw’; Latvian *zuôds* ‘chin, jaw’; Tocharian A (dual) *śanw-e-ṃ* ‘jaws’. Pokorny 1959:381—382 **ĝenu-* ‘jaw, cheek’; Walde 1927—1932.I:587 **ĝ(h)enu-s*; Mann 1984—1987:391 **ĝendh-* ‘wedge, wedge-shape, angle, jaw’, 391 **ĝenes-* ‘chin’, 393—394 **ĝenus* (**ĝenu̯ə*, **ĝenəu̯ə*, **ĝenə*) ‘jaw, jowl, angle of the face, angle, wedge’, 402 **ĝn̥ədhos* (**ĝəndhos*) ‘jaw’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:183 **k̂’enu-s* and 1995.I:157 **k̂’enu-s* ‘jaw, chin’; Watkins 1985:19 **genu-* and 2000:26 **genu-* ‘jawbone, chin’; Mallory—Adams 1997:322 **ĝénu-* ‘jaw’, **ĝónh$_a$dh-o-s* and **ĝnh$_a$dh-o-s* ‘jaw’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.III:574—575; Beekes 2010.I:267 **ǵenu-* and I:279; Hofmann 1966:43 and 46 **ĝenədh-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:215—216 and I:230 **gon(ə)-dh-*; Boisacq 1950:144; Frisk 1970—1973.I:298; Ernout—Meillet 1979:269—270; De Vaan 2008:257—258; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:589—590; Kroonen 2013:288 Proto-Germanic **kinnu-* ‘cheek’; Orël 2003:212 Proto-Germanic **kennuz*; Feist 1939:312 **ĝen-u-*; Lehmann 1986:218—219 **ĝen-u-*; De Vries 1977:309 **ĝenw-* : **ĝenwés*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:362; Onions 1966:170 **genw-*; Klein 1971:131; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:369—370 *ĝenu̯-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:370 **ǵenu-*; Vercoullie 1898:136; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:470—471 **ĝēnu-*; Derksen 2015:512 **ǵonH-d$^h$o-* (**ǵon-do-* ?); Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1289—1290; Smoczyński 2007.1:773—774.

Buck 1949:4.207 jaw; 4.208 cheek; 4.209 chin. Bomhard 1996a:219—220, no. 626.

471. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’an-a* ‘thickness, density, fatness, abundance’; (adj.) ‘thick, dense, fat, abundant, much’:

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *qn-w* ‘much, many; very great’, *qn*, *qny* ‘to be or become fat’, *qn*, *qny* ‘fat’; Coptic (Sahidic) *knne* [ⲕⲛⲛⲉ], (Bohairic) *keni* [ⲕⲉⲛⲓ] ‘(vb.) to be fat, sweet; (n.) fatness, sweetness’. Hannig 1995:858; Faulkner 1962:279; Erman—Grapow 1921:190 and 1926—1963.5:40, 5:41, 5:46—47; Vycichl 1983:83; Černý 1976:59.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṉa* ‘to be heavy, stout, abundant’, *kaṉam* ‘thickness, heaviness’, *kaṉati* ‘thickness, heaviness, gravity’, *kaṉappu* ‘being stout’, *kaṉai* ‘(vb.) to be crowded, intense; (n.) density, abundance’, *kaṉaivu* ‘closeness, thickness’, *kañal* (*kañalv-*, *kañaṉr-*) ‘to be close, crowded, densely packed’; Malayalam *kanam* ‘compact, hard’, *kanaka* ‘to become solid, hard, heavy’; Toda *ken* ‘densely (of shade) (in songs)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:130, no. 1404.
C. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *qad'iraa* (< **qanč'ir*) ‘enough’, *qad'ir* ‘so, finally; intensifying marker’. Nikolaeva 2006:378.

Buck 1949:12.63 thick (in dimension); 12.64 thick (in density); 13.15 much; many; 13.18 enough (adj. or adv.). Bomhard 1996a:220—221, no. 627.

472. Proto-Nostratic root **k'an-* (~ **k'ən-*):
(vb.) **k'an-* 'to pound, to beat, to strike';
(n.) **k'an-a* 'knock, strike, cuff, thump; mallet, club, cudgel, truncheon'

A. Afrasian: Egyptian *qn* 'to beat', (reduplicated) *qnqn* 'to beat, to pound up (medicaments), to beat out, to flatten out', *qnqnyt* 'mallet'. Hannig 1995:858 and 861; Faulkner 1962:280; Erman—Grapow 1921:191 and 1926—1963.5:44 and 55—56; Gardiner 1957:596.
B. Proto-Indo-European (**k'en-*/**k'on-*/)**k'n-* 'to pound, to beat, to strike': Old Icelandic *knía* 'to knock, to strike', *kneyfa* 'to quaff', *knoka* 'to knock, to thump', *knosa* 'to bruise, to beat', *knúska* 'to knock, to ill-treat', *knylla* 'to beat, to strike', *knýja* 'to knock'; Old English *cnocian* 'to knock (at the door); to pound (in a mortar)', *cnossian* 'to dash, to strike', *cnūwian* 'to pound (in a mortar)', *cnyssan* 'to beat against, to dash against, to toss (storm…ship); to defeat, to crush (in battle), to overcome (temptation); to oppress, to trouble, to afflict', *cnyllan* 'to strike, to knock; to toll a bell'; New High German *knuffen* 'to cuff, to pummel, to thump; to push, to nudge, to shove', *Knüppel* 'club, cudgel, truncheon; sculptor's or carpenter's mallet', *Knebel* 'club, cudgel, stick', *Knüttel* 'cudgel, club, big stick'; Polish *gnębić* 'to oppress'. Watkins 1985:19 **gen-* and 2000:26 **g(e)n-* 'to compress into a ball'; De Vries 1977:321, 322, and 323; Orël 2003:219 Proto-Germanic **knusjanan* ~ **knusōjanan*, 219 **knuzljanan*, 219 **knūwjanan*; Kroonen 2013:297 Proto-Germanic **knūjan-* 'to press'; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:381, 385, and 385—386; Kluge—Seebold 1989:382, 385, and 386; Onions 1966:508; Klein 1971:404.
C. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kænciq* 'whip' > Chukchi *kenciq* 'whip'; Koryak *kenciq* 'dog whip'. Fortescue 2005:132. These forms may be loans from Eskimo.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat).

473. Proto-Nostratic root **k'aŋ-* (~ **k'əŋ-*):
(vb.) **k'aŋ-* 'to bend, twist, turn, or tie together';
(n.) **k'aŋ-a* 'wreath, rope, cord, fiber, tie, band, string'
Derivative:
(n.) **k'aŋ-a* 'knot, knob, joint'

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'aŋ-* 'to bend, twist, turn, or tie together': Egyptian *qn* 'to weave', (pl.) *qnyw* 'weavers, mat-makers', *qn* 'mat'. Hannig 1995:859 and 860; Faulkner 1962:279; Gardiner 1957:596; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:48 and 50. Berber: Tuareg *əqqən* 'to tie, to attach; to be tied', *aγən* 'cord'; Nefusa *aqqən* 'to tie, to attach'; Ghadames *əqqən* 'to tie, to attach'; Mzab *əqqən* 'to tie, to attach', *uqun* 'bond, string, strap'; Wargla *əqqən* 'to tie, to attach; to be tied, attached', *γan* 'bond, cord, string, strap'; Kabyle

*əqqən* ‘to tie, to attach, to shackle, to close the door’; Tamazight *qqən* ‘to attach, to tie, to bind; to be attached, tied, bound’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *əqqən* ‘to tie, to close (the door, the eyes, etc.)’, *asγun* ‘cord’. West Chadic **k’anu-* ‘to tie’ > Tsagu *kun-* ‘to tie’; Boghom *kan* ‘to tie’; Buli *kənnu* ‘to tie’. Central Chadic **kanwa-* ‘to plait’ > Lame *kənwa* ‘to plait’; Mesme *kan* ‘to plait’. East Chadic **kwan-* (< **kanwa-*) ‘to twist, to plait’ > Tumak *koŋ* ‘to twist’; Mokilko *kini* ‘to plait’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:336, no. 1546, **ḳan-* ‘to plait’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṇṇi* ‘wreath, garland, neck-rope for bullock, rope’, *kaṇṇu* (*kaṇṇi-*) ‘to be attached to, to be fastened to’; Kota *kayṇ* ‘yoke-rope for bullock’; Kannaḍa *kaṇṇi* ‘rope, cord, neck-rope’; (?) Tuḷu *kaṇṇi* ‘fiber’; Telugu *kanne-tāḍu* ‘neck-rope (of calves, oxen)’; Koṇḍa *kane* ‘a rope used to fasten cattle’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:111, no. 1184. Tamil *kaṇṇi* ‘snare, noose, net, knot, tie’; Malayalam *kaṇi* ‘snare, gin’, *kaṇikka* ‘to lay a snare’, *kaṇṇi* ‘link of a chain, mesh of a net’, *keṇi* ‘snare, trap, stratagem’, *keṇikka* ‘to entrap’; Kannaḍa *kaṇi* ‘knot, tie’, *kaṇaya*, *kaṇe* ‘the knot which fastens a garment around the loins’, *keṇi* ‘trick’; Koḍagu *këṇi* ‘bird-trap (bent sapling and noose with bait); trickiness, cunning’, *këṇi* (*këṇiv-*, *këṇiñj-*) ‘to get stuck, caught’; (*këṇip-*, *këṇic-*) ‘to entangle, to get into trouble’; Tuḷu *keṇi* ‘stratagem’, *kiṇi* ‘wit, cunning’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:111, no. 1183.

C. Proto-Indo-European (**k’en-*/**k’on-*)**k’n-* ‘to bend, twist, turn, or tie together’: Greek γνάμπτω ‘to bend’, γναμπτός ‘bent, curved’; Old Icelandic *kneikja* ‘to bend backwards with force’, *knytja* ‘to knit or tie together’, *knýta* ‘to knit, to fasten by a knot, to bind, to tie’; Swedish *kneka* ‘to be bent’; Old English *cnyttan* ‘to tie with a knot’, *cnyttels* ‘string, sinew’; Middle Low German *knutten* ‘to tie’; New High German *knicken* ‘to crease, to bend, to fold, to crack, to break, to split, to snap, to burst’, *knütten* (dial.) ‘to knit’. Pokorny 1959:370—373 **gen-* ‘to compress into a ball’; Walde 1927—1932.I:580—583 **gen-*; Mann 1984—1987:284 **gnabh-* ‘to bend, to twist’, 284 **gnabhəlos*, *-om* (**gnabhilo-*) ‘twist; strainer, tensile instrument’, 284 **gnambhi̯ō* ‘to bend, to strain’; Watkins 1985:19 **gen-* and 2000:26 **g(e)n-* ‘to compress into a ball’; Boisacq 1950:152; Frisk 1970—1973.I:316; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:230; Hofmann 1966:46; Beekes 2010.I:279; Orël 2003:219 Proto-Germanic **knut(t)janan* ~ **knut(t)jōjanan*; Kroonen 2013:297 Proto-Germanic **knikkōn-* ‘to snap, to fold’; De Vries 1977:321 and 323; Onions 1966:508; Klein 1971:404; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:382; Kluge—Seebold 1989:383.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kæŋ(æt)-* ‘to bend’ > Chukchi *keŋet-* ‘to bend, to bow’, *rəkeŋew-* ‘to bend (tr.)’, *kaŋat-ɣərɣən* ‘bend in river’, *keŋu-neŋ* ‘staff, stick’, *keŋi-kupren* ‘drag-net’; Kerek *kaŋa(a)t-* ‘to twist, to wind, to bend, to lean forward’, *kaŋəiləpə-lʁan* ‘hunched’, *kaŋəikaŋ* ‘hook for hanging kettle’; Koryak *kaŋat-* ‘to bend’, *jə-kaŋ-av-* ‘to

bend (tr.)', *kaŋu-naŋ* 'hook', *kaŋat-ɣəjŋən* 'bend, elbow', (Kamen) *kanɣati-nɣi* 'drag-net'; Alyutor *kaŋat-* (Palana *keŋet-*) 'to bend'. Fortescue 2005:132.

Sumerian *gan* 'band, tie'.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.).

474. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'aŋ-a* 'knot, knob, joint':
Derivative of:
(vb.) **k'aŋ-* 'to bend, twist, turn, or tie together';
(n.) **k'aŋ-a* 'wreath, rope, cord, fiber, tie, band, string'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṇ* 'joint in bamboo or cane', *kaṇu* 'joint of bamboo, cane, etc., knuckle, joint of the spine, vertebra', *kaṇukkai* 'wrist', *kaṇukkāl* 'ankle'; Malayalam *kaṇ*, *kaṇu*, *kaṇṇu*, *kaṇpu* 'joint in knot or cane', *kaṇavu* 'node of bamboo, cane, etc.', *kaṇakkai*, *kaṇaṅkai* 'wrist', *kaṇakkāl*, *kaṇaṅkāl* 'ankle', *kaṇippu* 'articulation of limbs'; Kota *kaṇ* 'joint of bamboo'; Toda *koṇ* 'joint of bamboo or cane'; Kannaḍa *kaṇ* 'joint in reeds, sticks, etc.', *gaṇalu* 'knuckle of the fingers, joint or knot of any cane', *gaṇike* 'knot or joint'; Tuḷu *kāra kaṇṇu* 'ankle'; Telugu *kanu*, *kannu* 'joint in cane or reed', *kaṇupu*, *gaṇupu* 'joint, knot, node (of bamboo, sugarcane, etc.)'; Kolami *gana* 'knot in tree'; Naikṛi *khan* 'joint in bamboo'; Gondi *gana*, *ganakay* 'wrist'; Kuṛux *xann* 'place on bamboo or cane where side shoot was cut away'; Brahui *xan* 'knot in wood'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:110, no. 1160.
B. Proto-Indo-European (**k'en-*/**k'on-*/)**k'n-* 'knot, knob': Old Icelandic *knappr* 'knob', *knúi* 'knuckle', *knúta* 'knuckle-bone, joint-bone', *knútr* 'knot', *knýttr* 'knotted, crippled', *knykill* 'small knot', *knöttr* 'ball'; Norwegian *knast* 'knot'; Swedish *knagg* 'knot'; Old English *cnotta* 'knot'; Middle English *cnap* 'knob', *cnag* 'knot, peg', *cnarre* 'knot', *cnarri* 'knotty, gnarled', *cnobbe* 'knob', *cnobbel* 'knob', *cnop* 'knob', *cnoppe* 'knob, bud', *cnorre* 'knot, excrescence', *cnottel* 'little knot', *cnotti* 'knotty', *cnottien* 'knot', *cnurned* 'gnarled, knotty', *cnokil* 'knuckle'; Middle Dutch *knolle* 'clod, ball'; Middle Low German *knobbe* 'knot, knob, bud', *knotte* 'knot, knob', *knökel* 'knuckle'; Middle High German *knolle* 'clod, ball', *knotze* 'knot, knob'; New High German *Knast* 'knot', *Knorren* 'knot, knotty protuberance', *Knopf* 'knot, knob, button', *Knolle* 'clod, lump; knot, knob, protuberance; bulb, tuber', *Knöchel* 'knuckle, ankle (bone)', *Knochen* 'bone', *Knoten* 'knot', *Knubbe* 'knot'. Watkins 1985:19 **gen-* and 2000:26 **g(e)n-* 'to compress into a ball'; Orël 2003:219 Proto-Germanic **knuttōn*, 219 **knūtaz*; Kroonen 2013:298—299 Proto-Germanic **knūþan-* ~ **knuttan-* 'knot'; De Vries 1977:320,

322, and 323; Onions 1966:508 and 509; Klein 1971:404; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:383—384, 384, and 385; Kluge—Seebold 1989:384 and 385.

C. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kæŋkæl* ‘tip of pole for driving reindeer’ > Chukchi *keŋkel* ‘tip of pole for driving reindeer’; Kerek *kaŋkalʲ* ‘tip of pole for driving reindeer’; Koryak *kaŋkal* ‘tip of pole for driving reindeer’; Alyutor *kaŋkal(i)* ‘tip of pole for driving reindeer’. Fortescue 2005:133.

Buck 1949:4.16 bone; 9.192 knot (sb.).

475. Proto-Nostratic root **k’anʸ-* (~ **k’ənʸ-*):
(vb.) **k’anʸ-* ‘to observe, to perceive’;
(n.) **k’anʸ-a* ‘the act of observing, perceiving; that which observes, perceives: eye; perception, observation, recognition, comprehension’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’an-* ‘to observe, to perceive’: East Cushitic: Burji (prefix verb) *ak’an-ɗ-*, *ak’an-ʔ-* (v. mid.) ‘to learn’, *ak’an-s-* (v. caus.) ‘to teach’; Somali *-qiin-*/*-qaan-* ‘to know’; Yaaku *qeen-* ‘to know’. Sasse 1982:25.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kaṇ* ‘eye, aperture, orifice, star of a peacock’s tail’; Malayalam *kaṇ*, *kaṇṇu* ‘eye, nipple, star in a peacock’s tail, bud’; Kota *kaṇ* ‘eye’; Toda *koṇ* ‘eye, loop in string’; Kannaḍa *kaṇ* ‘eye, small hole, orifice’; Koḍagu *kaṇṇï* ‘eye, small hole, orifice’; Tuḷu *kaṇṇu* ‘eye, nipple, star in peacock’s feather, rent, tear’; Telugu *kanu*, *kannu* ‘eye, small hole, orifice, mesh of net, eye of a peacock’s feather’; Kolami *kan* ‘eye, small hole in ground, cave’; Naikṛi *kan* ‘eye, spot in a peacock’s tail’; Naiki (of Chanda) *kan* ‘eye’; Parji *kan* ‘eye’; Gadba (Ollari) *kaṇ* ‘eye’, (Salur) *kanu* ‘eye’; Gondi *kan* ‘eye’; Konḍa *kaṇ* ‘eye’; Pengo *kaṇga* ‘eye’; Manḍa *kan* ‘eye’; Kui *kanu* ‘eye’; Kuṛux *xann* ‘eye, eye of a tuber’, *xannērnā* ‘(of newly-born babies or animals) to begin to see, to have the use of one’s eyesight’; Malto *qanu* ‘eye’; Brahui *xan* ‘eye, bud’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:109, no. 1150(a); Krishnamurti 2003:100 **kaṇ* ‘eye’. Tamil *kāṇ* (*kāṇp-*, *kaṇṭ-*) ‘(vb.) to see, to consider, to investigate, to appear, to become visible; (n.) sight, beauty’, *kāṇkai* ‘knowledge’, *kāṇpu* ‘seeing, sight’, *kaṇṇu* (*kaṇṇi-*) ‘to purpose, to think, to consider’; Malayalam *kāṇuka* ‘to see, to observe, to consider, to seem’, *kāṇikka* ‘to show, to point out’; Kota *kaṇ-*/*ka·ṇ-* (*kaḍ-*) ‘to see’; Toda *ko·ṇ-* (*koḍ-*) ‘to see’; Kannaḍa *kāṇ* (*kaṇḍ-*) ‘(vb.) to see, to appear; (n.) seeing, appearing’, *kāṇike*, *kāṇke* ‘sight, vision, present, gift’, *kaṇi* ‘sight, spectacle, ominous sight, divination’; Koḍagu *ka·ṇ-* (*ka·mb-*, *kaṇḍ-*) ‘to see, to seem, to look’; Telugu *kanu* (allomorph *kān-*), *kāncu* ‘to see’; Kolami *kanḍt*, *kanḍakt* ‘seen, visible’; Naikṛi *kank er-* (< **kanḍk-* or the like) ‘to appear’; Parji *kanḍp-* (*kanḍt-*) ‘to search, to seek’; Kuṛux *xannā* ‘to be pleasant to the eye, to be of good effect, to suit well’; Brahui *xaning* ‘to see’.

Krishnamurti 2003:95 and 196 **kāṇ* (< **kaHṇ-*) ‘to see’; Burrow—Emeneau 1984:134—135, no. 1443.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k’en(H)-/*k’on(H)-/*k’n̥(H)-*, **k’n-oH-* (> **k’nō-*) ‘to perceive, to recognize, to understand, to know’: Sanskrit *jānā́ti* ‘to know, to have knowledge, to become acquainted with, to experience, to recognize, to perceive, to apprehend, to understand, to ascertain, to investigate’, *jñā-tá-ḥ* ‘known, acquainted, apprehended, comprehended, perceived, understood’, *jñā-tí-ḥ* ‘knowledge’; Khowār *noik* (3rd sg. *naür*) ‘to become visible, to appear’; Avestan *zan-* ‘to know’; Greek γι-γνώσκω ‘to learn, to know, to perceive, to discern, to distinguish; to observe, to form a judgment on (a matter), to judge or think (so and so)’, (aorist) ἔγνων ‘I understand’, γνωτός ‘perceived, understood, known’; Armenian (aorist) *can-eay* ‘knew’, *an-can* ‘unknown’; Albanian *njoh* ‘to know’; Latin *nōscō* (old form *gnōscō*) ‘to become acquainted with, to get knowledge of; (in the perfect tenses) to be acquainted with, to know’; Gothic *kannjan* ‘to make known’, *kunnan* ‘to know’, *kunþs* ‘known’; Old Icelandic *kenna* ‘to know, to recognize’, *kunna* ‘to know, to understand’, *kunnr*, *kuðr* ‘known’; Old English *cnāwan* ‘to know, to understand, to recognize’, *cūþ* ‘known’; Old Frisian *kenna*, *kanna* ‘to know, to recognize’, *kunna* ‘to know’, *kūth* ‘known’; Old Saxon *ant-kennian* ‘to recognize’, *kunnan* ‘to know’, *kūth* ‘known’; Old Dutch *kund* ‘known’; Dutch *kennen* ‘to know, to recognize’, *kunnen* ‘to know how to, to be able’; Old High German *kunnan* ‘to know how to, to be able’ (New High German *können*), *bi-chnāan*, *ir-chnāan* ‘to know’, *ar-chennan* ‘to recognize’ (New High German *kennen*), *kund* ‘known’ (New High German *kund*); Lithuanian *žinaũ*, *žinóti* ‘to know’; Old Church Slavic *znajǫ*, *znati* ‘to know’; Tocharian A *knā-* ‘to know’, A *kña-* in (pres. act.) *kñasäṣt* ‘to be acquainted with’, A *ā-knats*, B *a-knātsa* ‘unknown’; Hittite (3rd sg. pres. act.) *ga-ni-eš-zi* ‘to recognize, to discern, to identify; to acknowledge’. Rix 1998a:149—150 **ĝneh$_3$-* ‘to perceive, to recognize, to know’; Pokorny 1959:376—378 **ĝen-*, **ĝenə-*, **ĝnē-*, **ĝnō-* ‘to perceive, to recognize, to know’; Walde 1927—1932.I:578—580 (**ĝen-*), **ĝenē-*, **ĝenō-*; Mann 1984—1987:399—400 **ĝnō-mi* (**ĝn̥-*, **ĝnōi̯ō*, **ĝnəu̯-*, **ĝnōu̯-*) ‘to know’, 400—401 **ĝnŏsk̂ō* (**ĝn̥-*) ‘to know, to get to know’, 401 **ĝnōstis* (**ĝn̥-*) ‘knowledge, recognition, declaration’, 401 **ĝnōu̯-* (**ĝnōum*, **ĝnōu̯əi*) ‘to know’, 402 **ĝn̥ău̯-* theme of nouns and adjectives of general sense ‘knowing’, 402 **ĝn̥ətos*, **ĝnōtos* ‘known’, 402 (**ĝnəu̯-*), 402 (**ĝn̥-* ‘knowledge’), 403 **ĝn̥tis*, **ĝn̥tus* ‘knowledge’, **ĝn̥tos* ‘known’; Watkins 1985:23—24 **gnō-* (contracted from **gnoə̯-*) and 2000:32—33 **gnō-* (oldest form **ĝneə̯$_3$-*, colored to **ĝnoə̯$_3$-*, contracted to **ĝnō-*) ‘to know’; Mallory—Adams 1997:336—337 **ĝneh$_3$-* ‘to know, to be(come) acquainted with’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:804—805 **k̂’en-*/**k̂’n-*, I:171 **k̂’n-oH$^{o}$-* > **k̂’n-oHu̯-*, I:175 **k̂’enH-*/**k̂’ənH-* > **k̂’n̥H-* and 1995.I:147 **k̂’n-oH$^{o}$-* > **k̂’n-oHw-* ‘to know’, I:151 **k̂’enH-* ‘to know’,

I:705, I:774, I:776 **k̂’en-/*k̂’n-* ‘to know’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:429, I:446, and I:446—447; Boisacq 1950:148—149 **ĝenē-*, **ĝenō-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:308—309 **ĝnō-*; Hofmann 1966:45 **ĝnēi̯ō*, **ĝnō-i̯ō*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:224—225; Beekes 2010.I:273 **ǵneh₃-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.II:176—177 **ĝenē-*, **ĝenō-*; **ĝnō-tós*, **ĝnŏ-tos*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:445—446 **gʹenə-*, **gʹnē-*, **gʹnō-*; De Vaan 2008:413—414; Adams 1999:3 and 333; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:159 **n̥ĝnō-ti̯ā* and I:224—225 **ĝnō-*; Orël 1998:305 and 2003:210 Proto-Germanic **kanna*, 210 **kanninǥō*, 210 **kannjanan*, 218 **knēanan*, 224 **kunnēnan*, 224 **kunþaz*, 224 **kunþjan*, 224 **kunþjanan*; Kroonen 2013:279—280 Proto-Germanic **kannjan-* ‘to make known’, 295 **knēan-* ‘to know’, 311—312 **kunnan-* ‘to know (how), to be able’, and 312 **kunþa-* ‘known’; Feist 1939:307 **ĝen-*, 316—317 **ĝen-*; **ĝenē-*, **ĝenō-*, and 317; Lehmann 1986:215 **ĝen-* ‘to know’, 222—223, and 223; De Vries 1977:306 and 334; Onions 1966:139—140 **gn-*, **gnē-*, **gnō-*, 503, and 508 **gnē-*, **gnō-*; Klein 1971:109 **genē-*, **genō-* and 404 **genē-*, **genō-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:364, 392 **ĝen-*, and 412 **gn̥to-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:366, 398, and 419 **ǵn̥ə-to-*; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:207—208; Puhvel 1984— .4:42—46 **ĝnē-*, **ĝnō-*; Kloekhorst 2008b:434—436; Smoczyński 2007.1:768 **ǵneh₃-C*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.II:1310—1311; Derksen 2008:546 **ǵneh₃-* and 2015:519—520 **ǵn-ne/n-h₃-* (> **ǵnh₃-ne/n-h₃-*); Wodtko—Irslinger—Schneider 2008:154—162 **ĝneh₃-*.

Buck 1949:4.21 eye; 15.51 see; 17.17 know. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:296—297, no. 163, **kENʌ* ‘to know’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:449—450, no 295; Blažek 1989c:206.

476. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’apʰ-a* and/or **k’epʰ-a* ‘jaw, jawbone’:

Note: The Altaic cognates seem to point to Proto-Nostratic **k’epʰ-a*, while the Indo-European cognates can be derived from either **k’apʰ-a* or **k’epʰ-a*.

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kavuḷ* ‘cheek, temple or jaw of elephant’; Malayalam *kaviḷ* ‘cheek’; Tuḷu *kauḷu* ‘the cheek’, *kavuṇḍrasa*, *kavuḍrasa* ‘cancer of the cheek’; Parji *gavla*, (metathesis in) *galva* ‘jaw’; (?) Telugu *gauda* ‘the cheek’; (?) Kui *kūlu* ‘cheek’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:124, no. 1337. Either here or with Proto-Nostratic **q’ab-a* ‘jaw’.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **(ni-)k’ap-* ‘lower jaw, chin’: Georgian *nik’ap-*, *ni-k’ap’-* ‘chin’; Mingrelian *nək’ə* (< **nuk’u* < **nu-k’up*) ‘chin’; Laz *nuk’u* (< **nu-k’up*), *nunk’u* ‘chin’; Svan *ki-k’p’a* ‘chin’, *k’ap’räj* ‘lower jaw, chin’. Schmidt 1962:128 (according to Schmidt, *ṗ* in Svan is due to assimilation with *ḳ*); Klimov 1964:148 **ni-ḳaṗ-* and 1998:142 **ni-ḳaṗ-* ‘chin’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:184 and 265 **ḳaṗ-*; Fähnrich 2007:220—221 **ḳaṗ-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k'ep$^h$-/*k'op$^h$-* 'jaw, mouth': Old Icelandic *kjaptr* (older forms: *kjöptr*, *keyptr*) 'mouth, jaw'; Faroese *kjaftur* 'jaw'; Norwegian *kjeft* 'jaw'; Swedish *käft* 'jaw'; Danish *kjæft* 'jaw'; Old English *cēafl* 'jaw'; Low German *keve* 'jaw'; New High German *Kiefer* 'jaw, jawbone'; Avestan *zafarə*, *zafan-* 'mouth (of evil beings)'. Pokorny 1959:382 **ĝep(h)-*, **ĝebh-* 'jaw, mouth; to eat'; Walde 1927—1932.I:570—571 **ĝep(h)-*, **ĝebh-*; Mann 1984—1987:389 **ĝebh-* (**ĝebhl-*, **ĝobh-*) 'jaw'; Watkins 1985:19 **gep(h)-*, **gebh-* and 2000:26 **gep(h)-* (also **gebh-*) 'jaw, mouth'; Mallory—Adams 2006:255 **ĝeP-* 'to eat, to masticate'; Orël 2003:212 Proto-Germanic **keƀran*; De Vries 1977:311; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:369 Germanic base form **kebut- ~ *kefut-*; Onions 1966:498; Klein 1971:396; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:367 **ĝeph-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:368.

D. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *qappu:* 'Adam's apple, larynx'. Nikolaeva 2006:379.

E. Proto-Altaic **kēp$^h$a* 'jaw, face': Proto-Tungus **kepe* 'jaw, gills' > Evenki *kewe* 'jaw'; Lamut / Even *kewē* 'jaw'; Ulch *kepi(n)* 'gills; boards (on boat's front)'; Orok *kepi* 'boards (on boat's front)'; Nanay / Gold *kepĩ* 'gills; boards (on boat's front)'. Proto-Mongolian **keɣe* 'ornament, form, example' > Written Mongolian *kege(n)* 'pattern, design, ornament'; Khalkha *χē* 'ornament, form, example'; Buriat *χē* 'ornament, form, example'; Kalmyk *kē* 'ornament, form, example'. Proto-Turkic **gēp* 'form, example, image' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *kep*, *kip* 'form, example, image'; Karakhanide Turkic *keb*, *kib* 'form, example, image'; Turkmenian *gāp* 'form, example, image'; Kirghiz *kep* 'form, example, image'; Noghay *kep* 'form, example, image'; Tuva *χep* 'form, example, image'; Chuvash *kap* 'form, example, image'; Yakut *kiep* 'form, example, image'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:668 **kēp'a* 'face, shape'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: "…the original meaning is 'face' or 'jaws', with a more abstract meaning 'shape' in the Western area (a very usual semantic development)".

Buck 1949:4.204 face; 4.207 jaw; 4.24 mouth; 4.58 bite (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:444, no. 289; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:313—315, no. 190, **ḳaba/ *ḳap'a* 'to seize'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 914, **keṗ[$H_2$]V* (= **keṗʕV* ?) 'jaw, chin'.

477. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'ap$^h$-a* 'nape of the neck, back of the head':

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ap-* 'nape of the neck, back of the head': Proto-Semitic **k'ap-aw/y-* 'nape of the neck, back of the head' > Arabic *ḳafan* 'nape; occiput, back of the head; back; reverse; wrong side (of a fabric)', *ḳafā?* 'nape; occiput; back of the head'; Ḥarsūsi *ḳefē* 'back'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳéfɛ̄* 'back, behind'; Mehri *ḳəfē* 'back'. Berber: Tuareg *əγəf* 'head'; Siwa *axfi*

‘head’; Nefusa *iγf* ‘head’; Ghadames *iγəf* ‘head’; Mzab *iγəf*, *ixəf* ‘head’; Wargla *iγəf*, *ixəf* ‘head’; Tamazight *ixf* ‘head’; Riff *ixf* ‘head’; Kabyle *ixəf* ‘head, summit’. East Chadic **kwap-* (< **kapwa-*) ‘occiput’ > Dangla *kopo* ‘occiput’; Migama *kupo* ‘occiput’; Jegu *kofo* ‘occiput’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:337, no. 1548, **ḳap-* ‘head, occiput’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **k’ep-* ‘nape of the neck, back of the head’: Georgian *k’epa* ‘back of the head’; Mingrelian *k’ope*, *k’op’e* ‘crown (of the head)’; Svan *k’ak’äp* ‘nape of the neck’.

C. (?) Eskimo-Aleut: Proto-Inuit **kapəlʁuq* or **kapəlʁuk* ‘neck part of an animal’ (?) > Seward Peninsula Inuit *kaviʁluk* ‘upper chest’; Western Canadian Inuit (Car Baker Lake) *kapilʁuq* ‘front part of caribou’; Greenlandic Inuit *kapiʁɬuk* ‘backbone of bird’; North Greenlandic / Polar Eskimo *kapiʁluk* ‘front part of salmon behind gills; part of backbone (e.g., seal’s)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:159.

Buck 1949:4.28 neck. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:319—320, no. 195, **ḳap‘ʌ* ‘nape of neck, head’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:453, no. 298.

478. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ap$^{h}$-* (~ **k’əp$^{h}$-*):
(vb.) **k’ap$^{h}$-* ‘to cover; to shut, to close’;
(n.) **k’ap$^{h}$-a* ‘covering’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’ap-* ‘to cover; to shut, to close’: Proto-Semitic **k’ap-al-* ‘to cover; to shut, to close’ > Arabic *ḳafala* ‘to shut, to close; to latch, to lock, to shut up’, *ḳufl* ‘padlock; lock, latch, bolt’; Ḥarsūsi *ḳefōl* ‘to close, to lock, to shut’, *ḳefl* ‘lock’; Mehri *ḳəfūl* ‘to close, to lock’, *ḳāfəl* ‘lock’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳɔ́fɔ́l* ‘to close, to lock’, *ḳɔ́fəl* ‘lock’; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳafala*, *ḳaffala* [ቀፈለ] ‘to overlay, to cover (with plate), to cover, to gild, to plate’. Leslau 1987:424.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kappu* (*kappi-*) ‘to overspread (as a cloud)’; Malayalam *kappuka* ‘to cover, to overspread’; Kota *kavc-* (*kavc-*) ‘to cover with a garment’; Toda *kofc-* (*kofč-*) ‘to cover; to be in great numbers, (crowd) to come in great numbers’, *kofy-* (*kofs-*) ‘to surround in great numbers or on all sides’; Kannaḍa *kappu* ‘to cover; to spread, to extend, to overspread, to surround’; Tuḷu *kabiyuni* ‘to besiege, to surround, to overwhelm, to overspread (as clouds)’; Telugu *kappu* ‘(vb.) to cover, to overspread, to envelope, to conceal; to spread, to extend, to collect or settle in a thick covering (as clouds); (n.) a cover, darkness, blackness’, *kappuḍu* ‘a cover or covering’, *kappiri* ‘duskiness, partial darkness’, (inscr.) *kapuṟālu* ‘the stone beams covering the sanctum’; Parji *kapp-* ‘to cover, to overspread’; Koṇḍa *kap-* ‘(clouds) to overcast the sky’; Kuṛux *khapnā* ‘to cover exactly, to fit upon hermetically, to stick fast to or together’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:113—114, no. 1221; Krishnamurti 2003:98 **kap-* ~ **kapp-*

/**kaww-V-* ‘to cover, to over-spread’ and 144 **kap(p)-* ~ **kaw-V-* ‘to cover, to overspread’.

C. Kartvelian: Georgian *k’epan-i* ‘a cover (for covering food)’.

D. Proto-Altaic **k[ā]pʰa* ‘(vb.) to cover; to shut, to close; (n.) covering; container, bag, sack’: Proto-Tungus **kup-* ‘(vb.) to cover; (n.) covering’ > Evenki *kuptu-*, *kupu-* ‘to cover’, *kupu* ‘cover’, *kupō* ‘knee covering’, *kupe* ‘cloth’; Lamut / Even *kupke* ‘bag, sack’, *kubi* ‘knee covering’, *qụptụ* ‘hat’, *köbže* ‘cloth’; Negidal *kuptin-* ‘to cover’, *koptịn* ‘cover’; Manchu *χubtu* ‘a long cotton padded gown’; Ulch *kup-* ‘to cover’; Orok *qụptụ-* ‘to cover’, *qōpomị* ‘cloth’; Nanay / Gold *koptō̄* ‘sheath’. Proto-Mongolian **kabt-* ‘bag, sack’ > Written Mongolian *qabtaγ-a(n)* ‘bag, pouch, purse; pocket’; Khalkha *kavtga* ‘bag, purse, pouch’; Kalmyk *χaptəχə*, *χaptrγə* ‘bag, sack’; Ordos *ɑabtarɑa* ‘bag, sack’; Dagur *χartag* ‘bag, sack’; Monguor *sdarɑa* ‘a little bag, pouch, pocket’. Poppe 1955:52. Proto-Turkic **Kāp-* ‘(vb.) to surround; (n.) bag, sack’ > Karakhanide Turkic *qap* ‘bag, sack’; Turkish *kap* ‘bag, sack’, *kapak* ‘cover, lid’, *kapalı* ‘shut, covered, secluded’, *kapa-* ‘to shut, to close, to shut up; to cover up’, *kapanık* ‘shut in, confined (place); cloudy, overcast; dark; unsociable, shy; gloomy’, *kapatma* ‘shut up, confined’; Gagauz *qap* ‘bag, sack’; Azerbaijani *ɑab* ‘bag, sack’; Turkmenian *ɑāp* ‘bag, sack’, *ɑāba-* ‘to surround’; Uzbek *qɔp* ‘bag, sack’; Uighur *qap* ‘bag, sack’, (dial.) *qaba-* ‘to surround’; Karaim *qap* ‘bag, sack’; Tatar *qap* ‘bag, sack’; Bashkir *qap* ‘bag, sack’; Kirghiz *qap* ‘bag, sack’; Kazakh *qap* ‘bag, sack’; Noghay *qap* ‘bag, sack’; Sary-Uighur *qap* ‘bag, sack’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qap* ‘bag, sack’; Tuva *χap* ‘bag, sack’; Yakut *χappar* ‘bag, sack’. Poppe 1955:17, 43, 89, 97, and 133; Street 1974:16 **kāp* ‘container’, **kāp-á-* ‘to close, to block’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:646—647 **k[ā]pʹa* ‘(vb.) to cover; (n.) sack’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: “Mergers with phonetically close roots … were possible, which may explain some vocalic and prosodic irregularities.”

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 12.25 shut, close (vb.); 12.26 cover (vb.). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1106, **[ḳ]aṗa* ‘to cover, to close’.

479. Proto-Nostratic root **kʼar-* (~ **kʼər-*):
(vb.) **kʼar-* ‘to shout, to screech, to call (out to), to cry (out)’;
(n.) **kʼar-a* ‘call, cry, invocation, proclamation; roar, lamentation’

A. Proto-Afrasian **kʼar-* ‘to call to’: Proto-Semitic **kʼar-aʔ-* ‘to call to’ > Hebrew *ḳārāʾ* [קָרָא] ‘to call, to proclaim’; Phoenician *ḳrʾ* ‘to call’; Aramaic *ḳərā* ‘to call, to shout, to name, to crow; to read, to recite’; Ugaritic *ḳrả* ‘to call, to invite’; Arabic *ḳaraʾa* ‘to recite, to read’; Amorite *ḳrʾ* ‘to call’; Akkadian *ḳarū*, *ḳerū* ‘to call to, to invite’; Sabaean *ḳrʾ* ‘to call upon, to summon’. Murtonen 1989:385; Klein 1987:590—591; Zammit 2002:336. Berber: Tuareg *əγər* ‘to read’, *təγərit* ‘a shrill (and prolonged)

cry, expressing enthusiasm and ardor, characteristic war-cry of the Tuaregs of Ahaggar’; Nefusa *γər* ‘to call out, to read, to cry out, to recite’; Ghadames *ʿər* ‘to read’, *taγrit* ‘cry of joy, jubilation’; Mzab *γiru* ‘time of prayer at dawn’; Wargla *γər* ‘to call out, to be called’; Tamazight *γər* ‘to read, to study’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *γər* ‘to read, to study, to know how to read; to call out, to call to eat’, *tiγri* ‘study, reading; call, cry’; Kabyle *γər* ‘to call, to cry out; to read, to study’, *tiγri* ‘call, cry’. Cushitic: Bilin *qarʔ-* ‘to read, to learn’ (Arabic loan ?). Reinisch 1887:242. West Chadic: Hausa *ƙaara* ‘to cry out’, *ƙaaraa* ‘complaint, grievance’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:338, no. 1555, **ƙar-* ‘to call, to shout’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *karai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to sound, to roar, to weep, to lament, to call, to invite’, *karai* (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to call, to summon’; Malayalam *karayuka* ‘to cry, to lament, to neigh, to caw, to caterwaul’, *karaccil* ‘weeping, crying, lamentation; cry of certain animals or birds’, *karaḷuka* ‘to mumble’; Kota *karv-* (*kard-*) ‘to bellow, to caw’; Toda *kar-* (*karθ-*) ‘to bellow’, *kark* ‘bellowing’; Tuḷu *kareyuni*, *karevuni* ‘to crow’, *karmbuni* ‘to mutter’; Kannaḍa *kare*, *kari* ‘to emit a sound; to sound, to call, to invite’, *karaha*, *kareyuvike* ‘calling, etc.’; Telugu *kraṅgu* ‘the sound of a bell’, *krandu* ‘to sound, to ring, to lament’; Naiki (of Chanda) *karug-*/*karuk-* ‘to call, to crow, to invite, to summon’, *karup-* ‘to cause to summon (a physician)’; Parji *kerip-* (*kerit-*) ‘to cackle’; Gondi *karŋg-* ‘to call’, *karingi* ‘calling’; Kui *krāva* ‘the tongue of a bell’; Kuṛux *xarxnā* ‘to ring, to jingle, to clink, to give a sound’, *xarxaʾānā* ‘to make ring, to perform music’; Malto *qarġre* ‘to cry out’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:119—120, no. 1291.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k’er-*/**k’or-*/**k’ṛ-* ‘to cry out, to call, to screech’: Sanskrit *járate* ‘to call out to, to address, to invoke; to crackle (fire)’; Crimean Gothic *criten* ‘to cry’; Old Icelandic *krutr* ‘murmur’, *krytja* ‘to murmur, to grumple’, *krytr* ‘noise, murmur’; Old English *ceorran* ‘to creak’, *ceorian* ‘to murmur, to grumble’, *ceorcian* ‘to complain’, *cracian* ‘to resound’, *crācettan* ‘to croak’, *crāwian* ‘to crow’; Old Saxon **krāian* ‘to crow’; Dutch *kraaien* ‘to crow’, *krijs* ‘shriek, cry’, *krijsen* ‘to shriek, to screech’, *krijten* ‘to weep, to cry’; Old High German *crāen*, *krāhen*, *chrāen*, *khrāen* ‘to crow’ (New High German *krähen*); Middle High German *krīzen* ‘to cry loudly, to groan’ (New High German *kreissen* ‘to be in labor’); Old Chruch Slavic *grajǫ*, *grajati* ‘to crow, to caw’. Pokorny 1959:383—385 **ger-* ‘to call hoarsely’; Walde 1927—1932.I:591—593 **ger-*; Mann 1984—1987:265 **garmō* ‘to shout, to screech, to call’, 266 **gars-* ‘shout, cry, resound, echo’, 266 **garsmos*, *-is* (**garsmn-*) ‘cry, call’, 269—270 **gerō*, *-i̯ō* ‘to cry, to shout’, 270 **gersō* ‘to cry, to screech’; Watkins 1985:20 **gerə-* and 2000:27 **gerə-* ‘to cry hoarsely’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:421; Orël 2003:213 Proto-Germanic **kerranan*, 222 **krītanan*, 222 **krutjanan*; Kroonen 2013:285 Proto-Germanic **kerzan-* ‘to creak, to cry (of birds)’; Feist 1939:112; Lehmann 2008:85; De Vries 1977:332; Onions 1966:226, 229, and 231; Klein 1971:174—

175, 177, and 178; Skeat 1898:141, 143, and 144 **gar-* ‘to cry out’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:399 and 403 **ger-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:408 and 412; Vercoullie 1898:151 and 154; Derksen 2008:185—186.

Buck 1949:18.41 call. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:432—433, no. 276.

480. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’ar-a* ‘blackness, darkness, obscurity; dark cloud, rainy weather; dirt, grime’; (adj.) ‘dark, dark-colored; dirty, soiled’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’ar-* ‘dark, dark-colored; dirty, soiled’: Egyptian *qr*, *qrỉ* ‘storm, storm cloud’, *qrm* ‘smoke’, *qrmt* ‘ashes’, *qrmṯs* (Demotic *qrmts*) ‘darkness’, *qrṯt* ‘dung’; Coptic *kromrm* [ⲕⲣⲟⲙⲣⲙ], *krmrm* [ⲕⲣⲙⲣⲙ] ‘to become dark’, *krmrōm* [ⲕⲣⲙⲣⲱⲙ] ‘to be dark’ (reduplication of *kōrm* [ⲕⲱⲣⲙ] ‘smoke’), (Sahidic) *krmes* [ⲕⲣⲙⲉⲥ], (Bohairic) *kermi* [ⲕⲉⲣⲙⲓ] ‘ash, soot, dust’, *krōm* [ⲕⲣⲱⲙ] ‘fire’, *krmts* [ⲕⲣⲙⲧⲥ] ‘smoke, mist; darkness, obscurity’, *kōrm* [ⲕⲱⲣⲙ] ‘smoke’, *kerēt* [ⲕⲉⲣⲏⲧ], *čerēt* [ϭⲉⲣⲏⲧ] ‘dirt, dung’. Hannig 1995:862 and 863; Faulkner 1962:280; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:57, 5:58, and 5:60; Gardiner 1957:596; Vycichl 1983:86; Černý 1976:62 and 335. The following Cushitic forms may belong here as well, assuming semantic development as in Kannaḍa *kār* ‘blackness, rainy season’: Burji *k’áraar-i* ‘rainy season’; Hadiyya *k’araat’o* ‘autumn, fall, season of small rains’; Kambata *k’araa-tu* ‘spring season’. Perhaps also: Central Cushitic: Bilin *qīr* ‘night’; Xamir *xar* ‘night’; Quara *xə́rā* ‘night’; Kemant *xir*/*xer* ‘night’; Awngi / Awiya *γar* ‘night’. Appleyard 2006:105; Reinisch 1887:242. Sasse 1982:124; Hudson 1989:120 and 140. West Chadic **k’ar-* ‘cloud’ > Bolewa *kɔriya* ‘cloud’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:337, no. 1550, **ḳar-* ‘cloud’.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k’r-u-k’o-s*, *-eA* [*-aA*] (> *-ā*) ‘dirt, grime’: Greek (Hesychius) γρύξ· ‘dirt in the nails’; Modern English (regional) *crock* ‘smut, soot, dirt’; Latvian *gruzis* ‘dirt, smut; rubbish’. Mallory—Adams 1997:160 **grúĝs* ‘dirt’; Mann 1984—1987:300 **gruĝos*, *-ā* ‘dirt, grime’.

C. Proto-Altaic **karu* (~ *k*$^{h}$-) ‘black’: Proto-Mongolian **kara* ‘black’ > Written Mongolian *qara* ‘black, dark, obscure’; Dagur *χara*, *χar* ‘black’; Monguor *χara* ‘black’; Ordos *χara* ‘black’; Buriat *χara* ‘black’; Khalkha *χar* ‘black’; Kalmyk *χarъ* ‘black’; Moghol *qarō* ‘black’. Poppe 1955:131. Mongolian loans in: Manchu *qara* ‘black (of animals)’; Evenki *karā* ‘black’. Proto-Turkic **Kara* ‘black’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qara* ‘black’; Turkish *kara* ‘black’; Gagauz *qara* ‘black’; Azerbaijani *ɢara* ‘black’; Turkmenian *ɢara* ‘black’; Uzbek *qɔrɛ* ‘black’; Uighur *qara* ‘black’; Karaim *qara* ‘black’; Tatar *qara* ‘black’; Bashkir *qara* ‘black’; Kirghiz *qara* ‘black’; Kazakh *qara* ‘black’; Noghay *qara* ‘black’; Tuva *qara* ‘black’; Chuvash *χora* ‘black’; Yakut *χara* ‘black’; Dolgan *kara* ‘black’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:651—652 **karu* (~ *k‘*-) ‘black’.

Initial consonant uncertain; hence, either here or with Proto-Nostratic *$k^h$*ar-a* ‘(n.) blackness, darkness; (adj.) black, dark’.

Buck 1949:1.62 darkness; 1.73 cloud; 15.63 dark (in color); 14.42 night; 15.88 dirty, soiled. Bomhard 1996a:205—207, no. 603.

481. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ar-* (~ **k’ər-*):
(vb.) **k’ar-* ‘to twist, to turn, to bend, to wind; to tie (together), to bind’;
(n.) **k’ar-a* ‘that which is tied or bound together: bunch, bundle’; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, crooked; tied, bound’
Possible derivative:
(n.) **k’ar-a* ‘protuberance, lump, hump, breast’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’ar-* ‘to twist, to turn, to bend, to wind; to tie (together), to bind’: Proto-Semitic **k’ar-an-* ‘to tie or bind two things together’ > Geez / Ethiopic *ʾastaḳʷārana* [**አስተቋረነ**] ‘to bind in pairs’; Tigrinya *ḳʷäränä* ‘to bind two things together’; Amharic *ḳʷaräññä* ‘to fetter, to shackle’; Harari *ḳuräññä ăša* ‘to tie together creditor with debtor, to tie two things together’; Gurage *(tä)ḳʷrañä* ‘to bind together creditor with debtor’. Leslau 1963:129, 1979:498, and 1987:442. Egyptian *qrf* ‘to bend, to twist, to curve, to wind’, *qrft* ‘contractions’ (medical term), (pl.) *qrfw* ‘facial wrinkles’. Hannig 1995:863; Faulkner 1962:280; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:60. Berber: Tuareg *əγrəh* ‘to keep, to store away, to put in a safe place’; Tamazight *γrəz* ‘to tack, to baste, to sew, to stitch up a suture’; Kabyle *əγrəz* ‘to set a trap, to gather together’.
B. Dravidian: Kota *karv-* (*kard-*) ‘to become tight (rope)’, *karv-* (*kart-*) ‘to tighten (knot)’; Toda *kar̲-* (*kar̲θ-*) ‘to become tight’, *kar̲f-* (*kar̲t-*) ‘to tighten (tr.)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:130, no. 1399. Tamil *kar̲r̲ai* ‘collection (as of hair, rays of the sun), bundle (as of straw, grass, paddy seedlings), coconut leaves braided together like ropes as bands for hedging’; Malayalam *kar̲r̲a* ‘bundle (as of grass, straw), sheaf of corn’; Kannaḍa *kante* ‘bundle (as of grass, straw, etc.)’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:130, no. 1400.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **k’ar-*/**k’r-* ‘to bind, to tie together’: Georgian *k’ar-*/*k’r-* ‘to bind, to tie together’; Mingrelian *k’ir-*/*k’ər-* ‘to bind’; Laz *k’or-*/*k’ir-* ‘to bind’; Svan *č’ar-*/*č’r-* ‘to bind’. Schmidt 1962:117; Klimov 1964:106 **ḳar-* : **ḳr-* and 1998:86 **ḳar-* : **ḳr-* ‘to bind’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:185 **ḳar-*/**ḳr-*; Fähnrich 2007:222 **ḳar-*/**ḳr-*.
D. Proto-Indo-European **k’er-*/**k’or-*/**k’r-* ‘(vb.) to twist, to turn, to bend, to wind; to tie (together), to bind; (adj.) curved, bent, crooked; tied, bound; (n.) that which is tied or bound together: bunch, bundle’: Sanskrit *grathna-ḥ* ‘bunch, tuft’, *granth-*, *grathnā́mi*, *granthā́yati* ‘to fasten, to tie or string together’, *grantha-ḥ* ‘tying, binding, stringing together, knot’, *granthí-ḥ* ‘a knot, tie, knot of a cord; bunch or protuberance’; Prakrit *gaṁthaï*, *gaṁṭhaï*

'to tie, to knot', *gaṁṭhi-* 'knot, joint, bundle', *gaṁṭhilla-* 'knotted'; Assamese *gã̃ṭhi-* 'knot, joint, protuberance', *gã̃thiba-* 'to string together'; Greek γρῡπός 'hook-nosed'; Latin *grūmus* 'a little heap, hillock (of earth)'; Old Irish *grinne* 'bundle'; Old Icelandic *krá*, *kró* 'nook, corner', *kring* 'round', *kringja* 'to encircle, to surround', *kringr* 'circle, ring', *krókr* 'hook, barb', *kryppil* 'cripple', *krækja* 'to hook'; Old English *crampiht* 'crumpled, wrinkled', *crumb*, *crump* 'crooked', *crymbing* 'curvature, bend, inclination', *crympan* 'to curl', *cranc-stæf* 'weaving implement, crank', *cryppan* 'to bend, to crook (finger)', *crymban* 'to bend', *cradol* 'cradle'; Old Saxon *krumb* 'crooked, bent, curved, twisted'; Dutch *krom* 'crooked, bent, curved, twisted'; Old High German *kratto* 'basket' (New High German [dial.] *Kratten*, *Kretten*), *krezzo* 'basket' (New High German *Krätze*), *krumb* 'crooked, bent, curved, twisted' (New High German *krumm*); Lithuanian *gárbana*, *garbanà* 'curl, lock, ringlet', *grandìs* 'ring, link (of a fence)'. Rix 1998a:170 (?) **grenĝ$^{h}$-* 'to twist, to turn' and 170 (?) **grenth$_{2}$-* 'to fasten, to tie or string together'; Pokorny 1959:385—390 **ger-* 'to turn, to wind'; Walde 1927—1932.I:593—598 **ger-*; Mann 1984—1987:293 **grengh-* 'twist, knot', 293 **gringĥəlos*, *-ā* 'circle, circuit', 295 **gringĥō*, *-i̯ō* 'to turn, to circle', 295 **grōĝos*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* 'twist, bend; rope; wicker; tangle; trap', 296 **groiĝō*, *-i̯ō* 'to turn, to wind, to bend', 297 **grongĥ-* 'to twist, to turn', 298 **grongĥəlos* 'circle, ring, twist, roller, cylinder', 299—300 **gruĝos*; **grugos*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* 'bend', 300—301 **grumbhos*, *-ā*, *-i̯ə* 'bend, turn, twist; bent'; Watkins 1985:19—20 **ger-* and 2000:27 **g(e)r-* 'curved, crooked'; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:239; Boisacq 1950:157; Hofmann 1966:48; Beekes 2010.I:289; Frisk 1970—1973.I:329—330; De Vaan 2008:273; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:623 **gr-eu-*, **ger-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:283; Orël 2003:221 Proto-Germanic **krempanan*, 221 **krenʒaz*, 221 **krenʒlōn* 222 **kruppilaz*; Kroonen 2013:301—302 Proto-Germanic **kranga-* ~ **kranka-* 'bent, crooked, weak', 302 **krangjan-* 'to make bend', 307 **krup(p)ila-* 'cripple', and 308 **kruppjan-* 'to bend, to stoop'; De Vries 1977:327—328 **ger-*, 330 **ger-*, 331, and 332; Klein 1971:173, 176, 177, and 179; Onions 1966:224, 225, 228, 229, 230, and 232; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:401 **greth-*, **ger-* and 408; Kluge—Seebold 1989:410 and 415; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:352; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:135; Smoczyński 2007.1:157 and 1:194—195.

E. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **kärʒ-* 'to twist or tie (together), to bind, to thread' > Mordvin (Moksha) *kärks* 'garland, string', *kärksa-* 'to twist (rope), to wrap up, to roll up'; Cheremis / Mari *kerä-*, *kera-* 'to draw or pull through, to thread (a needle)'; Votyak / Udmurt *gerd-* 'knot, loop'; Zyrian / Komi *gɐrɐd* 'knot'; Vogul / Mansi *keer-* 'to plait, to weave together'. Rédei 1986—1988:139—140 **kärʒ-*.

F. Proto-Altaic **kera-* (~ *-r$^{y}$-*) '(to bind, to wind around': Proto-Tungus **kerge-* (**kergi-*) '(vb.) to wind around, to bind (into bunches); (n.) circle,

ring, bunch’ > Manchu *χergi-*, *χerči-* ‘to wind (thread)’; Negidal *keygeli* ‘circle, ring’; Ulch *kergi* ‘bunch’, *kergin-* ‘to bind into bunches’; Orok *keygeli* ‘circle, ring’; Nanay / Gold *kergi* ‘bunch’; Oroch *keže-* ‘to wind’. Proto-Mongolian **kere-* ‘to bind, to join, to unite’ > Mongolian *kerü-* ‘to attach, to bind, to weave’ (distinct from *kerü-* ‘to roam, to wander’), *kerüdesüle-* ‘to bind into a ball (of thread, etc.)’, *kerüdesü(n)* ‘ball (of thread, etc.)’; Khalkha *χere-* ‘to bind, to join, to unite’; Buriat *χere-* ‘to bind, to join, to unite’; Kalmyk *ker-* ‘to bind, to join, to unite’; Ordos *kere-*, *kerü-* ‘to bind, to join, to unite’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003: 669—670 **kera* (~ *-ŕ-*) ‘to wind around, to bind’.

Sumerian *garadin*, *kàradin*, *karadin*$_5$ ‘bundle, sheaf’.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 10.12 turn (vb.); 12.74 crooked. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:321—323, no. 197, **ḳärʌ* ‘to tie (tightly), to tighten’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:446—448, no. 293; Hakola 2000:65, no 255.

482. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’ar-a* ‘protuberance, lump, hump, breast’:
Possibly derived from (in the sense ‘curved shape, swelling’):
(vb.) **k’ar-* ‘to twist, to turn, to bend, to wind; to tie (together), to bind’;
(n.) **k’ar-a* ‘that which is tied or bound together: bunch, bundle’; (adj.) ‘bent, curved, crooked; tied, bound’

A. Dravidian: Tamil *karaṭu* ‘ankle, knot in wood’; Malayalam *karaṇa* ‘knot of sugar-cane’, *kuraṭṭa* ‘knuckle of hand or foot’; Kannaḍa *karaṇe*, *kaṇṇe* ‘clot, lump’; Telugu *karuḍu* ‘lump, mass, clot’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:117, no. 1266.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **m-k’erd-* ‘breast, chest’: Georgian *mk’erd-* ‘breast, chest’; Mingrelian *k’idir-*, *k’ədər-* (< **k’ird-* < **k’erd-*) ‘breast, chest’; Svan *muč’ōd*, *muč’wed* ‘breast, chest’. Schmidt 1962:124; Klimov 1964:135—136 **mḳerd-* and 1998:123 **mḳerd-* : **mḳrd-* ‘breast, chest’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:241 **mḳerd-*; Fähnrich 2007:234 **ḳward-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k’er-*/**k’or-*/**k’r̥-* ‘protuberance, lump, hump, breast’: Armenian *kurc* ‘core, stump’, (pl.) *kurck$^h$* ‘breasts’; Old Icelandic *kryppa* ‘hump, hunch’; Lithuanian *grùbas* ‘hump, lump, hillock’; Old Church Slavic *grudь* (< **gr̥dь*) ‘breast’; Russian *gorb* [горб] ‘hump’, *grud'* [грудь] ‘breast, chest, bosom, bust’; Serbo-Croatian (pl.) *grudi* ‘breasts’; Polish *garb* ‘hump, lump’. Mann 1984—1987:288 **gord-* (**gordis*, *-i̯us*) ‘lump’, 298 **grubəlos* ‘lumpy, rough, knotty; lump, hump’, 298 **grubos*, *-i̯ə* ‘lumpy, swollen; lump’, 300 **grŭĝos*, *-is* ‘lump, stump, core’, 300 **grum-* ‘hump, hunch’, 300 **gumbəlos* ‘hump, lump’, 301 **grŭməlos*, *-ā* ‘lump, hump, mass’; Kroonen 2013:307 Proto-Germanic **kruppa-* ‘compact object’; Orël 2003:222 Proto-Germanic **kruppaz* I,

222 **krūwilaz* ~ **krauwilaz*; De Vries 1977:332; Derksen 2008:193; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:172—173; Smoczyński 2007.1:157.

Buck 1949:4.40 breast (front of chest); 4.41 breast (of woman).

483. Proto-Nostratic root **k'at$^{h}$-* (~ **k'ət$^{h}$-*):
(vb.) **k'at$^{h}$-* 'to add, join, bring, come, gather, or mix together';
(n.) **k'at$^{h}$-a* 'blend, mixture, conglomeration, gathering'

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ḳatta* 'to prepare, to make ready; to gather by degrees; to follow the track'.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *katuvu* (*katuvi-*) 'to be troubled, perturbed'; Kannaḍa *kade* 'to join, to be contiguous, to meet, to approach, to copulate, to be pressed or squeezed', *kaduku* 'to press, to squeeze', *kadubu* 'to press, to distress, to trouble'; Telugu *kadiyu* 'to approach, to meet, to come together', *kadiyincu* 'to bring together'; Kolami *gaddī-* 'to reach'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:112, no. 1201.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'et-* 'to add; to mix': Georgian *k'et-* 'to make, to create' (Old Georgian *k'et-* 'to decorate'), *k'etil-* 'good, kind', *uk'etur-* 'evil'; Mingrelian *k'at-* 'to add, to gather, to produce'; Laz *k'at-* 'to add, to gather; to accompany'. Klimov 1964:108 **ḳet-* and 1998:88 **ḳet-* 'to add; to mix'; Fähnrich 1994:233; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:188 **ḳet-*; Fähnrich 2007:226 **ḳet-*.
D. Proto-Altaic **kat$^{h}$[a]* (~ *-t-*) 'to add, join, tie, or mix together': Proto-Tungus **kata-* '(vb.) to tie together; (n.) band' > Evenki *qataq-* 'friend'; Negidal *kataɣa-* 'to tie together', *katiχa* 'friend'; Manchu *χata* 'a thin belt or strip of cloth'; Ulch *qatara-* 'to tie together'; Orok *qatara-* 'to tie together'; Nanay / Gold *qatara-* 'to grasp one's hair'. Proto-Mongolian **kudku-* 'to stir, to mix' > Written Mongolian *qudqu-* 'to stir, to mix, to mingle, to blend', *qudqula-* 'to mix, to mingle, to stir by beating; to trouble, to embarrass, to put in disorder'; Khalkha *χutgaχ-* 'to stir, to mix, to mingle, to blend; to put in disorder, to confuse; to agitate, to embroil, to stir up trouble; to ladle, to scoop up, or to spoon something', *χutgalaχ-* 'to mix, to mingle, to stir by beating; to trouble, to embarrass, to put in disorder'; Buriat *χudχa-* 'to stir, to mix'; Kalmyk *χutχə-* 'to stir, to mix'; Ordos *ɢudχu-* 'to stir, to mix'; Dagur *korku-* 'to stir, to mix'; Dongxiang *quduɣu-* 'to stir, to mix'; Shira-Yughur *qudɢə-* 'to stir, to mix'; Monguor *ɢusɢu-* 'to stir, to mix'. Proto-Turkic **Kat-* 'to add, join, or mix together' > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qat-* 'to add, join, or mix together'; Karakhanide Turkic *qat-* 'to add, join, or mix together'; Turkish *kat-* 'to add, to join, to mix, to embroil'; Azerbaijani *ɢat-* 'to add, join, or mix together'; Turkmenian *ɢat-* 'to add, join, or mix together'; Uighur *qat-* 'to add, join, or mix together'; Tatar *qat-* 'to add, join, or mix together'; Bashkir *qat-* 'to add, join, or mix together'; Kirghiz *qat-* 'to add, join, or

mix together’; Kazakh *qat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Noghay *qat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Chuvash *χodъš* ‘mixture’; Yakut *χat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’; Dolgan *kat-* ‘to add, join, or mix together’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:654 **kat'[a]* (~ *-t-*) ‘to mix, to join’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak note: “The Mong[olian] vocalism is not quite clear.”

E. Proto-Eskimo **katə-* ‘to meet’: Naukan Siberian Yupik *kaasuʁ-* ‘to arrive’, *kaasutə-* ‘to bring’; Central Siberian Yupik *kaatə-* ‘to arrive’, *kaatutə-* ‘to arrive with’; Sirenik *katə-* ‘to approach’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kati-* ‘to bump head’; North Alaskan Inuit *kati-* ‘to bump head(s)’; Western Canadian Inuit *kati-* ‘to bump head against something’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kati-* ‘to join, to come after’; Greenlandic Inuit *kattut(i)-*, (Northwest Greenlandic) *katut(i)-* ‘to join, to attack in a group’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:160. Proto-Eskimo **katəma-* ‘to be gathered’: Naukan Siberian Yupik *katəma-* ‘to gather’, *kasima-* ‘to meet’; Central Siberian Yupik *kasima-* ‘to have arrived’; Sirenik *kasəmŋani* ‘approaching’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *katuma-*, (Imaqliq) *katəma-* ‘to hold a meeting’; North Alaskan Inuit *kasima-*, (Point Hope) *katima-* ‘to hold a meeting’; Western Canadian Inuit *katima-* ‘to be gathered, to be piled up’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *katima-* ‘to meet, to remain continually with’; Greenlandic Inuit *katima-* ‘to be gathered in a cluster’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:160. Proto-Inuit **katəqšat* ‘collection’ > Seward Peninsula Inuit *katiqšat* ‘collection’; North Alaskan Inuit *katiqšat* ‘pile, collection’; Western Canadian Inuit *katiXXi-* ‘cluster’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *katiʁsu(q)-* ‘to assemble’; Greenlandic Inuit *katiʁšat-* ‘collection, gathering’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:160—161. Proto-Eskimo **katət-* ‘to join’: Central Alaskan Yupik *kacətə-* ‘to arrive from the wilderness’ (Norton Sound Unaliq ‘to gather’); Naukan Siberian Yupik *katətə-* ‘to join, to gather’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *katit-* ‘to join, to assemble, to marry’; North Alaskan Inuit *katit-* ‘to gather, to get married’; Western Canadian Inuit *katit-* ‘to gather’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *katit-* ‘to join’; Greenlandic Inuit *katit-* ‘to join, to get married’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:161. Proto-Eskimo **katŋuʁ-* and **katuʁ-* ‘to assemble’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *katuXtə-* ‘to gather’, *katunʁət* ‘flock’; Central Alaskan Yupik (Nunivak, Norton Sound) *katuʁ-* ‘to be gathered’, (post root) *katuŋqa-* ‘to be gathered’, *katŋat* ‘herd’; Central Siberian Yupik *kałŋuʁ-* ‘to be gathered, assembled’; North Alaskan Inuit *kanŋuq-*, (Nunamiut) *katŋuq-* ‘to assemble’, *kanŋut*, (Nunamiut) *katŋut* ‘herd’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:161. Proto-Eskimo **katyaɣ* ‘the place where two things come together’: Central Alaskan Yupik *kasiɣ-* ‘fork (river)’; Sirenik *kasix* ‘the place where two poles meet’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *kassaaq* ‘fork in river’; North Alaskan Inuit *kayyaaq*, (Malimiut) *katyaaq* ‘fork in river’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:161. Proto-Eskimo **katyuɣutə-* ‘to come together’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *kasuutə-*

'to meet each other'; Sirenik *kasəyut(ə)-* 'to hit with something, to knock up against something'; North Alaskan Inuit *kasuuti-* 'to meet'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *kasuut(i)-* 'to join'; Greenlandic Inuit *kasuut(i)-* 'to knock into, to clink glasses (toast)'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:161—162.

Buck 1949:2.33 marry; 12.21 collect, gather; 12.22 join, unite; 19.65 meet (vb.). Slightly different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1215, **ḳatV* (or **ḳaʔ[V]tV*) 'to mix, to adjoin, to gather'. The Dravidian forms cited by Dolgopolsky do not belong here.

484. Proto-Nostratic root **k'aw-* (~ **k'əw-*):
(vb.) **k'aw-* 'to bend, twist, curve, or turn round; to rotate';
(n.) **k'aw-a* 'any round object'; (adj.) 'bent, curved, round'

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'aw-* '(adj.) bent, curved, round; (n.) any round object: a hole': Proto-East Cushitic **k'aw-* or **k'aaw-* 'a hole' > Somali *qaw* 'a hole'; Gidole *k'aaw* 'a hole'; Konso *qaawa* 'a hole'; Galla / Oromo *k'a(w)a* 'a hole'; Burji *k'aw-a* 'a hole'. Sasse 1979:43.
B. Dravidian: Tamil *kevi* 'deep valley, cave'; Kannaḍa *gavi* 'cave'; Tuḷu *gavi* 'cave, hole, cell'; Telugu *gavi* 'cavern'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:124, no. 1332.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'w-er-*, (reduplicated) **k'wer-k'wer-* 'round object': Georgian *k'ver-* 'flat cake, cookie (round)', *k'verk'ver-a-* 'round pie'; Mingrelian *k'var-* 'small round loaf, cookie (maize)', *k'vark'valia-* 'round'; Laz *k'var-*, *nk'var-* 'cookie (round, for children)', *k'ork'ol-a-* 'curls, sheep droppings'; Svan (Lower Bal) *k'urp'i* 'round', *k'wā̈ši* 'cornbread' (< **k'wäl-*, cf. Gamkrelidze—Mačavariani 1982:37, §1.2.2.3) (Mingrelian loan). Schmidt 1962:119; Klimov 1964:110 **ḳwer-*, 110 **ḳwerḳwer-* and 1998:92 **ḳwer-* 'flat cake, cookie (round), 93 **ḳwer-ḳwer-* 'round object'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:198 **ḳwer-*; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:326—327, no. 202, Proto-Kartvelian **ḳwer-/*ḳwal-* 'round'; Fähnrich 2007:239 **ḳwer-*.
D. Proto-Indo-European **k'ew-/*k'ow-/*k'u-*, also **k'ewH-/*k'owH-/*k'uH-* > **k'ū-* '(adj.) bent, curved, round; (n.) any round object': Sanskrit *gulī* 'globe, pill', *gola-ḥ* 'globe, ball, jar in the form of a ball'; Greek γύπη 'vulture's nest; cave, den, hole', γῡρός 'round', γῦρος 'ring, circle', γῡρεύω 'to run around in a circle'; Old Icelandic *kúfóttr* 'convex', *kofi* 'hut, shed', *kúla* 'knob, ball', *kúlu-bakr* 'humpback'; Old English *cȳf* 'tub, vat, cask, bushel', *cȳfl* 'tub, bucket', *cofa* 'closet, chamber'; Middle High German *kobe* 'stable, pigsty' (New High German *Koben*). Pokorny 1959:393—398 **gēu-*, **gəu-*, **gū-* 'to bend, to curve'; Walde 1927—1932.I:555—562 **geu-*; Mann 1984—1987:309—310 **guu̯-* 'to bend; bent'; Watkins 1985:20 **gēu-* 'to bend'; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:341 and

I:349; Boisacq 1950:159 **ɡeu-*; Beekes 2010.I:292 and I:293 **gu(H)-*; Hofmann 1966:49 **geu-*; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:243 and I:243—244 **geu-/*gu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:335 and I:335—336 **geu-*; Orël 2003:222 Proto-Germanic **kuƀƀōn*, 222 **kuƀōn*, 226 **kūƀaz*, 226 **kūlō(n)*; Kroonen 2013:308 Proto-Germanic **kuban-* ‘shed’; De Vries 1977:323—324 and 333; Onions 1966:222; Klein 1971:172 **geu-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:386; Kluge—Seebold 1989:386—387.

E. Yukaghir (Northern / Tundra) *qawarqa* ‘pit, container’. Nikolaeva 2006: 381.

F. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kawra-* ‘to go round’ > Chukchi *kawra-* ‘to go round’, *kawra-lʔat-* ‘to rotate’; Kerek *kauja-* ‘to go round’; Koryak *kawja(tko)-* ‘to go round’, *kawja-jɣən* ‘whirlwind’; Alyutor *kora-* (Palana *kawra-*) ‘to go round’, *nə-kora-qin* ‘crooked’. Fortescue 2005:129.

Buck 1949:12.82 circle; 12.85 hole. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:436—437, no. 281.

485. Proto-Nostratic root **k’aw-* (~ **k’əw-*):
(vb.) **k’aw-* ‘to take, to seize, to grasp, to hold’;
(n.) **k’aw-a* ‘hand’

A. Proto-Kartvelian **k’aw-/*k’w-* ‘to take’: Georgian *k’av-* ‘to take, to occupy, to hold’; Mingrelian [*k’-*] ‘to hold’; Laz [*k’-*] ‘to snatch’; Svan *k’äw-/k’w-* ‘to take, to catch’, *lə-k’äw* ‘taken, seized’. Fähnrich 2007:218 **ķaw-*; Klimov 1998:84 **ķaw-* : **ķw-* ‘to take’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:182 **ķaw-*.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k’ow(H)-/*k’u(H)-* (or **k’aw[H]-/*k’u[H]-*) ‘(vb.) to take, to seize, to grasp, to hold; (n.) hand’: Avestan *gava* ‘hand’; Greek ἐγ-γυάω ‘to give or hand over as a pledge’; Lithuanian *gáunu*, *gáuti* ‘to get, to receive’; Latvian *gūnu*, *gũt* ‘to catch, to seize, to capture’. Pokorny 1959:403—404 **gou̯ə-* (or **gau̯ə-* ? :) **gū-* ‘hand; to seize’; Walde 1927—1932.I:636—637 **gou̯āˣ-* (or **gau̯āˣ-* ? :) **gū-*; Boisacq 1950:211; Frisk 1970—1973.I:436—437; Beekes 2010.I:369 **g(ʷ)ou-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:163—164 **geu̯H-*; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:141—142; Derksen 2015:166.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand; 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of.

486. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **k’el-a* ‘female in-law: husband’s sister, sister-in-law; daughter-in-law’:
Note also:
(n.) **kʰal-a* ‘female in-law’

A. Proto-Indo-European **k'elHowV-*, **k'l̥HōC-* 'husband's sister': Greek (Attic) γάλως, (Aeolic) γάλοως 'husband's sister or brother's sister, sister-in-law'; Phrygian γέλαρος· 'brother's wife' (= ἀδελφοῦ γυνή); Latin *glōs* 'husband's sister, sister-in-law' (attested only in glosses); Late Church Slavic *zъlъva* 'husband's sister'; Russian *zolóvka* [золовка] 'husband's sister' (Old Russian *zólva* [золва]); Old Czech *zelva* 'husband's sister'; Polish *żełw*, *żołwica*, alongside *zełw*, *zołwica* 'husband's sister'; Serbian *zȁova* 'husband's sister'. Pokorny 1959:367—368 **ĝ(ₑ)lōu̯-* 'husband's sister'; Walde 1927—1932.I:631 **ĝ(ₑ)lōu̯-*; Mann 1984—1987:396 **ĝəlōu̯-*, **ĝələu̯-* 'sister-in-law on husband's side'; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:760 **k̂'al(ou̯-)* and 1995.I:662 **k̂'al(ou-)* 'husband's sister'; Benveniste 1969.I:251 and 1973:203; Mallory—Adams 1997:521—522 **ĝl̥h₃-u̯os-* 'husband's sister'; Frisk 1970—1973.I:286—287; Hofmann 1966:41; Boisacq 1950:140; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:208; Beekes 2010.I:258—259 **ǵlH-ōus*; De Vaan 2008:266; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:610 **ĝ(e)lōu-*; **ĝlou̯ōs*, **ĝₑlou̯ōs*, **ĝₑlₑu̯ōs*; Pre-Proto-Slavic **gₑluu̯ā*, alongside **ĝₑluu̯ā*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:277; Preobrazhensky 1951:255; Derksen 2008:551 **ǵlh₂-u-*.

B. Proto-Altaic **kele* (~ *-i*, *-o*) 'daughter-in-law, bride': Proto-Tungus **keli* 'in-law; girl, sister' > Manchu *keli* 'men who have married sisters; brothers-in-law'; Evenki *keli(n)* 'in-law', *kiliwlī* 'girl, sister'; Lamut / Even *keli* 'in-law'; Negidal *keli* 'in-law', *kelewlį* 'girl, sister'; Ulch *keli(n)* 'in-law'; Orok *keli(n)* 'in-law'; Nanay / Gold *keli* 'in-law'; Oroch *keli* 'in-law'. Proto-Turkic **gẹlin* 'bride, daughter-in-law' > Old Turkic (Orkhon; coll.) *keliŋ-ün*, (Old Uighur) *kelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Karakhanide Turkic *kelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Turkish *gelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Gagauz *gelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Azerbaijani *gälin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Turkmenian *gelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Khalay *kälin* 'bride, daughter-in-law' (Azerbaijani loan); Uzbek *kelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Uighur *kelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Karaim *kelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Tatar *kilen* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Bashkir *kilen* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Kirghiz *kelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Kazakh *kelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Noghay *kelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Khakas *kelən* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *kelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Tuva *kelin* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Chuvash *kin*, *kilən-* 'bride, daughter-in-law'; Yakut (pl.) *kiyīt* 'brides, daughters-in-law'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:659 **kele* (~ *-i*, *-o*) 'daughter-in-law, bride'.

Buck 1949:2.66 sister-in-law. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:295—296, no. 162, **kälU* 'female relation'; Koskinen 1980:19, no. 47; Dolgopolsky 1998:85—87, no. 109, **kälu/ü* 'a woman of the other exogamous moiety' ('female relative-in-law', 'bride') and 2008, no. 862, **kälû* 'a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' (in descendant languages →

‘female relative-in-law’, ‘bride’); Bomhard 1999a:65; Hakola 2000:52, no. 186.

487. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’enʸ-a* ‘knot, joint’:

A. Dravidian: Tamil *keṇṭai* ‘ankle’; Malayalam *keṇippu* ‘joint, articulation’; Kannaḍa *giṇṇu*, *geṇṇu* ‘knot, joint (as of sugarcane, finger, etc.)’, *gaṇṭu* ‘knot of cord; joint of reed, bamboo, cane; joint or articulation of body’; Koḍagu *gïṇṇï* ‘joint in wrist or fingers, knot in sugarcane’; Tuḷu *gaṇṭu̯*, *gaṇṭu* ‘knot in string, ankle, knot or joint of reed or cane’; Telugu *gaṇṭu*, *gaṇṭa* ‘a knot’; Naikṛi *kaṇḍe* ‘joint in bamboo’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:177, no. 1946.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k’enu-/*k’nu-* (secondary *o*-grade form: **k’onu-*) ‘knee, bend of the leg; angle’: Sanskrit *jā́nu*, *jñu-* ‘knee’; Avestan (acc. sg.) *žnūm* ‘knee’; Armenian *cunr* (< **k’ŏnu-r-*) ‘knee’; Greek γόνυ ‘knee’, γωνία ‘a corner, angle’; Latin *genū* ‘knee’; Gothic *kniu* ‘knee’; Old Icelandic *kné* ‘knee’; Faroese *knæ* ‘knee’; Norwegian *kne* ‘knee’; Swedish *knä* ‘knee’; Danish *knæ* ‘knee’; Old English *cnēo* ‘knee’; Old Frisian *kniu*, *knī*, *knē* ‘knee’; Old Saxon *kneo*, *knio* ‘knee’; Dutch *knie* ‘knee’; Old High German *chniu* ‘knee’ (New High German *Knie*); Hittite *gi-e-nu*, *gi-nu* ‘knee’; Tocharian A (dual) *kanweṃ*, B (dual) *kenī(ne)* ‘knees’. Pokorny 1959:380—381 **ĝenu-*, **ĝneu-* ‘knee, angle’; Walde 1927—1932.I:586—587 **ĝeneu-*; Mann 1984—1987:393 **ĝenu* (**ĝŏn-*, **ĝən-*) ‘bend of the leg, knee; angle’, 401 **ĝnu* ‘knee’; Watkins 1985:19 **genu-* and 2000:26 **genu-* ‘knee’ (also ‘angle’) (variant form **gneu-*; *o*-grade form **gonu*); Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:100, I:173, I:233, II:815 **k̂’enu-*, **k̂’onu-*, **k̂’n-eu̯-* and 1995.I:86, I:149, I:202, I:688, fn. 13, **k̂’enu-*, **k̂’onu-*, **k̂’n-ew-* ‘knee’; Mallory—Adams 1997:336 **ĝónu* ‘knee’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:429 and I:447; Boisacq 1950:153—154 **ĝeneu-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:321 and I:336—337; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:232—233 and I:244; Hofmann 1966:47; Beekes 2010.I:283 **ǵenu*, **ǵonu* and I;294 Greek γωνία < **γονϜ-ία*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:273; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:592—593 **ĝōn-u*; De Vaan 2008:259; Orël 2003:218 Proto-Germanic **knewan*; Kroonen 2013:296 Proto-Germanic **knewa-* ‘knee’; Feist 1939:313 Gothic *kniu* < **ĝn-eu̯-*, base **ĝeneu̯-*; Lehmann 1986:220 **ĝenu-*, **ĝnew-* ‘knee, angle’; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:395 Germanic stem **knewa-*; De Vries 1977:320 **ĝenu-*; Onions 1966:507 **gneu-*, **geneu-*, **goneu-*; Klein 1971:403—404; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:219—220; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:382; Kluge—Seebold 1989:383 **ǵenu-*; Van Windekens 1976—1982.I:187 **ĝonu*; Adams 1999:193 **ĝonu*; Kloekhorst 2008b:467—468; Sturtevant 1951:40, §62d, **génw*; Puhvel 1984— .4:146—151 **ĝonu-* or **ĝ(ŋ)nu-*.

C. Proto-Altaic **kēnʸa* ‘front leg, armpit, angle’: Proto-Tungus **kenʸe-/*kunʸe-* ‘shin, stockings’ > Evenki *keńete*, *kuńetu* ‘stockings’; Lamut /

Even *kēńeče*, *kō̄nčen* ‘shin’. Proto-Mongolian **ka(i)* ‘front legs’ > Written Mongolian *qa* ‘the part of a foreleg of an animal between the shoulder and knee’; Khalkha *χaa* ‘front legs’; Buriat *χa* ‘front legs’; Kalmyk *χā* ‘front legs’. Proto-Turkic **Kāynat* ‘wing, fin’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qanat* ‘wing’; Karakhanide Turkic *qanat* ‘wing’; Turkish *kanad* ‘wing, fin’; Gagauz *qanat* ‘wing’; Azerbaijani *ɑanad*, (dial.) *gänäd* ‘wing’; Turkmenian *ɑānat* ‘wing’; Uzbek *qanɔt* ‘wing’; Karaim *qanat* ‘wing, fin’; Tatar *qanat* ‘wing’; Bashkir *qanat* ‘wing’; Kirghiz *qanat* ‘wing’; Kazakh *qanat* ‘wing’; Noghay *qanat* ‘wing’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qanat* ‘wing, fin’, *qanar* ‘fin’; Chuvash *śonat* ‘wing, fin’; Yakut *kïnat*, *kïǰïat* ‘wing’; Dolgan *kïnat* ‘wing’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:664—665 **kēńa* ‘front leg, armpit, angle’.

Buck 1949:4.36 knee; 9.192 knot (sb.).

488. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ep’*-:
(vb.) **k’ep’*- ‘to cut, chop, split, or break into small pieces; to munch, to chew’;
(n.) **k’ep’-a* ‘the act of cutting, chopping, splitting, or breaking into small pieces, the act of mincing; chewing (the cud), rumination’

A. Afrasian: Semitic: Arabic *ḳabaʔa* ‘to eat, to fill oneself with drink’.
B. Proto-Kartvelian **k’ep’*- ‘to cut or chop into small pieces, to mince’: Georgian *k’ep’*- ‘to cut or chop into small pieces, to mince’; Svan *k’əp’*- ‘to cut or chop into small pieces, to mince’. Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:190 **ḳeṗ*-; Fähnrich 2007:229 **ḳeṗ*-.
C. Proto-Altaic **kēpu*- ‘to chew’: Proto-Tungus **keb*- ‘to gnaw, to bite (with front teeth); to pierce through’ > Manchu *keifule*- ‘to pierce, to go through (arrows)’, *keifu* ‘a type of arrow used for shooting tigers, bears, and buck deer’; Evenki *kewde*- ‘to pierce through’; Lamut / Even *kēwri*- ‘to gnaw, to bite (with front teeth)’. Proto-Mongolian **kebi*- ‘to chew’ > Mongolian *kebi*- ‘to chew the cud, to ruminate’, *kebidesü* ‘rumination, cud’, *kebilge* ‘cud, rumination’; Khalkha *χeve*- ‘to chew’; Buriat *χibe*- ‘to chew the cud, to ruminate’; Kalmyk *kew*- ‘to chew’; Ordos *kewe*- ‘to chew’; Monguor *kēyi*- ‘to chew’. Proto-Turkic **gēb*- ‘to chew’ > Turkish *geviş* ‘chewing the cud, ruminating’, *gevele*- ‘to chew’; Karakhanide Turkic *kev*- ‘to chew’; Gagauz *gevše*- ‘to chew’; Azerbaijani *göyüš* ‘cud’; Turkmenian *gā̄vü-š* ‘cud’; Uzbek *kawša*- ‘to chew’; Uighur *köyši*- ‘to chew’; Karaim *kövše-n*- ‘to chew’; Tatar *küšä*- ‘to chew’; Bashkir *köyöš* ‘cud’; Kirghiz *küy-š-ö*- ‘to chew, to chew the cud, to ruminate’; Kazakh *küyis* ‘cud’; Noghay *küyze*- ‘to chew’; Chuvash *kavle*- ‘to chew’; Yakut *kebī*- ‘to chew’. Poppe 1960:20, 46, and 135; Street 1974:16 **kebi*- ‘to ruminate, to chew the cud’; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:667 **kēpu*- ‘to chew’.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 5.11 eat.

489. Proto-Nostratic root (Eurasiatic only) **k’er-*:
(vb.) **k’er-* ‘to decay, to wear out, to wither, to waste away, to become old’;
(n.) **k’er-a* ‘old age, old person’; (adj.) ‘decayed, worn out, withered, wasted, old’

A. Proto-Indo-European **k’er(H)-/*k’or(H)-/*k’ṛ(H)-* ‘to decay, to wear out, to wither, to waste away, to become old’: Sanskrit *járati* ‘to grow old, to become decrepit, to decay, to wear out, to wither, to be consumed, to break up, to perish’, *jára-ḥ* ‘becoming old, wearing out, wasting’, *jaraṇá-ḥ* ‘old, decayed’, *jīrṇá-ḥ* ‘old, worn out, withered, wasted, decayed’, *jūrṇá-ḥ* ‘decayed, old’, *járat-* ‘old, ancient, infirm, decayed, dry (as herbs), no longer frequented (as temples) or in use’, *jarā́* ‘old age’; Avestan *zar-* ‘to grow old, to waste away’; Armenian *cer* ‘old’; Greek γεραιός ‘old’, γέρων ‘(n.) an old man; (adj.) old’, γῆρας ‘old age’; Old Icelandic *karl* ‘man, old man’; Old English *carl* ‘man’ (Norse loan), *ceorl* ‘free man of the lowest class; free man; common man; husband; man, hero’; Old Frisian *tzerl*, *tzirl* ‘free man without rank’; Dutch *kerel* ‘free man without rank’; Old High German *karl* ‘man, husband’; New High German *Kerl* ‘fellow, chap, guy’ (< Middle Low German *kerle* ‘free man without rank’); Old Church Slavic *zьrěti* ‘to ripen, to mature’, *zьrělъ* ‘ripe’; Slovenian *zoríti* ‘to ripen’. Rix 1998a:146—147 **ĝerh$_2$-* ‘to decay, to become old’; Pokorny 1959:390—391 **ĝer-*, **ĝerə-*, **ĝrē-* ‘to decay, to mature, to grow old’; Walde 1927—1932.I:599—600 **ĝer-*, **ĝerē-*; Mann 1984—1987:394 **ĝer-* (**ĝerōnt-*, **ĝerənt-*, **gern̥t-*) ‘old; old man’, 394 **ĝerəlos* (**ĝorl-*) ‘old, mature; old age, old man’, 394 **ĝergeros* ‘old, mellow’, 394—395 **ĝerṷos* ‘old; age’, 405 **ĝor-* ‘ripe, old, mature’; Watkins 1985:20 **gerə-* and 2000:27 **gerə-* ‘to grow old’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.I:224 **k̂’erH-/*k̂’ṛH-* and 1995.I:151, I:177, I:187, I:194 **k̂’erH-/*k̂’ṛH-* ‘old’; Mallory—Adams 1997:152 **ĝerh$_a$-* ‘to age, to mature’, 237 **ĝerh$_a$-* ‘to ripen, to age’, 248 **ĝerh$_a$-* ‘to grow, to age, to mature’, 409 **ĝerh$_a$-ont-* ‘old man’, 409—410 **ĝerh$_a$-o-s* ‘old man’, **ĝerh$_a$-* ‘to age’; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:420, I:421, I:422, I:439, and I:443; Frisk 1970—1973.I:301—302; Boisacq 1950:145 **ĝerē-*; Hofmann 1966:43—44; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:217—218; Beekes 2010.I:268—269 **ǵerh$_2$-*; Orël 2003:210 Proto-Germanic **karlaz* ~ **kerlaz*; Kroonen 2013:285 Proto-Germanic **kerla-* ~ **karla-* ‘man, freeman’; Onions 1966:175; Klein 1971:136 **ger(ē)-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:365; Kluge—Seebold 1989:366 **ǵerə-*; Vercoullie 1898:133; Derksen 2008:548 **ǵorh$_2$-eie-* and 552—553 **ǵrh$_2$-*.

B. Proto-Altaic **kěru* (~ *k$^h$-*) ‘old, worn out’: Proto-Mongolian **kari-*, **karsi-* ‘to weaken, to become old’ > Written Mongolian *qari-* ‘to weaken, to become old’; Khalkha *χari-*, *χarši-* ‘to weaken, to become old’; Buriat *χaraši-* ‘to weaken, to become old’; Kalmyk *χärʹ-* ‘to weaken, to become

old’. Proto-Turkic **Kạrï-* ‘(adj.) old; (n.) old man or woman; (vb.) to become old’ > Old Turkic (Old Uighur) *qarï* ‘old’, *qarï-* ‘to become old’; Karakhanide Turkic *qarï* ‘old’, *qarï-* ‘to become old’; Turkish *kart* ‘dry, hard, tough, wizened, old’, *kart-* ‘to become dry, tough, shriveled, old’, *kartlık* ‘dryness, toughness; loss of the freshness of youth’, *karı* ‘woman, wife’; Gagauz *qarï* ‘old; old man or woman; woman’; Azerbaijani *ɑarï* ‘old woman’; Turkmenian *ɑarrï* ‘old’, *ɑarra-* ‘to become old’; Uzbek *qari* ‘old’, *qari-* ‘to become old’; Uighur *qeri* ‘old; old man or woman’, *qeri-* ‘to become old’; Tatar *qarï*, *qart* ‘old’; Bashkir *qarï*, *qart* ‘old’; Kirghiz *qarï*, *qart* ‘old’, *qarï-* ‘to become old’; Kazakh *qarï* ~ *qɛrï*, *qart* ‘old’; Noghay *qart* ‘old’; Tuva *qïrï-* ‘to become old’; Yakut *kïrïy-* ‘to become old’; Dolgan *kïrïy-* ‘to become old’. Décsy 1998:124 Proto-Turkic **qary* ‘old’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:671—672 **kěru* (~ *k‘-*) ‘old, worn out’.

Buck 1949:14.15 old. Greenberg 2002:124, no. 283.

490. Proto-Nostratic root **k’er-*:
(vb.) **k’er-* ‘to gather, to collect; to take a handful, to pick, to pluck’;
(n.) **k’er-a* ‘collection, gathering, handful’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’[e]r-* ‘to gather, to collect; to take a handful, to pick, to pluck’: Proto-Semitic **k’ar-ad-* ‘to gather, to collect; to take a handful, to pick, to pluck’ > Arabic *ḳarada* ‘to collect, to gather, to hoard up’; Akkadian *ḳarādu* ‘to pluck wool’, *ḳerdu* ‘plucked wool’, *ḳurrudu* ‘with hair falling out in tufts’ (for the etymology, cf. Von Soden 1965—1981.II:901—902). Proto-Semitic **k’ar-am-* ‘to glean’ > Geez / Ethiopic *ḳarama*, *ḳarrama* [**ቀረመ**] ‘to glean, to harvest’, *ḳarmāy* [**ቀርማይ**] ‘briar, weeds, oats’, *taḳrām* [**ተቅራም**] ‘gleanings, crop, harvest’; Tigrinya *ḳärämä* ‘to glean’; Amharic *ḳärrämä* ‘to glean’, *ḳärm* ‘stubble, gleaning’; Argobba *ḳärrämä* ‘to glean’; Gurage *ḳerrämä* ‘to glean’, (Wolane) *ḳärma* ‘gleanings’; Tigre *ḳärim* ‘plowed field, arable land’ (probably ‘gleaned’ > ‘arable’). Leslau 1979:497—498 and 1987:441.
B. Elamo-Dravidian: Middle Elamite *ki-ir-pi* ‘hands’; Royal Achaemenid Elamite *kur-pi* ‘hands’. Dravidian: Koṇḍa *ker-* ‘to take handfuls or small quantities out of a mass (of grain, etc.), to take into a ladle before serving, to collect into a heap and pick up’; Pengo *gre-* ‘to scoop up with the hand’; Manḍa *grepa-* ‘to scoop up’; Kui *grāpa* (*grāt-*), *grēpa* (*grēt-*) ‘to scoop up, to shovel into with the hands, to scrape together’; Kuwi *grecali* (*gret-*) ‘to gather up, to take a handful’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:178, no. 1959.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **k’er-b-/*k’r-eb-* ‘to gather, to collect’: Georgian *k’reb-/k’rib-/k’rb-*, *k’erb-* ‘to gather’; Mingrelian *k’orob-* ‘to gather’; Laz *k’orob-* ‘to gather’. Schmidt 1962:120 **ḳereb-*; Klimov 1964:115 **ḳerb-* and 1998:100 **ḳreb-* : **ḳrb-* ‘to gather, to get together’; Fähnrich—

Sardshweladse 1995:207—208 **ḳrab-*; Fähnrich 2007:253 **ḳrab-*. Proto-Kartvelian **k’r-ep-/*k’r-ip-* ‘to gather, to pick (fruit, flowers)’: Georgian *k’rep-/k’rip-* ‘to gather, to pick (fruit, flowers)’; Mingrelian *k’orop-* ‘to gather, to pick (fruit, flowers)’. Schmidt 1962:120; Klimov 1964:115 **ḳrep-* and 1998:100 **ḳrep-* : **ḳrip-* ‘to gather, to pick (fruit, flowers)’. Perhaps also Georgian *k’ert’-/k’rt’-* ‘to pluck (out)’. Klimov 1998:90 **ḳerṭ-* : **ḳrṭ-* ‘to pluck (out)’.

D. Proto-Indo-European **k’er-/*k’or-/*k’ḛr-* ‘to gather (together), to collect, to take a handful’: Greek ἀγείρω (< **n̥-ger-i̯ō*) ‘to come together, to assemble; to gather, to collect’, ἀγορά (Ionic ἀγορή) ‘an assembly of the people; place of assembly (like the Roman *Forum*)’; Latin *grex* ‘flock, herd’; Welsh *gre* ‘herd’; Old Icelandic *kremja* ‘to squeeze (especially of berries, grapes, etc.)’; Old English *crammian* ‘to cram, to stuff’; Latvian *gùrste* ‘bundle of flax’; Russian *gorst'* [горсть] ‘cupped hand’; Ukrainian *(pry)hortáty* ‘to clasp’; Polish *garnąć* ‘to gather’; Sanskrit *gr̥̄ma-ḥ* ‘heap, crowd, community’. Rix 1998a:246 (?) **h₂ger-* ‘to gather, to collect; to come together, to assemble’; Pokorny 1959:382—383 **ger-* ‘to collect’; Walde 1927—1932.I:590—591 **ger-*; Mann 1984—1987:302 **gr̥t-* ‘to gather, to assemble’; Mallory—Adams 1997:217 **ger-* ‘(vb.) to gather; (n.) herd, crowd’; Watkins 1985:19 **ger-* and 2000:27 **ger-* ‘to gather’; Boisacq 1950:6—7; Frisk 1970—1973.I:8—9 and I:13—14; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:9 and I:12—13; Hofmann 1966:2; Schwyzer 1953.I:433, note 5; Beekes 2010.I:10 **h₂ger-*; Mayrhofer 1956—1980.I:353; De Vaan 2008:273; Ernout—Meillet 1979:283 **gre-g-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:622 **gre-g-* < **gere-*; Derksen 2008:199 Balto-Slavic **gursti-*; Orël 2003:220 Proto-Germanic **krammjanan*, 220 **krampjanan*; Kroonen 2013:301 Proto-Germanic **krammōn-* ‘to squeeze’; De Vries 1977:330 **ger-*; Skeat 1898:140; Onions 1966:224; Klein 1971:173 **ger-* ‘to gather together’.

E. Uralic: Finnish *kerätä-* ‘to collect, to gather together, to gather up; to pick’, *keruu* ‘collection, gathering’, *keräys* ‘collection’, *kertyä-* ‘to accumulate, to pile up’, *kerääntyä-* ‘to collect, to gather; to assemble’; Karelian *kereä-* ‘to gather, to collect’.

Buck 1949:12.21 collect, gather. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:330—331, no. 206, **ḳʌrpʌ* ‘to gather fruit’; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:441—442, no. 286; Hakola 2000:65, no. 253.

491. Proto-Nostratic root **k’ir-* (~ **k’er-*) or **k’ur-* (~ **k’or-*):
(vb.) **k’ir-* or **k’ur-* ‘to cut, to cut into, to incise, to engrave, to notch; to cut off, to sever, to nip off, to clip; to cut in two, to split’;
(n.) **k’ir-a* or **k’ur-a* ‘cut, slit, notch; chip, piece cut off’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'e(e)r-*, **k'o(o)r-* 'to cut, to cut into, to incise, to engrave, to notch; to cut off, to sever, to nip off, to clip; to cut in two, to split': Proto-Semitic **k'ar-* 'to cut, to cut into, to incise, to engrave, to notch; to cut off, to sever, to nip off, to clip; to cut in two, to split' > Arabic *ḳaraṣa* 'to pinch, to nip, to bite', *ḳaraḥa* 'to wound', *ḳaraḍa* 'to cut, to sever, to cut off, to clip, to gnaw, to nibble, to bite', *ḳaraša* 'to gnash, to grind (one's teeth), to nibble, to crunch, to chew', *ḳarama* 'to gnaw, to nibble', *ḳarmaša* 'to eat, to crunch, to nibble', *ḳaraṭa* 'to cut into small pieces, to chop, to mince', *ḳarṭama* 'to cut off, to clip', *ḳarḳaḍa* 'to gnaw, to bite'; Hebrew *ḳāraṣ* [קָרַץ] 'to nip, to pinch', *ḳāraḥ* [קָרַח] 'to shave oneself bald, to make bald', *ḳardōm* [קַרְדֹּם] 'adze, axe', *ḳereš* [קֶרֶשׁ] 'board, plank'; Akkadian *ḳarāṣu* 'to nip off, to gnaw', *ḳarāšu* 'to trim, to cut wood, to carve (meat)'; Ugaritic *ḳrṣ* 'to bite'; Ḥarsūsi *ḳerōṣ* 'to nip', *ḳerōḥ* 'to shave, to cut', *ḳerōź* 'to cut up', *ḳerōṭ* 'to bite'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *ḳérḥ* 'to cut off all the hair', *ḳérɔ́ṣ* 'to nip', *ḳérɔ́ẕ̲* 'to cut, to cut all the hair off something'; Mehri *ḳáwrəḥ* 'to cut, to shave', *ḳərūṣ* 'to nip', *ḳərūṭ* 'to chop', *ḳərūź* 'to reive (camels); to cut (hair) with scissors'; Geez / Ethiopic *ḳaraḍa* [ቀረፀ] 'to lacerate, to tear away, to cut off, to shear, to shave', *ḳʷārafa* [ቋረፈ] 'to cut into little pieces, to tear, to bite from an oversize piece', *ḳarrəḥa* [ቀርሐ], *ḳarḥa* [ቀርሐ] 'to shave, to make bald', *ḳaraṣa* [ቀረጸ] 'to incise, to scar, to scalp, to engrave, to carve, to cut, to chisel, to shear, to shave', *ḳarṭama* [ቀርጠመ] 'to munch, to chew food that is hard'; Tigrinya *ḳʷarräfä* 'to eat, to browse, to eat the *ḳʷarf-* root', *ḳäräṣä*, *ḳʷäräṣä* 'to cut, to make an incision', *ḳʷärṭäṭä* 'to pinch, to break off leaves'; Amharic *ḳʷärräfä* 'to bite an oversize piece', *ḳʷärräṭä* 'to cut off', *ḳʷäräṭṭäṭä* 'to be nibbled, to be indented', *ḳʷäräṭṭämä* 'to munch, to crush', *ḳʷärämmäṭä* 'to nibble, to tear'; Gurage *ḳʷärrärä* 'to become bald', *ḳəräṭämä* 'to crush, to crush a member of the body of a living being', *ḳäräsä* 'to break bread, *to break off a piece', *ḳʷəräṭṭämä* 'to crunch', *ḳəräṭäṭä* 'to amputate, to cut off'. Murtonen 1989:386 and 388; Klein 1987:592, 592—593, 596, and 597; Leslau 1979:500, 501, 502—503 and 1987:440—441, 441, 444, 445; Zammit 2002:338. Berber: Tuareg *əɣrəs* 'to slit the throat of an animal as part of a ritual'. Proto-East Cushitic **k'er-*/**k'ur-* or **k'uur-* 'to cut' > Galla / Oromo *k'or-* 'to write'; Somali *qor-i* 'to carve, to cut, to write'; Rendille *xor*/*xora* 'to carve skin'. Sasse 1979:5. Proto-Southern Cushitic **k'eer-* 'to cut (meat)' > Iraqw *qer-* 'to give an animal for slaughter'; Dahalo *k'eer-* 'to cut (meat ?)'. Ehret 1980:252. Ehret 1995:238, no. 425, **k'eer-*/**k'oor-* 'to cut into'. [Orël—Stolbova 1995:338, no. 1556, **ḳaraʕ-* 'to cut'.]

B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'r-ečʼk'-*/**k'r-ičʼk'-*/**k'ɾ-čʼk'-* 'to cut, to cut off': Georgian *k'rečʼ-*/*k'ričʼ-* 'to cut, to cut off'; Mingrelian *k'iračʼ-*/*k'iričʼ-*/*k'irčʼ-* 'to cut'; Laz *k'ričʼ-* 'to cut, to cut off'. Klimov 1998:100 **ḳreç̌-*/**ḳriç̌-*/**ḳrç̌-* 'to cut, to cut off'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:208—209 **ḳreç̌-*/**ḳriç̌-*; Fähnrich 2007:254 **ḳreç̌-*/**ḳriç̌-*. The expected cluster *-čʼk'-*

in Mingrelian and Laz has been reduced to *-č’-* through dissimilation with initial *k’-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k’er-/*k’or-/*k’r̥-* (extended form: **k’er-b$^{h}$-/*k’or-b$^{h}$-/*k’r̥-b$^{h}$-*) ‘to cut, to carve, to notch’: Greek γράφω ‘to write’; Old Icelandic *krota* ‘to engrave’, *kurfr* ‘chip, cut-off piece’; Old English *ceorfan* ‘to cut’, *cyrf* ‘cutting’; Old Frisian *kerva* ‘to cut’; Dutch *kerven* ‘to cut’; Middle High German *kerban* ‘to cut, to notch’ (New High German *kerben*). Rix 1998a:165 **gerb$^{h}$-* ‘to scratch, to incise, to notch’; Pokorny 1959:392 **gerebh-* ‘to slit’; Walde 1927—1932.I:606—607 **gerbh-*; Mann 1984—1987:269 **gerbh-* ‘to cut; fate’, 289—290 **grabhō* ‘to scratch, to scrape’; Watkins 1985:20 **gerbh-* and 2000:27 **gerbh-* ‘to scratch’; Gamkrelidze—Ivanov 1984.II:624 **(s)k’reb[$^{h}$]-* and 1995.I:536 **(s)k’reb$^{h}$-* ‘to scratch, to scrape, to draw’ (also **k’r̥b$^{h}$-*); Mallory—Adams 1997:143 **(s)grebh-* ‘to scratch, to cut’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:235—236 **gerbh-*; Boisacq 1950:155 **gerph-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:324—326 **gerbh-*; Hofmann 1966:47; Beekes 2010.I:285—286 **gerb$^{h}$-*; Orël 2003:213 Proto-Germanic **kerƀanan*; Kroonen 2013:285 Proto-Germanic **kerban-* ‘to carve’; De Vries 1977:331—332 **ger-* and 335 **ger-*; Onions 1966:149 West Germanic **kerfan*; Klein 1971:116 **gerbh-* ‘to scratch’; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:364 **gerbh-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:366.

D. Proto-Altaic **kiro-* ‘to cut, to mince’: Proto-Tungus **kire-* ‘to mince; to be broken off, to break off; to gnaw’ > Evenki *kirge-* ‘to gnaw’; Lamut / Even *qiɾɢʉ-* ‘to gnaw’; Ulch *kirki-ču-* ‘to gnaw’, *kiri* ‘front tooth’; Orok *keren-* ‘to mince’, *kirī-* ‘to grin, to show one’s teeth’; Nanay / Gold *qiarqialį-*, *kerkieli-* ‘to gnaw’, *kermē-* ‘to be broken off, to break off’. Proto-Mongolian **kiru-* ‘to mince, to cut into small pieces’ > Written Mongolian *kira-*, *kiru-* ‘to cut into small pieces, to mince’, *kirbe-* ‘to shorten gradually; to trim or clip evenly; to level up’; Khalkha *χ́ar-* ‘to cut into small pieces, to mince’; Buriat *kirma-* ‘to cut into small pieces, to mince’; Kalmyk *kur-* ‘to cut into small pieces, to mince’, *kirwə-* ‘to cut off’; Dagur *kereči-* ‘to cut into small pieces, to mince’. Proto-Turkic **Kïr-* ‘(vb.) to break, to demolish; to scrape, to shave; (adj.) small’ > Karakhanide Turkic *qïr-* ‘to break, to demolish; to scrape; to tear out’; Turkish *kır-* ‘to break, to split; to kill, to destroy’, *kıran* ‘breaking, destructive’, *kırık* ‘broken, cracked; break, fracture, fragment’; Gagauz *qïr-* ‘to break, to demolish’; Azerbaijani *ɢïr-* ‘to break, to demolish’; Turkmenian *ɢïr-* ‘to break, to demolish; to scrape, to shave’; Uzbek *qir-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Uighur *qi(r)-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Tatar *qïr-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Bashkir *qïr-* ‘to break, to demolish; to scrape, to shave’; Kirghiz *qïr-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Kazakh *qïr-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Noghay *qïr-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qïr-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Tuva *qïr-* ‘to scrape, to shave’; Chuvash *χər-* ‘to break, to demolish’; Yakut *kïrïy-* ‘to shear, to cut’, *kïra* ‘small’; Dolgan *kïrïy-* ‘to shear, to cut’, *kïra* ‘small’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:679—680 **kiro* ‘to cut, to mince’.

Buck 1949:4.58 bite (vb.); 9.22 cut (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:437—438, no. 282.

492. Proto-Nostratic (Eurasiatic only) (n.) **k'om-a* 'hand, fist':
Perhaps related to:
(vb.) **k'um-* 'to seize, to grasp, to press together';
(n.) **k'um-a* 'heap, mass, lump, clump; pressure, compression'

A. Proto-Uralic **komɜ(rɜ)* 'handfull, cupped hand': (?) Finnish *kahmalo*, *kamahlo* 'double handful'; (?) Estonian *kamal* 'cupped hands, the hollow of the two hands joined; double handful'; Lapp / Saami (Norwegian) *goabmer* 'the two curved open hands put together to receive or catch something'; Mordvin (Erza) *komoro* 'handfull', (Moksha) *komor* 'hollow of the hand'; (?) Zyrian / Komi *kami̯r* 'hanfull'; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets *hammara* 'hand'. Collinder 1955:22 and 1977:42; Rédei 1986—1988:175 **komɜ(rɜ)*; Décsy 1990:100 **komara* 'handfull, cupped hand'.
B. Proto-Altaic **kompo* 'fist, wrist': Proto-Tungus **komba-* 'hand, wrist, spoke-bone' > Negidal *komboχī̯* 'hand, wrist, spoke-bone'; Orok *qomi̯ū* 'wrist, hand, spoke-bone'; Nanay / Gold *qombi̯o* 'hand, wrist, spoke-bone'; Udihe *komugu* 'hand, wrist, spoke-bone'. Proto-Turkic **Kop-* 'fist, wrist' > Kirghiz *qobuq* 'arthritis of the metacarpus'; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qoboq* 'wrist'; Tuva *qowades* 'fist'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2005:718 **kompo* 'fist, wrist'. The putative Mongolian cognates cited by Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak are not included here.

Buck 1949:4.33 hand. Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 631, **goʕ̲mV* ¬ **gomʕ̲V* 'hand, fist'.

493. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'or-a* or **k'ar-a* 'crane':

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kokku* (< **kor-kku* < **korV-nk-/-nkk-*) 'common crane', *kuruku* 'heron, stork, crane, bird, gallinaceous fowl'; Malayalam *kokku*, *kokkan*, *kocca*, *kuriyan* 'paddy bird, heron', *kuru* 'heron'; Kannaḍa *kokku*, *kokkare* 'crane', *kukku* 'heron, crane; Telugu *koṅga*, *kokkera*, *kokkarāyi* 'crane'; Kolami *koŋga* 'crane'; Tuḷu *korṅgu* 'crane, stork'; Parji *kokkal* 'crane'; Gondi *koruku* 'crane'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:191, no. 2125; Krishnamurti 2003:13 and 16 **korV-nk-/-nkk-* 'a stark, crane'.
B. Proto-Indo-European **k'er-/*k'or-/*k'r-* 'crane': Greek γέρανος 'crane'; Latin *grūs* 'crane'; Armenian *krunk* 'crane'; Gaulish *-garanos* in *tri-garanos* 'three cranes'; Welsh *garan* 'crane'; Old English *cran* 'crane', *cranoc*, *cornuc* 'crane'; Old Saxon *krano* 'crane'; Middle Low German *krān*, *krōn* 'crane', *kranek* 'crane'; Dutch *kraan* 'crane'; Old High German *kran* 'crane' (New High German *Kran*), *kranuh*, *kranih* 'crane' (New High German *Kranich*); Lithuanian *gérvė* 'crane'; Latvian *dzẽrve* 'crane'; Old

Prussian *gerwe* ‘crane’; Old Church Slavic *žeravъ* ‘crane’. Pokorny 1959:383—385 (especially 383—384) **ger-* (onomatopoeic) ‘to cry hoarsely’; Walde 1927—1932.I:591—593 (especially I:592) **ger-*; Mann 1984—1987:269 **gerənos* ‘crane’, 269 **gerə̯uis*, **gerṷiə*; Watkins 1985:20 **gerə-* and 2000:27 **gerə-* (oldest form **gerə̯$_2$-*) ‘to cry hoarsely’; Mallory—Adams 1997:140—141 **ger-* ‘crane’; Boisacq 1950:144 **ǧer-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:299; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:216; Hofmann 1966:43 **ger-*; **geren-*, **g(e)rōu-*; Beekes 2010.I:267 **ǵerh$_2$-en-/-eu-*; Ernout—Meillet 1979:284 **gerə-*; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:624; De Vaan 2008:274—275; Kroonen 2013:301 Proto-Germanic **krana/ōn-* ‘crane’; Orël 2003:220 Proto-Germanic **kranōn*; Onions 1966:225 **ger-*; Klein 1971:173 **ger-*; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:400 **ger-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:409; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:137—138; Smoczyński 2007.1:174 **gerh$_2$-u-*, **gerh$_2$-no-*, **gr̥h$_2$-u-s*; Derksen 2008:558.

C. Proto-Uralic **korkɜ* (~ **karke*) ‘crane’: Finnish *kurki*/*kurje-* ‘crane’; Estonian *kurg* ‘crane’; Lapp / Saami *guor'gâ* ‘crane’; Mordvin *kargo* ‘crane’; Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *harü* ‘crane’; Selkup Samoyed *kara* ‘crane’; Kamassian *kuro* ‘crane’. Collinder 1955:29, 1960:407 **korkõ*, and 1977:48; Rédei 1986—1988:128 **karke*; Janhunen 1977b:54 **kârâ-*; Décsy 1990:100 **karka* ‘crane’. Yukaghir (Southern / Kolyma) *kurčəŋ* ‘Siberian white crane’. Nikolaeva 2006:228.

Illič-Svityč 1965:341 and 1971—1984.I:292—293, no. 159, **karʌ*/**kurʌ* ‘crane’ (the putative Semitic cognates cited by Illič-Svityč are loans from Sumerian [cf. von Soden 1965—1981.I:510—511 and Leslau 1987:291]); Bomhard—Kerns 1994:445, no. 290; Hakola 2000:84, no. 346, **kurkɜ*; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 921, **kurV* ~ **karV* ‘crane’.

494. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’os-a* ‘bone’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’os-* (~ **k’as-*) ‘bone’: (?) Semitic: Arabic *ḳaṣṣ* (< **k’ass-* ?) ‘sternum, breastbone’. Egyptian *qs* ‘bone’; Coptic *kas* [ⲕⲁⲥ] ‘bone’. Erman—Grapow 1921:192 and 1926—1963.5:68—69; Hannig 1995:865; Faulkner 1962:281; Gardiner 1957:596; Vycichl 1983:87—88; Černý 1976:63. Berber: Tuareg *əγəs* ‘bone’; Tamazight *iγəs* ‘bone’; Kabyle *iγəss* ‘bone’; Nefusa *γəss* ‘bone’; Ghadames *γəss* ‘bone’; Mzab *iγəs* ‘bone’; Wargla *iγəs* ‘bone’; Riff *iγəs* ‘bone’; Zenaga *isi* ‘bone’. West Chadic **(k’a-)k’as-* ‘bone’ > Hausa *ƙàšíí* ‘bone’; Tal *γə́s* ‘bone’; Yiwom *γas*, *γə́s* ‘bone’; Fyer *kʸêēs* ‘bone’; Dafo-Butura *kyâs* ‘bone’; Bokkos *kyas* ‘bone’; Geruma *ókaši* ‘bone’; Warji *ƙààsùùnà* ‘bone’; Tsagu *ƙéƙésə̀n* ‘bone’; Kariya *ƙáásù* ‘bone’; Miya *kúsí* ‘bone’; Siri *kessi*, *kʾə̄sī*, *kə̀sí* ‘bone’; Mburku *ƙáƙásə̀* ‘bone’; Jimbin *ƙə̀ƙási* ‘bone’. East Chadic **kas-* ‘bone’ > Kwang *kīsígī* ‘bone’; Kera *káskə́ŋ* ‘bone’; Dangla *kāso*, *káási*, *kààsò* ‘bone’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.II:36—37. Lowland East

Cushitic **k'as-* 'bone, leg' > Geleba *k'as* 'bone, leg'. Omotic: Nao *k'us* 'bone'; Dime *k'üs* 'bone'; Dizi *us* 'bone'; Sheko *ʔus* 'bone'. Fleming 1976a:317. Orël—Stolbova 1995:338—339, no. 1557, **ḳas-* 'bone'; Ehret 1995:240, no. 428, **k'os-* 'bone'; Takács 2011a:191 **ḳas-* 'bone'.

B. Proto-Dravidian **kōcc-* 'bone': Kuṛux *xōcol* 'bone'; Malto *qoclu* 'bone'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:197, no. 1288.

C. (?) Proto-Indo-European **$k^h$os-$t^h$-* (< **k'os-$t^h$-* ?) 'rib, bone': Latin *costa* 'rib'; Old Church Slavic *kostь* 'bone'; Russian *kost'* [кость] 'bone'; Polish *kość* 'bone'; Czech *kost* 'bone'; Bulgarian *kost* 'bone'; Serbo-Croatian *kôst* 'rib'; Macedonian *koska* 'bone'. Pokorny 1959:616 **kost-* 'bone'; Walde 1927—1932.I:464 **qost-*; Mann 1984—1987:539 **kosthi̯os* (**kost-*) (?) 'wood, stem, base, leg, bone'; Watkins 1985:32 **kost-* and 2000:44 **kost-* 'bone'; Ernout—Meillet 1979:146; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:281; De Vaan 2008:140 — De Vaan rejects the comparison of Latin *costa* with Old Church Slavic *kostь*; Derksen 2008:239 Pre-Slavic **kosti-*.

Buck 1949:4.16 bone. Blažek 2002:178, no. 41; Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:344, no. 219, **ĶaSʌ* 'bone'; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 999, **k[o]čV* (or **k[o]ĉV* ?) 'bone'. Note: the putative Mordvin cognates cited by Illič-Svityč do not belong here — they go back to Proto-Finno-Permian **kaskɜ* 'sacral region, lumbar region, small of the back' (cf. Rédei 1986—1988:648).

495. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ud-* (~ **k'od-*):
(vb.) **k'ud-* 'to strike';
(n.) **k'ud-a* 'stroke, blow, knock, cuff, thump'

A. Dravidian: [Tamil *kuṭṭu* (*kuṭṭi-*) 'to cuff, to strike with the knuckles on the head or temple'; Malayalam *kuṭṭuka* 'to pound, to cuff'; Kota *kuṭ-* (*kuc-*) 'to pound'; Toda *kuṭ-* (*kuṭy-*) 'to knock, to pound'; Kannaḍa *kuṭṭu* '(vb.) to beat, to strike, to pound, to bruise; (n.) a blow, a pulverized substance', *kuṭṭuvike*, *kuṭṭuha* 'beating'; Koḍagu *kuṭṭ-* (*kuṭṭi-*) 'to pound'; Tuḷu *kuṭṭuni* 'to thump, to give a blow, to strike with the fist, to pound, to bruise'; Kolami *kuḍk-* (*kuḍukt-*) 'to pound grain', *kuḍkeng* 'to knock on the door'; Naikṛi *kuṛk-* 'to pound, to knock'; Parji *kuṭip-* (*kuṭit-*) 'to punch, to knock (door)'; Koṇḍa *guṭ-* 'to knock with the fist'; Kui *guṭ-* 'fist'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:153, no. 1671. Tamil *koṭṭu* (*koṭṭi-*) '(vb.) to beat (as a drum, tambourine), to hammer, to beat (as a brazier), to clap, to strike with the palms, to pound (as paddy); (n.) beat, stroke, drumbeat, time-measure', *koṭṭāṉ*, *koṭṭaṉ* 'mallet', *koṭu* 'to thrash, to abuse roundly', *koṭai* 'blows, round abuse'; Malayalam *koṭṭuka* 'to beat so as to produce a sound (a drum, metals, bells), to clap hands', *koṭṭu* 'beating a drum, clapping hands, buffet, knocking of knees against each other', *koṭṭi* 'mallet', *koṭukka* 'to flog'; Kota *koṭk-* (*koṭky-*) 'to strike (with small hammer), to knock on (door), to strike tipcat in hole in ground'; Toda *kwïṭk-* (*kwïṭky-*) 'to tap (on

door, something with stick)’, *kwïṭ fiḷ* ‘woodpecker’; Kannaḍa *koḍati*, *koḍanti* ‘a wooden hammer’, *koṭṭaṇa* ‘beating the husk from paddy’, *koṭṭuha* ‘beating’, *kuḍu* ‘to beat’; Koḍagu *koṭṭ-* (*koṭṭi-*) ‘to tap, to beat (drum)’; Tuḷu *koḍapuni* ‘to forge, to hammer’; Telugu *koṭṭu* ‘(vb.) to beat, to strike, to knock; to strike (as a clock); (n.) a blow, stroke’; Parji *koṭṭ-* ‘to strike with an axe’; Gadba (Ollari) *koṭ-* ‘to strike with an axe’; Gondi *koṭ-* ‘to cut with an axe’, *koṭela* ‘mallet’; Pengo *koṭ-* ‘to thresh with flail’; Kuwi *koṭoli* ‘mallet’; Kuṛux *xoṭṭnā* (*xoṭṭyas*) ‘to break, to smash, to pierce, to break open’; Malto *qoṭe* ‘to break, to knock, to strike’, *qoṭure* ‘to knock against’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:187, no. 2063.] Either here or with **k’ʷad-* (~ **k’ʷəd-*) ‘(vb.) to strike, to beat, to smash, to pound; (n.) knock, stroke, thrust’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **k’od-* ‘to hew, to hollow’: Georgian *k’od-* ‘to castrate, to hew, to hollow’; Mingrelian [*k’od-*] ‘to hew, to hollow’; Laz [*k’od-*] ‘to hew, to hollow’. Klimov 1964:113 **ḳod-* and 1998:97 **ḳod-* ‘to hew, to hollow’; Fähnrich 2007:249 **ḳod-*; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:205—206 **ḳod-*; Schmidt 1962:119. Proto-Kartvelian **k’od-al-* ‘woodpecker’: Georgian *k’odal-* ‘woodpecker’; Mingrelian *k’ədə*, *k’idu-* ‘woodpecker’; Laz *k’id-*, *(m)k’ud* ‘woodpecker’. Klimov 1964:113 **ḳodal-* and 1998:98 **ḳodal-*.

Buck 1949:9.21 strike (hit, beat). Bomhard 1996a:228—230, no. 646.

496. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’ud-a* (~ **k’od-a*) ‘vessel, pot’:

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’od-* ‘vessel, pot’: Egyptian *qd* ‘vessel, pot’. Hannig 1995:867; Faulkner 1962:281; Erman—Grapow 1921:192. Lowland East Cushitic **k’od-* ‘receptacle’ > Galla / Oromo *k’odaa* ‘receptacle’. Southern Cushitic: Dahalo *k’oo̲ḍo* ‘a kind of calabash’. West Chadic **kwaɗ-* (< **k’wad-*) ‘calabash’ > Kirfi *kòdǒ* (Orël—Stolbova 1995:343, no. 1579, write *kwaḍo*) ‘calabash’; Geruma *koddo* ‘calabash’; Gera *kwaɗa* ‘calabash’; Siri *k’átí* ‘calabash’. Central Chadic (with prefix **nV-*) **nV-k’wad-* ‘bottle’ > Logone *ŋ-kooda* ‘bottle’. East Chadic **kwaɗ-* (< **k’wad-*) ‘pot’ > Dangla *kɔɗà* ‘pot’. Jungraithmayr—Ibriszimow 1994.I:25 **k’wd/*kwɗ* ‘calabash’, II:56—57. Orël—Stolbova 1995:343, no. 1579, **ḳod-* ‘vessel’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṭam* ‘waterpot, hub of a wheel’, *kuṭaṅkar* ‘waterpot’, *kuṭantam* ‘pot’, *kuṭukkai* ‘coconut or hard shell used as a vessel, pitcher’, *kuṭikai* ‘ascetic’s pitcher’, *kuṭuvai* ‘vessel with a small narrow mouth, pitcher of an ascetic’; Malayalam *kuṭam* ‘waterpot’, *kuṭukka* ‘shells (as of gourds) used as vessels, small cooking vessel with a narrow mouth’, *kuṭuka*, *kuṭuva* ‘small vessel’; Kota *koṛm* ‘waterpot with a small mouth’; Toda *kuṛky* ‘small pot’; Kannaḍa *koḍa* ‘earthen pitcher or pot’, *kuḍike* ‘small earthen, metal, or wooden vessel’, *guḍāṇa*, *guḍuvana* ‘large water-

vessel (used also for storing grain); earthen pot used for churning'; Koḍagu *kuḍike* 'pot in which food (especially rice) is cooked'; Tuḷu *kuḍki*, *kuḍkè*, *guḍke* 'small earthen vessel'; Telugu *kuḍaka*, *kuḍuka* 'cup, bowl, scoop, any cup-like thing', *guḍaka* 'a coconut or other similar shell', *guḍaka*, *kuḍaka* 'shell of a fruit prepared to serve as a snuff-box, etc., a small metal box', *kuḍalu* 'small earthen vessels'; Kuwi *ḍōka*, *ḍoka*, *dōkka* 'pot' (Telugu *kuḍaka* > **kḍōka* > *ḍōka*). Burrow—Emeneau 1984:151, no. 1651. Malayalam *kuṭṭakam*, *kuṭṭukam* 'cauldron, large vessel with a narrow mouth (especially for treasure)'; Koḍagu *kuṭṭuva* 'big copper pot for heating water'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:153, no. 1668.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'od-* 'vessel carved from a single piece of wood': Georgian *k'od-* 'vessel used for dry measures'; Mingrelian *k'od-* 'vessel carved from a single piece of wood'; Laz *k'od-* 'vessel used for dry measures'. Fähnrich 2007:249 **ḳod-*; Klimov 1964:113 **ḳod-* and 1998:98 **ḳod-* 'vessel made of one piece of wood, tub'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:206 **ḳod-*.

Buck 1949:5.26 pot. Bomhard 1996a:230—231, no. 647.

497. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'uɢ-n-a* (~ **k'oɢ-n-a*) 'gnat, mosquito':

A. Dravidian: Kannaḍa *guṅgāḍa*, *guṅgāḍi*, *guṅgāṇi* 'mosquito', *guṅguru* 'eye-fly; mosquito, gnat'; Tuḷu *gugguru* 'small insect infecting grain'; Kui *gungu* 'a large wood-boring insect'; Kuwi *goŋgara viha* 'a kind of mosquito'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:149, no. 1634(a). Assuming metathesis from **gugnu-* (originally **kuknu-*).

B. Proto-Kartvelian **k'oɢo-* 'gnat, mosquito': Georgian *k'oγo-*, *k'oγona-* 'gnat, mosquito'; Mingrelian *k'oγo(na)-*, *k'oγunia-* 'gnat, mosquito'. Laz *k'o(r)γon-* 'gnat, mosquito' and Svan *k'oγon-*, *k'uγun-*, *k'əγən-* 'gnat, mosquito' are Georgian loanwords. Klimov 1964:114 **ḳoγon-* and 1998:99 **ḳoɣo-* 'gnat'.

Bomhard 1996a:231, no. 648.

498. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ul-* (~ **k'ol-*):
(vb.) **k'ul-* 'to lift, to raise, to pick up; to rise, to ascend; to make high, to elevate';
(n.) **k'ul-a* 'highest point'

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'ul-* '(vb.) to lift, to raise, to make high; (n.) highest point': Semitic: Arabic *ḳalla* 'to pick up, to lift, to raise; to carry', *ḳallāṣ* 'rising', *ḳulla* 'highest point, tip, summit; apex; vertex'. Berber: Tashelhiyt / Shilha (Semlal) *ăɣli* 'to climb, to rise'; Tamazight *ɣuliy* 'to rise, to ascend'. Central Chadic **kul-* 'to lift' > Higi Nkafa *kulu* 'to lift'; Kapiski

*kəl-te* ‘to lift’; Higi Futu *kəli-* ‘to lift’; Fali Kiria *kəltu?* ‘to lift’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:349, no. 1604, **ḳul-* ‘to lift’.

B. Kartvelian: Svan (Upper Bal) *k’ältxi* ‘high’, *nak’lätxi* ‘height’.

C. Proto-Indo-European (**k’el-*/**k’ol-*/)**k’l-* ‘to lift, to raise, to pick up; to climb’ (found only in derivatives, such as: **k’lembʰ-*/**k’lombʰ-*/**k’lm̥bʰ-* ‘to climb’): Proto-West Germanic **klimban-* ‘to climb’ > Old English *climman*, *climban* ‘to climb’ (3rd sg. pret. *clamb*; past participle *clumben*); Middle Dutch *klimmen* ‘to climb’; Middle High German *klimben*, *klimmen* ‘to climb’ (New High German *klimmen*). Pokorny 1959:360 **glembh-*; Walde 1929—1932.I:616—617 **glembh-*; Mann 1984—1987:276 **glembhō*; Watkins 1985:18 **gel-* ‘to form into a ball’; Orël 2003:215—216 Proto-Germanic **klemƀanan*; Kroonen 2013:293 Proto-Germanic **klimman-* ~ **klimb/pan-* ‘to clamp; to climb’; Onions 1966:182 West Germanic **klimban*, nasalized variant of **kliƀan* ‘to stick fast, to adhere, to cleave to’; Klein 1971:142; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:377; Kluge—Seebold 1989:377; Walshe 1951:122. Old Icelandic *klífa* ‘to climb’; Faroese *klíva* ‘to climb’; Norwegian *kliva* ‘to climb’; Swedish *kliva* ‘to climb’; Danish *klyve* ‘to climb’. De Vries 1977:316—317; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:384. Note: Not related to Proto-Indo-European **k’el-* ‘to form into a ball’ as often assumed. The forms found in the daughter languages meaning ‘to hold onto, to grasp; to cling to, to adhere; etc.’ are further derivatives of Proto-Indo-European (**k’el-*/**k’ol-*/)**k’l-* ‘to lift, to raise, to pick up; to climb’ (cf. Orël 2003:216 Proto-Germanic **kliƀēnan* ~ **kliƀōjanan*, 216 **kliƀrōjanan*, 216 **klīƀanan*).

D. Proto-Eskimo **qulvaʁ-* ‘to rise or raise’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qulwaʁ-* ‘to rise’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qulvaʁ-* ‘to elevate’, *qulvani* ‘high up’; Central Siberian Yupik *qulvaʁ-* ‘to raise, to go up’, (Chaplinski) *qulvaq* ‘top’; Sirenik *qulvaniʁ-* ‘to raise, to rise, to go up’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *quvlaq-* ‘to ascend, to rise’; North Alaskan Inuit *qulvaq-*, *qužvaq-* ‘to move up into room further from door; to roll sleeves up’, *qulvasik-* ‘to be high up’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *quvva(q)-* ‘to raise’, *quvvasik-* ‘to be situated higher up’; Greenlandic Inuit *qułłaʁ-* ‘to raise (for example, on line), to be hung up’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:315. Proto-Eskimo **qulə-* ‘area above’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qulə-* ‘area above’; Central Alaskan Yupik *qulə-* ‘area above’; Naukan Siberian Yupik *qulə-* ‘area above’; Central Siberian Yupik *qula* ‘upper part, gunwale’; Sirenik *qulə-* ‘area above’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *quli-* ‘area above’; North Alaskan Inuit *quli-* ‘area above’; Western Canadian Inuit *quli-* ‘area above’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *quli-* ‘area above’; Greenlandic Inuit *quli-* ‘area above’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:314. Proto-Eskimo **qulðiɣ-* ‘to be high up’: Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik (Koniag) *qussiɣ-*, (Chugach) *qussəɣ-* ‘to be high up’; Central Alaskan Yupik *quyiɣ-*, (Nunivak) *qusiɣ-* ‘to be high up’; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qussik-* ‘to be high up’; North Alaskan Inuit *qutcik-* ‘to be high up’; Western Canadian Inuit (Siglit) *qutsik-* ‘to be high

up'; Eastern Canadian Inuit (Labrador) *qutsik-* 'to be above'; Greenlandic Inuit *qutsiɣ-* 'to be high up'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:314. Proto-Eskimo **quliʀ* 'upper part': Central Alaskan Yupik *quliq* 'upper side rail of sled', (Hooper Bay-Chevak) *quliit* 'back'; Naukan Siberian Yupik *qulik* 'spine, back'; Central Siberian Yupik [*quliʀnəq** 'upper part']; Sirenik *quliXpiɣaX* 'high place'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *quliq* 'gunwale, upper sled rail'; North Alaskan Inuit (Nunamiut) *quliit* 'back (of man, animal, or fish)'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *quliiq* 'back'; Greenlandic Inuit (Southwest Greenlandic) *qulit* 'knee pieces of trousers'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:315. Proto-Inuit **quliʀuaq* 'shelf' (?) > North Alaskan Inuit (Point Hope) *quliʀuaq* 'first level of ice cellar'; Western Canadian Inuit (Caribou Eskimo Point) *quliʀuaq* 'shelf'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *quliʀuaq* 'shelf'; Greenlandic Inuit *quliʀuaq* 'gunwale'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:315. Proto-Eskimo **qulliʀ* 'upper-most one': Alutiiq Alaskan Yupik *qułłiq** 'upper part'; Central Alaskan Yupik *qułiq** 'topmost one, attic'; Seward Peninsula Inuit *qulliq* 'highest'; North Alaskan Inuit *qulliq** 'uppermost, lamp' [the uppermost oil lamp in the traditional house]; Western Canadian Inuit *qulliq* 'lamp'; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qulliq* 'lamp'; Greenlandic Inuit *qułłiq** 'uppermost, lamp'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:315. Proto-Yupik **qulqin* 'raised platform or shelf' > Central Alaskan Yupik *qułqin* 'shelf'; Central Siberian Yupik *quułqin* 'loft in a semi-subterranean house'. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:315.

E. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kəlɣəkəl* 'rung, step (of ladder)' > Kerek *kəlləɣəkəl* 'step (of ladder)'; Koryak *kəlɣəkəl* 'step; ledge of mountain'; Alyutor *kəlɣəkəl* 'steps, notch, groove' (according to Fortescue, there has been some entanglement with **kəlvə-* 'notch or mark' here). Fortescue 2005:145.

Buck 1949:10.22 raise, lift; 11.13 take; 12.31 high; 12.33 top; 12.35 end; 12.352 point. Different etymology in Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1046, **ḳaɬ̄[h]i* 'high; to be high'.

499. Proto-Nostratic root **k'ulʸ-* (~ **k'olʸ-*):
(vb.) **k'ulʸ-* 'to be or become cold; to freeze';
(n.) **k'ulʸ-a* 'cold, coldness, chill, frost'

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kuḷircci*, *kuḷirtti*, *kuḷutti* 'coldness, cold, act of cooling or refreshing, numbness', *kuḷir* '(vb.) to feel cool; to be cool, refreshing; to get numbed; (n.) coldness, chilliness, ague, shivering', *kuḷirppu*, *kuḷirmai*, *kuḷumai* 'coolness, kindness', *kuḷir* 'a fan', (reduplicated) *kuḷḷa-kkuḷir-* 'to be intensely cool and refreshing'; Malayalam *kuḷir*, *kuḷur* 'coldness; cool, refreshing', *kuḷiruka* 'to be chilly, refreshed', *kuḷirma* 'freshness', *kuḷirppu*, *kuḷuppam* 'chilliness', *kuḷirppikka* 'to chill, to quiet, to refresh, to

comfort’, (reduplicated) *kuḷukuḷu* ‘intense cold’; Kota *kuḷak in-*, (reduplicated) *kuḷkuḷ in-* ‘(hands, feet, body) to feel cool, (mind) to feel calm and peaceful’; Kannaḍa *kuḷir* ‘(vb.) to be cool or cold; (n.) coldness, coolness, cold, snow, frost’; Koḍagu *kuḷï-* (*kuḷïp-*, *kuḷït-*) ‘to feel cold’, *kuḷïrï ka·la* ‘cold season’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:166, no. 1834.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k’ol-*/**k’l̥-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **k’el-*) ‘(vb.) to be or become cold; to freeze; (n.) cold, coldness, chill, frost’: Latin *gelidus* ‘cold, icy-cold, frosty’, *gelō* ‘to cause to freeze, to congeal; to be frozen, to freeze’, *gelū* ‘frost, icy cold’; Gothic *kalds* ‘cold’; Old Icelandic *kala* ‘to freeze’, *kalda* ‘to become cold’, *kaldr* ‘cold’, *klaki* ‘hard-frozen ground’, *kul* ‘breeze’, *kólna* ‘to become cold’, *kylr* ‘gust of cold air’, *kœla* ‘to cool’; Faroese *kaldur* ‘cold’; Norwegian *kald* ‘cold’; Swedish *kall* ‘cold’; Danish *kold* ‘cold’; Old English *calan* ‘to be cold’, *ceald* ‘cold’, *cēlan* ‘to cool’, *ciele* ‘cold’, *cielian* ‘to be cold, chilly’, *cōl* ‘cool’, *cōlian* ‘to become cold’; Old Frisian *kald* ‘cold’; Old Saxon *kald* ‘cold’, *kōlōn* ‘to become cold’; Dutch *koud* ‘cold’, *koel* ‘cool’; Old High German *kalt* ‘cold’ (New High German *kalt*), *kuoli* ‘cool’ (New High German *kühl*). Pokorny 1959:365—366 **gel(ə)-* ‘cold; to freeze’; Walde 1927—1932.I:622 **gel-*; Mann 1984—1987:268 **gel-* ‘to freeze; frost; frozen’, 268 **geldos*, *-i̯os* ‘cold, frost’, 287 **golətis* (**golt-*) ‘chill, cold, frost’; Watkins 1985:19 **gel-* and 2000:25—26 **gel-* ‘cold; to freeze’; Mallory—Adams 1997:113 **gel-* ‘(adj.) cold; (vb.) to freeze’; Ernout—Meillet 1979:268; Walde—Hofmann 1965—1972.I:585—586 **gel-*; De Vaan 2008:256; Orël 2003:208—209 Proto-Germanic **kalanan*, 219 **kōlaz* ~ **kōliz*, 219 **kōljanan*, 223 *kuljaz*; Kroonen 2013:277 Proto-Germanic **kalan-* ‘to be cold’, 278 **kalda-* ‘cold’, 299 **kōlu-* ‘cool’, and 309 **kula-* ‘cool wind’; Feist 1939:306; Lehmann 1986:214 **gel-*; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:398—399; De Vries 1977:297—298 **gel-*, 298, 313 **gel-*, 325, 333, 340, and 342; Onions 1966:169, 190 **gol-*, **gel-*, and 213; Klein 1971:131, 147 **gel-*, and 165 **gel-* ‘(adj.) cold; (vb.) to freeze’; Kluge—Mitzka 1976:343 and 411; Kluge—Seebold 1989:349 and 417; Boutkan—Siebinga 2005:206.

C. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Permian **külmä* (**kilmä*) ‘(adj.) cold, chilly; (n.) frost; (vb.) to become cold, to freeze’ > Finnish *kylmä* ‘cold, chilly’, *kylmyys* ‘coldness’, *kylmetä* ‘to become colder, to become cold’; Estonian *külm* ‘cold, chilly; coldness, frost’, *külmus* ‘coldness’, *külmetama* ‘to freeze, to be freezing, to feel (or be) cold’; Lapp / Saami (N.) *gâlmâs-*/*gâl'bm-*, (attr.) *gâl'bmâ* ‘frozen’, *gâl'bme-*/*gâlm-* ‘to freeze, to form (intr.) a layer of ice on, to freeze over’; Mordvin (Moksha) *kel'mä*, (Erza) *kel'me* ‘cold; coldness, frost’; Cheremis / Mari *kəlmə* ‘frozen’. Rédei 1986—1988:663 **kilmä* (**külmä*); Sammallahti 1988:552 **külmä* ‘cold’.

D. Proto-Altaic **kol$^{y}$i-* (~ *k$^{h}$-*; *-i̯-*, *-e-*) ‘to freeze’: Proto-Mongolian **köl-de-* ‘to freeze’ > Mongolian *köl-de-*, *köl-dü-* ‘to freeze, to congeal’, *köldüge-* ‘to freeze, to congeal’, *köldül* ‘freezing, congealing’, *köldügü* ‘frozen,

congealed, frosted', *köldümel* 'frozen', *köl-mü-* 'to freeze over'; Khalkha *χöldö-* 'to freeze'; Buriat *χülde-* 'to freeze'; Kalmyk *köld-* 'to freeze'; Ordos *köldö-* 'to freeze'; Dagur *kuĺde-* 'to freeze'. Proto-Turkic **Köl$^{y}$-* 'to freeze' > Tatar *küšek-* 'to freeze, to become stiff with cold'; Bashkir *küšek-* 'to freeze'; Kazakh *köšü-* 'to freeze'; Tuva *közü-* 'to freeze'; Yakut *köhüy-* 'to freeze'. Menges 1968b:96. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:716—717 **koĺi* (~ *k'-*, *-i̯-*, *-e-*) 'to freeze'.

Buck 1949:15.86 cold. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:304—305, no. 176, **kül'ʌ* 'to freeze; cold'; Koskinen 1989:20, no. 51; Caldwell 1913:593; Bomhard—Kerns 1994:442—443, no. 287; Hakola 2000:370.

500. Proto-Nostratic root **k'um-* (~ **k'om-*):
(vb.) **k'um-* 'to sigh, to weep, to lament, to moan, to groan';
(n.) **k'um-a* 'sigh, mourning, lamentation, moan, groan, roar, grumble'

A. Proto-Afrasian **k'um-* 'to sigh, to weep, to lament, to moan, to groan': Proto-Semitic **k'am-aħ-* 'to be in despair' > Ḥarsūsi *eḵtōmeḥ* 'to be in despair'; Śḥeri / Jibbāli *eḵmáḥ* 'to disappoint, to be disappointed'; Mehri *aḵōmeḥ* 'to disappoint, to foil, to frustrate', *əḵtōmeḥ* 'to be unlucky, to be in despair; (wolf, attacker) to be foiled'. Egyptian *qmȝ* 'to mourn', *qmd* 'to mourn'. Hannig 1995:856—857 and 857; Faulkner 1962:278 and 279; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:37 and 40. Proto-Southern Cushitic **k'um-* or **k'uum-* or **k'im-* or **k'ɨm-* 'to grumble' > Ma'a *-xumuka* 'to grumble'; Iraqw *qununuˤ-* 'to grumble'; Alagwa (reduplicated) *qunqumis-* 'to grumble'. Ehret 1980:254. Ehret 1995:236, no. 420, **k'um-* or **k'uum-* 'to grumble, to sigh, to make sounds of complaint'.
B. (?) Dravidian: Tamil *kumuṟu* (*kumuṟi-*) 'to resound, to trumpet, to bellow, to crash (as thunder), to have confused uproar', *kumuṟal* 'roaring, resounding', *kumiṟu* (*kumiṟi-*) 'to resound, to roar'; Malayalam *kumuṟuka* 'to make thundering sound'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:159, no. 1744.
C. Proto-Kartvelian **k'um-in-* 'to moan, to grumble': Georgian *k'min-* 'to moan, to grumble'; Mingrelian *k'umin-* 'to moan, to grumble'. Klimov 1998:104 **ḳumin-* 'to moan, to grumble'; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:212 **ḳum-*; Fähnrich 2007:257—258 **ḳum-*.
D. Proto-Indo-European **k'om-*/**k'm-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **k'em-*) 'to sigh, to weep, to lament, to moan, to groan': Latin *gemō* 'to sigh, to groan, to lament, to moan, to bemoan; to roar (of animals); to creak, to groan (of inanimate objects)'; Armenian *cmrim* 'to grieve', *cmam* 'to sigh'; Irish *geamh* 'prattle', *geamhaire* 'prattler'. Mann 1984—1987:390 **ĝemō* 'to roar, to groan'; Mallory—Adams 1997:247 (?) **ĝem-* 'to weep, to lament, to moan'. Note: Different etymology in De Vaan 2008:257.
E. (?) Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kumŋə(kum)* 'voice, sound' (?) > Kerek *kumŋəil-* 'to sing'; Koryak *kumŋəkum* 'voice, sound', *kumŋ-at-*

‘to cry, to shout’; Alyutor *kumŋəkum* ‘voice, sound’, *kumŋ-at-* ‘to cry, to shout’. Fortescue 2005:141.

Buck 1949:16.37 cry, weep; 16.39 groan (vb.). Bomhard—Kerns 1994:434—435, no. 279.

501. Proto-Nostratic root **k’um-* (~ **k’om-*):
(vb.) **k’um-* ‘to seize, to grasp, to press together’;
(n.) **k’um-a* ‘heap, mass, lump, clump; pressure, compression’
Perhaps related to:
(n.) **k’om-a* ‘hand, fist’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’[u]m-* ‘to press together; to seize, to grasp’: Proto-Semitic **k’am-at’-* ‘to press together; to seize, to grasp’ > Hebrew *ḳāmaṭ* [קָמַט] ‘to seize, to press together’; Aramaic *ḳəmaṭ* ‘to seize, to compress’; Arabic *ḳamaṭa* ‘to swaddle, to bind together, to fetter, to shackle; to dress (a wound)’, *ḳimṭ* ‘rope, fetter’, *ḳimāṭ* ‘swaddle, diaper’; Akkadian *kamādu* ‘to seize, to press together’. Klein 1987:582; Murtonen 1989:378—379. Proto-Semitic **k’am-ac’-* ‘to seize, to grasp’ > Hebrew *ḳāmaṣ* [קָמַץ] ‘to enclose with the hand, to grasp, to take a handful, to close, to shut’; Post-Biblical Hebrew *ḳamṣūṣ* [קֶמְצוּץ] ‘a pinch, a very small quantity’; Ugaritic *ḳmṣ* ‘heap, pile’. Murtonen 1989:379; Klein 1987:583. Proto-Semitic **k’am-aʒ-* ‘to seize, to grasp’ > Arabic *ḳamaza* ‘to scrape together and pick up with the fingertips, to gather’. Berber: Tamazight *əɣməs* ‘to cover, to wrap, to hide by covering’, *aɣamus* ‘the act of covering, cover, veil, lid, roof’; Kabyle *ɣmuməs* ‘to be wrapped up in one’s burnoose, to be entirely covered’; Tawlemmet *əɣməs* ‘to wrap, to cover’.

B. Proto-Kartvelian **k’um-* ‘to press together’: Georgian *k’um-* ‘to press together, to close (lips, mouth)’; Svan *k’um-* ‘mute’. Klimov 1998:104 **ḳum-* ‘to press (on lips, fist)’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:212 **ḳum-*; Fähnrich 2007:258 **ḳum-*.

C. Proto-Indo-European **k’om-*/**k’m-* (secondary *e*-grade form: **k’em-*) ‘to press together; to seize, to grasp’: Greek γέμω ‘to be full’, (Homeric) γέντο (< *γέμτο) ‘he grasped’ (this form only is attested); Armenian *čmlem* ‘to press together’; Latvian *gùmstu* ‘to seize, to grasp’; Old Church Slavic *žьmǫ*, *žęti* ‘to press’; Russian Church Slavic *gomola*, *gomula* ‘lump, clump, heap’; Czech *hmota* (< *gъmota) ‘mass’; Slovenian *gomóla* ‘barren ground, wasteland’, *gomólja* ‘lump’. Rix 1998a:165 **gem-* ‘to squeeze, to press together; to grasp, to seize’; Walde 1927—1932.I:572—574 **gem-*; Pokorny 1959:368—369 **gem-* ‘to grasp’; Mann 1984—1987:269 **gemō* ‘to squeeze’; Mallory—Adams 1997:450 **gem-* ‘to press, to squeeze together, to squeeze’; Chantraine 1968—1980.I:215 **gem-*; Hofmann 1966:43; Boisacq 1950:143 and 144 **ǧem-*; Frisk 1970—1973.I:296 and I:297—298; Beekes 2010.I:265 (?) **gem-*.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan: Proto-Chukotian **kəmɣət-* ‘to bunch up’ (?) > Chukchi *kəmɣət-* ‘to bunch up, to screw up one’s face’, *kəmɣət-cir-* ‘to writhe in pain’; Koryak *kəmɣət-* ‘to screw up, to wrinkle’; Alyutor *kəmɣət-* ‘to squeeze, to compress’. Note also Kamchadal / Itelmen *kimmat-kas* ‘to pinch’. Fortescue 2005:147.

Sumerian *gum* ‘to take hold of’.

Buck 1949:9.342 press (vb.); 11.13 take; 11.14 seize, grasp, take hold of; 13.19 multitude, crowd; 13.21 full. Bomhard—Kerns 1994:434, no. 278.

502. Proto-Nostratic root **k’um-* (~ **k’om-*):
(vb.) **k’um-* ‘to bend, to curve; to bend the head or body, to bow or stoop down’;
(n.) **k’um-a* ‘bend, curve; the act of bending, bowing, stooping’
Identical to:
(n.) **k’um-a* ‘a bent or curved object: hollow, cavity; knob, lump, hump; etc.’

A. Afrasian: Proto-Semitic **k’am-ac’-* ‘to bend’ > Geez / Ethiopic *ḳammaṭa* [ቀመጠ] ‘to hold tightly, to clasp sheaves, to bend’ (from Amharic), *ḳamṭarā* [ቀምጠራ], *ḳamṭərā* [ቀምጥራ], *ḳamṭorā* [ቀምጦራ] ‘clasp, fastener, box, chest’; Amharic *täḳämmäṭä* ‘to sit, to sit down, to seat oneself, to settle’; Akkadian *kamāṣu* ‘to bend the knee, to kneel, to squat down’, *kamṣu* ‘squatting, crouching’, *kimṣu* ‘shin, lower leg’. Leslau 1987:433. Berber: Tuareg *taγmərt* ‘elbow’; Nefusa *taγmart* ‘elbow’; Ghadames *taγmərt* ‘corner, angle’; Tamazight *tiγmərt* ‘elbow’; Tashelhiyt / Shilha *tiγmərt* ‘elbow’; Riff *taγəmmart* ‘elbow, angle, corner’; Kabyle *tiγmərt* ‘elbow’; Chaouia *tiγəmmərt* ‘elbow, angle, corner’. North Omotic: Bench / Gimira *k’um* ‘knee’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kump-iṭu* (*iṭuv-*, *iṭṭ-*) ‘(vb.) to join hands in worship, to perform obeisance with the hands joined and raised, to beg, to entreat; (n.) worship’; Malayalam *kump-iṭuka*, *kumm-iṭuka* ‘to bow down, to prostrate oneself, to worship’; Kota *kub-iṛ-* (*iṭ-*) ‘to bow down, to pray’, *kumiṭe·* ‘salutation used by Kota to Badaga or Kurumba’; Toda *kub-ïḍ-* (*ïṭ-*) ‘to salute (not used of religious salutation)’; Kannaḍa *kumbu* ‘bending, bowing down, obeisance’, *kumbiḍu* ‘to bow down, to perform obeisance’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:159, no. 1750.

C. Proto-Uralic **kuma* ‘to bow, to stoop, to bend down’: Finnish *kumossa* (inessive) ‘prone, in a falling or lying position, upside down’, *kumara* ‘hunched, stooped, bent’, *kumarta-* ‘to bow, to make a bow’, *kumartu-* ‘to stoop down, to bend down; to bend, to stoop’; Estonian *kummardama* ‘to bow, to worship, to adore; to bow down, to incline’, *kummarduma* ‘to bow (down), to stoop, to bend down’, *kummardus* ‘obeisance, bow’, *kummargil* ‘stooping, in a stooping position’; Lapp / Saami (attributive) *gomo*,

(partitive) *gobmot* ‘turned with the rounded, convex side up; turned upside down; which lies with the bottom up; very steep (of a hillside); who lies on his stomach, face downward’; Mordvin *koma-* ‘to lean down, to bend down’, *komafto-* ‘to overturn, to upset’; Cheremis / Mari *kõmõk*, *kumõk* ‘upside down’, *kõmõkte-*, *kumõkte-* ‘to overturn, to upset’, *kõmala-*, *kumala-* ‘to bow, to bend over, to greet; to pray’; Votyak / Udmurt *kymal-* ‘to upset, to overturn, to knock down’; Zyrian / Komi *kym-* ‘to upset (for example, a cup, a boat), to turn upside down’, *kymal-* ‘to upset (for example, several cups)’; Vogul / Mansi *qamowt-* ‘to throw about, to overturn’, *kam-*, *kami*, (Northern) *homi* ‘on one’s stomach, face downward’; Ostyak / Xanty *komtah*, (Southern) *hŏmta* ‘with the face to the ground; prone, upside down; stooping’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hawa-*, (Forest) *kama-* ‘to fall over, to fall down’, *hawaha* ‘fallen (for example, of a tree)’, *hawada-* ‘to overturn, to knock over’; (?) Tavgi Samoyed / Nganasan *kamagu* ‘a felled (lying) tree’; Yenisei Samoyed / Enets (Hantai) *kaʔaða*, (Baiha) *kaʔara* ‘to fell, to overturn’; (?) Selkup Samoyed *qamd* ‘face downward’; (?) Yurak Samoyed / Nenets *hobo-nugode-* ‘to throw to the ground, to lay down’ (*nugo-* = ‘to fall’), *hobotaŋ* ‘that lower (one)’ (*taŋ* = ‘that’). Collinder 1955:27—28 and 1977:47; Rédei 1986—1988:201—202 **kuma* ‘to bow’; Sammallahti 1988:537 **kumå* ‘to face down’; Décsy 1990:101 **kuma* ‘to bow’; Janhunen 1977b:52 **kâmâ-*.

D. Chukchi-Kamchatkan **(tə)kəm-* ‘to be hunched up or rolled up’ (?): Chukchi *kəm-*, *tkəm-* ‘to sit hunched up’, *kəmkəm* ‘clump, ball, kind of sausage’; Alyutor *kəmkəm-at-* ‘to lie rolled up in a ball’, *kəmkəm* ‘lump ball’; Koryak *(t)təmə-tva-* ‘to lie rolled up in a ball’; Kamchadal / Itelmen *°kmesem* ‘ring’, *°kmevic* ‘hoop’. Fortescue 2005:147.

E. Eskimo-Aleut: Proto-Inuit **qumaq-* ‘to be hunched over’ > North Alaskan Inuit *qumaq-* ‘to bend forwards, to crouch’; Western Canadian Inuit *qumaŋa-* ‘to be hunchbacked’; Eastern Canadian Inuit *qumaq-* ‘to pull one’s head down between one’s shoulders, to bend down’, *qumaŋa-* ‘to be hunched over’; Greenlandic Inuit *qumaʁ-* ‘to become shorter when pushed together (for example, a person with his head pulled down)’. Fortescue—Jacobson—Kaplan 1994:316.

Sumerian *gúm* ‘to pray; to greet, to salute; to bless; to consecrate’.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. (tr.). Illič-Svityč 1965:352 (?) [‘опрокинуть(ся)’]; Hakola 2000:80, no. 330.

503. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k’um-a* ‘a bent or curved object: hollow, cavity; knob, lump, hump; etc.’:
Identical to:

(vb.) **k'um-* 'to bend, to curve; to bend the head or body, to bow or stoop down';
(n.) **k'um-a* 'bend, curve; the act of bending, bowing, stooping'

A. Proto-Indo-European **k'um-* 'a bent or curved object: hollow, cavity (> basin, bowl, trough; valley); knob, lump, hump; etc.': Armenian *kumb* 'knob, hump'; Albanian *gumë* 'shelf (ledge) of rock, reef, submerged reef'; Old Icelandic *kumpi*, *kumpri* 'lump', *kumbl*, *kuml* 'sepulchral monument, cairn'; Norwegian *kuml* 'lump, clod'; Old English *cumb* 'valley' (if not from Celtic), *cuml*, *cumul*, *cumbl* 'swelling (of wound)'; Middle High German *kumpf* 'blunt'; New High German *Kumme* 'basin, bowl', (dial.) *Kumpen*, *Kumpf* 'deep basin, bowl; feeding trough'; Lithuanian *gumbas* 'bump; lump, knob, growth; (medical) tumor', *gùmulas* 'lump'; Latvian *gums* 'lump'. Rix 1998a:165 **gem-* 'to grasp, to squeeze, to press together'; Pokorny 1959:368—369 **gem-* 'to grasp, to squeeze, to press together'; Walde 1927—1932.I:563 **gu-m-bh-*; Mann 1984—1987:305 **gumb-* (**gumbh-*) 'swelling, lump; lumpy, swollen'; **gumbstos* 'swollen', 305 **gum-* (**gumos*, *-ā*) 'lump, mass', 305—306 **gumbulos*, **gumbəlos* (**gumbh-*, **gum-*) 'swelling', 306 **gumbhos*, 306 **gumbhros* (**gumuros*) 'mass'; Martirosyan 2008:333—334 **gumb$^{h}$-*; Kroonen 2013:310 Proto-Germanic **kumb/pan-* 'basin, bowl'; De Vries 1977:333—334 and 334; Kluge—Mitzka 1967:412 Germanic **kump-*, **kumb-*; Kluge—Seebold 1989:419 Pre-Germanic **kumpa-*; Smoczyński 2007.1:210—211; Fraenkel 1962—1965.I:176.

B. Uralic: Proto-Finno-Ugrian **k[u]mɜ* 'hollow' > (?) Finnish *komi*, *komo* 'hollow', *komero* 'cupboard; wardrobe, closet'; (?) Lapp / Saami *goabmâ* 'overhanging arched edge (of earth, rock, snow, etc.)'; (?) Cheremis / Mari *kom* in *pəlkom* 'sky, the vault of heaven', *koman* 'with vaulted surface'; (?) Ostyak / Xanty (Vah) *kŏmər* 'hollow space under ice', (Vasyugan) *kŏm* in *rįtkom* 'space under an overturned boat', *kŏməḷ* 'concavity', (Upper Demyanka) *χŏm* 'hollow space (for example, under an overturned boat)'; (?) Hungarian *homorú* 'concave, hollow'. Rédei 1986—1988:227 **kɤmɜ* 'hollow'.

C. Proto-Altaic **kumi* (~ *-o-*) 'hollow, cavity, inner angle': Proto-Tungus **kum-* 'edge; hollow, cavity; precipice' > Evenki *kumdika* 'edge', *kumŋa* 'hollow, cavity'; Lamut / Even *kumtutti* 'precipice'; Manchu *kumdu* 'empty, hollow'. Proto-Mongolian **kömüg* 'edge, overhang (of a mountain), shelter' > Written Mongolian *kömüg*, *kömügei* 'shed; roof, especially roof over a patio; eaves; shelter; awning, canopy; overhang of a mountain'; Buriat *χümeg* 'canyon, ravine, hollow'; Kalmyk *köməg* 'edge, overhang (of a mountain), shelter'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2005: 737—738 **kumi* (~ *-o-*) 'hollow, cavity, inner angle'.

Buck 1949:12.72 hollow (= concave). Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 886, **komV* ‘something hollow’.

504. Proto-Nostratic root **k’un-* (~ **k’on-*):
(vb.) **k’un-* ‘to bend; to bend or fold together; to tie or bind together’;
(n.) **k’un-a* ‘that which is bent, folded, crooked, curved, hooked: bend, fold, curve, curvature, angle, wrinkle’

A. Proto-Afrasian **k’[u]n-* ‘to bend’: Semitic: Arabic *ḳaniya* ‘to be hooked, aquiline (nose)’, *ʾaḳnā* ‘bend, curved, crooked, hooked’. Egyptian *qnb* ‘to bend, to bow, to incline (oneself); to subjugate’, *qnbt* ‘corner, angle’, *qnỉ* ‘sheaf, bundle’; Coptic *knaaw* [ⲕⲛⲁⲁϥ] (< *qnỉw*) ‘sheaf’. Hannig 1995:860; Faulkner 1962:279 and 280; Erman—Grapow 1926—1963.5:53; Vycichl 1983:83; Černý 1976:60.

B. Dravidian: Tamil *kūṉ* ‘bend, curve, hump on the back, humpback, snail’, *kūṉu* (*kūṉi-*) ‘to curve, to become crooked, to bend down, to become hunchbacked’, *kūṉal* ‘bend, curve, hump’, *kūṉan* ‘humpback’, *kūṉi* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) ‘to bend (as a bow), to bow, to stoop’; (*-pp-*, *-tt-*) ‘to bend (tr.), to stoop’, *kūṉi* ‘curvature, bow (weapon)’; Malayalam *kūnuka* ‘to stoop, to be crookbacked’, *kuni* ‘semicircle, curve’, *kuniyuka* ‘to bow, to stoop, to bend’, *kunikka* ‘to make a curve, to cause to stop stooping’; Kannaḍa *kūn* (*kūnt-*), *kūnu* ‘to bend, to stoop, to crouch, to contract oneself, to shrivel up’; Koḍagu *kūn* ‘hunchback’; Tuḷu *gūnu* ‘a hump’; Telugu *gūnu* ‘a hump, a crooked back’; Gondi *gun-* ‘to bend’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:175, no. 1927.

C. Proto-Kartvelian **k’on-* ‘to tie together’: Georgian *k’on-* ‘to tie together’, *k’on-a* ‘bundle, bunch’; Svan *č’wēn-* ‘to tie together’ (action nouns: *li-č’wēn-i* ‘to tie together’, *lə-č’ōn-e* ‘to be wrapped’, *li-č’ōn-i* ‘to wrap up’). Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:206 **ḳon-*; Klimov 1964:114 **ḳon-* and 1998:98 **ḳon-* ‘to tie together’; Fähnrich 2007:250 **ḳon-*.

D. Proto-Altaic **kunu-* (~ **k$^{h}$-*) ‘to fold, to twist’ > Proto-Mongolian **kuni-* ‘to fold, to plait’ > Written Mongolian *quni-* ‘to fold, to lay in folds, to draw into folds by a string’, *quniya-* ‘to make plaits or folds’, *qunira-* ‘to wrinkle, to fold, to contract’, *quniyar* ‘plait, fold, wrinkle’; Khalkha *χuni-* ‘to fold, to plait’; Buriat *χuni-* ‘to fold, to plait’; Monguor *χunāʒə* ‘fold, wrinkle, furrow’. Proto-Turkic **Kun-da-* ‘(vb.) to swaddle; (n.) swaddling clothes’ > Turkish *kundak* ‘bundle of rags, swaddling clothes’; Gagauz *qundaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Azerbaijani *ɢundaɢ* ‘swaddling clothes’; Uzbek *qụndɔq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Turkmenian *ɢunda-* ‘to swaddle’, *ɢundaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Uighur *qondaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Karaim *qindaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Tatar (dial.) *qontïq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Kirghiz *qundaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Oyrot (Mountain Altai) *qïndaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Kazakh *qundaq* ‘swaddling clothes’; Noghay *qundaq*

'swaddling clothes'. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:740 **kunu* (~ *k'*-) 'to fold, to twist'.

Buck 1949:9.14 bend (vb. tr.); 9.15 fold (vb. tr.); 9.16 bind (vb. tr.); 10.14 wind, wrap (vb.); 12.74 crooked. Bomhard 1996a:234—235, replacement for no. 311.

505. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'uŋ-a* 'buttocks, rump, anus':

A. Dravidian: Tamil *kuṇṭi* 'buttocks, rump; bottom (as of a vessel), end of a fruit or nut opposite to the stalk'; Malayalam *kuṇṭi* 'posterior, anus; bottom (of a vessel)'; Kannaḍa *kuṇḍe* 'buttocks, anus; bottom (of a vessel)'; Telugu *kuṭṭe* 'anus'; Gadba *kunḍ* 'anus'; Kuwi *kūna* 'buttock'. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:155, no. 1693a.

B. Proto-Indo-European **k'un-k'o-s* 'rump, buttocks': Czech *huzo* 'rump, buttocks'; Slovenian *gǫ́za* 'rump, buttocks'; Old Polish *gąz* 'protuberance, hump' (Modern Polish *guz* 'lump', *guza* 'posterior'); Russian *guz* [гуз] 'rump, buttocks', *gúzka* [гузка] 'rump (of a bird)', *gúzno* [гузно] (vulgar) 'ass, bum'. Mann 1984—1987:306 **gungos*, *-ā* 'lump, swelling' and 307 **gunĝos*, *-ā* (variant of **gungos*, *-ā* [1]) 'knot, bunch, lump'; Derksen 2008:184; Preobrazhensky 1951:168 (гу́зъ). Perhaps also Old Icelandic *kunta* 'vulva'; Swedish (dial.) *kunta* 'vulva'; Danish (dial.) *kunte* 'vulva'; Middle Low German *kunte* 'vulva'. De Vries 1977:334; Falk—Torp 1903—1906.I:424.

C. Proto-Altaic **kuŋt$^{h}$V* (~ *-o-*) 'rump, anus': Proto-Tungus **kuŋdu-* 'rump; cunnus, pudendum muliebre' > Evenki *kunŋukī*, *kuŋduki* 'rump'; Lamut / Even *qońńa* 'pudendum muliebre'. Proto-Mongolian **koŋdu-*, **koŋǯi-* 'rump, buttocks; anus; posterior' > Written Mongolian *qondulai* 'rump, hip', *qoŋǯusu* 'junction of two thighs, crotch'; Khalkha *χondloi* 'rump, buttocks'; Buriat *χondoloy* 'buttocks, rump', *χonzōhon* 'anus, posterior'; Kalmyk *χondəsn̥* 'the joint between the legs'; Ordos *χondolō* 'rump, buttocks'; Monguor *ɢoŋǯosə*, *ɢwəŋǯasə* 'rear end'. Proto-Turkic **Koŋ* 'thick part of the thigh, muscles; backside, buttocks' > Karakhanide Turkic *qoŋ* 'thick part of the thigh, muscles'; Uighur *qoŋ* 'backside, buttocks'; Kazakh *qoŋ* 'thick part of the thigh, muscles; backside, buttocks'; Sary-Uighur *qoŋïr*, *qoŋqïr* 'backside, buttocks'; Tuva *qoŋ* 'animal body'; Yakut *kuŋ* 'thick part of the thigh, muscles'. Poppe 1955:58 and 1960:18, 71, and 85; Street 1974:17 **koŋ* 'fat at the thighs; rump'; Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:742—743 **kuŋt'V* (~ *-o-*) 'rump, anus'.

Bomhard—Kerns 1994:428—429, no. 272.

506. Proto-Nostratic (n.) **k'ut'-a* 'shortness, smallness'; (adj.) 'short, small':

A. Proto-Afrasian *_k’ut’-_ ‘short, small’: Proto-Semitic *_k’at’-an-_ ‘small, thin’ > Hebrew _ḳāṭōn_ [קָטֹן] ‘small, insignificant’, _ḳāṭān_ [קָטָן] ‘little, small’; Syriac _ḳəṭan_ ‘to grow thin’; Mandaic _ḳoṭāna_ ‘small’; Arabic _ḳaṭṭīn_ ‘servant, slave’; Sabaean _ḳṭn_ ‘small’; Mehri _ḳáyṭən_ ‘to become thin’; Śḥeri / Jibbāli _ḳéṭən_ ‘to become thin’; Ḥarsūsi _ḳáyṭen_ ‘to become thin’, _ḳeṭīn_ ‘thin’; Geez / Ethiopic _ḳaṭana_ [ቀጠነ] ‘to be thin, fine, lean, subtle, emaciated’, _ḳaṭṭin_ [ቀጢን] ‘fine, thin, subtle, delicate, transcendent’; Tigrinya _ḳäṭänä_ ‘to be thin’; Tigre _ḳäṭna_ ‘to be thin’; Amharic _ḳäṭṭänä_ ‘to be thin’; Argobba _ḳäṭṭänä_ ‘to be thin’; Gurage _ḳäṭänä_ ‘to be thin, slender, slim, lean, meager, skinny’. Murtonen 1989:374; Klein 1987:575; Leslau 1979:508 and 1987:453. Highland East Cushitic: Sidamo _k’uut’a_ ‘short’. Hudson 1989:133. Central Chadic *_kut’un-_ ‘short, small’ > Tera _kutun_ ‘short, small’. Orël—Stolbova 1995:351, no. 1615, *_ḳuṭun-_ ‘to be small’.

B. Dravidian: Tamil _kuṭṭam_ ‘smallness, young of a monkey’, _kuṭṭan_ ‘laddie, lassie (as a term of endearment)’, _kuṭṭi_ ‘young of a dog, pig, tiger, etc.; little girl; smallness’, _kuṭṭai_ ‘shortness, dwarfishness’; Malayalam _kuṭṭan_ ‘boy, lamb, calf’, _kuṭṭi_ ‘young of any animal, child (chiefly girl); pupil of eye’, _kuṭu_ ‘small, narrow’; Kota _kuṭ_ ‘short, small’; Kannaḍa _giḍḍu_, _guḍḍu_ ‘shortness, smallness’, _giḍḍa_ ‘dwarf’, _guḍḍa_ ‘dwarf, a boy; smallness, shortness’; Koḍagu _kuṭṭi_ ‘child of any caste except Coorgs, young of animals (except dog, cat, pig)’; Tuḷu _giḍḍa_ ‘small, short’; Telugu _giḍḍa_, _giḍaka_ ‘short, dwarfish’, _guḍḍa_ ‘child’; Kui _gūṭa_ ‘short, dwarfish’, _gūṭi_ ‘stumpy, short, shortened’; Kuṛux _guḍrū_, _guṛṛū_ ‘dwarfish (of persons and animals only)’; Brahui _ghuḍḍū_, _guḍḍū_ ‘small, urchin’. Burrow—Emeneau 1984:153, no 1670.

C. Proto-Kartvelian *_k’ut’-_ ‘little, small’ > ‘boy; (boy’s) penis’: Georgian _k’ut’a-_ ‘boy’, _k’ut’u-_ ‘(boy’s) penis’; Mingrelian _k’ut’u-_ ‘(boy’s) penis’; Laz _k’ut’u-_ ‘(boy’s) penis’; Svan _k’ot’ōl_ (adj.) ‘little’, (adv.) ‘a little’, _k’oč’ōl_ (adv.) ‘a little’. Klimov 1964:118 *_ḳuṭu-_ and 1998:105 *_ḳuṭu-_ ‘boy, penis (pueri)’; Fähnrich—Sardshweladse 1995:214 *_ḳuṭ-_; Fähnrich 2007:260 *_ḳuṭ-_.

D. Proto-Altaic *_ḳi̯ūta_ (~ *-$t^h$-) ‘insufficiency, debt’: Proto-Tungus *_kōta_ ‘debt; miserly, greedy’ > Evenki _kōta_ ‘debt’; Lamut / Even _qōt_ ‘debt’; Ulch _qota_ ‘miserly, greedy’; Orok _qụta_ ‘miserly, greedy’; Nanay / Gold _qota_ ‘miserly, greedy’. Proto-Turkic *_Kït-_ ‘not enough, insufficient’ > Turkish _kıt_ ‘little, few, scarce, deficient’, _kıtlaş-_ ‘to become scarce’, _kıtlık_ ‘scarcity, dearth, famine’, _kıtıpiyos_ ‘common, poor, trifling, insignificant’; Azerbaijani _gït_ ‘not enough, insufficient’; Turkmenian _gït_ ‘not enough, insufficient’; Uighur _qitiγir_ ‘miserly’; Karaim _qït_ ‘not enough, insufficient’; Bashkir (dial.) _qïtlïq_ ‘hunger’; Kirghiz _qïdïq_ ‘dwarf’, _qïtïy-_ ‘secretive’, _qïtïray-_ ‘lean and small’; Kazakh _qïtïqtan-_ ‘to be offended’; Noghay _qït_ ‘not enough, insufficient’; Chuvash _χədəχ_ ‘compulsion’; Tuva _qïdïγ_ ‘oppressed’. Starostin—Dybo—Mudrak 2003:708—709 *_ḳi̯ūta_ (~ *-_t‘_-) ‘insufficiency, debt’.

Sumerian *gud$_4$da*, *gud$_8$da* ‘short’.

Buck 1949:12.56 small, little; 12.59 short. Illič-Svityč 1971—1984.I:329—330, no. 205, **ḳUṭʌ* ‘small’; Bomhard 1996a:231—232, no. 649; Dolgopolsky 2008, no. 1227, **ḳUṭV* ‘small’.